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EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

JULY 1908

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GEORGE HARVEY, President, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

A. D. CHANDLER, Secretary, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

HERBERT E. BOWEN, Treasurer, Franklin Square, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter August 17, 1906, at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Ninety-fourth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 188: No. 1.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

1901.1
v.188

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

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THE EDITOR'S DIARY

NOV 10 1964

Plays." Mr. Thayer was created a Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy in 1902.

FRANCIS M. BURDICK,

Dwight Professor of Law in Columbia University, is a graduate of Hamilton College. He practised law in Utica from 1872 to 1883. He was Professor of Law and History in Hamilton College from 1882 to 1887, and Professor of Law in Cornell University from 1887 to 1891. He is the author of a number of standard works on legal subjects, including "The Essentials of Business Law," "Cases on Torts," "Law of Partnership" and "Cases on Partnership."

W. H. RIDEING

was for several years Associate Editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and in that capacity rendered signal service to its editors and readers. He is a native of Liverpool, England, and, having come to the United States, he has been connected with a number of journals and periodicals, including the "Newark Journal," the "Boston Journal," the "Springfield Republican," the "New York Times," the "New York Tribune" and "The Youth's Companion." In 1881-2 he edited "Dramatic Notes," London, England. He has long been a favorite contributor to leading magazines in the United States and England, and he is the author of a number of popular works, including "Stray Moments with Thackeray," "Thackeray's London," "In the Land of Lorna Doone" and "How Tyson Came Home."

ALBERT B. HART

is Professor of History in Harvard University, from which he graduated in 1880. He is the author of "Introduction to the Study of Federal Government," "Formation of the Union," "Practical Essays on American Government," "Studies in American Education," "Foundations of American Foreign Policy" and other works. He has also edited a number of important publications, including "Epochs of American History," "Source-Book of American History" and the American Citizen Series.

EDWARD S. MARTIN

was educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Harvard University. He was admitted to the bar in Rochester, New York, in 1884. He is a writer for "Harper's Weekly" and other weeklies and magazines. Among his published works

are "A Little Brother of the Rich," "Windfalls of Observation," "Lucid Intervals," "Poems and Verses" and "The Courtship of a Careful Man."

H. Addington Bruce,

a Canadian by birth, was educated at Upper Canada College, Toronto University and Trinity University. On leaving college, he entered journalism, beginning as associate editor of "The Toronto Week." In 1897 he came to New York, where he has pursued the work of his profession, being engaged in editorial work and criticism—historical, economic and psychological—on several well-known periodicals. Mr. Bruce is the author of a recently published book, "The Riddle of Personality," and he has also translated into English Leroy Beaulieu's "The United States in the Twentieth Century."

Elizabeth Washburn Wright

is the youngest daughter of former Senator William Drew Washburn, of Minnesota. She has travelled extensively in China and the Far East. In 1900 she accompanied her husband, Dr. Hamilton Wright, on a scientific commission to the Malay Peninsula, remaining there for three years. She has contributed stories and sketches of the East to several of the leading magazines.

T. B. Edgington

is a native of Ohio, and graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1859. He was admitted to the bar in 1861, and in the same year he joined the Union Army. He participated in the siege of Fort Henry, and in the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh. He was taken prisoner, and remained in captivity for about seven months. He is now practising law in Memphis, Tennessee.

Sydney Brooks

is an English journalist who has already contributed a number of articles to the Review on a variety of subjects. He visited Ireland last year, and spent a number of months in observing on the spot existing conditions in that country.

W. H. Allen

was educated at the Universities of Chicago, Leipsic, Berlin and Pennsylvania. He has made a special study of the sanitary aspects of social work, on which subject he has written much for the periodicals. In 1900-1 he was Secretary of the Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government (of

the National Municipal League). From 1901 to 1903, he was Secretary of the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association. He is at present Secretary of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

LAWRENCE GILMAN,

who has been a frequent contributor to the REVIEW upon musical and literary subjects, has been music critic of "Harper's Weekly" since 1901. Among his books are "Phases of Modern Music," "The Music of To-morrow," "Stories of Symphonic Music" and analytical guides to Richard Strauss's opera "Salome" and Claude Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande."

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR

was born at West Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and graduated from Smith College in 1894. After several years of newspaper work in Massachusetts and New York, she devoted herself to fiction and critical work. She has contributed to the "Century," "Harper's" and other magazines.

CHARLES JOHNSTON

was born at Ballykilbeg, County Down, Ireland, in 1867, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. For several years he was Assistant and, later, Deputy Magistrate at Murshidabad in Lower Bengal, and afterwards at Cuttack in the District of Orissa. In 1891 he returned to England from India, and spent the subsequent four years on the Continent, travelling in Belgium, Holland, Germany, Russia, Austria and France. Since 1896 he has resided in the United States.

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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

VOL. CLXXXVIII.

715

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

1901.1
188

VOL. CLXXXVIII.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE
1908.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
No. DCXXXII.

JULY, 1908.

THE LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA.*

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

Few books had been awaited with more curiosity than that which was to contain a selection from the letters of Queen Victoria. Her character and career had become a cherished possession, not only of her own country, nor indeed only of her own subjects, but in a certain sense of the whole English-speaking world. She had lived in such close seclusion ever since Prince Albert's death that she was personally and directly known to very few people, probably a less familiar figure to the younger generation of her contemporaries than any one among her predecessors since the time of George the Second. But every one recognized the simplicity, the firmness, the straightforwardness of her nature. The warmth of her domestic affections had won the regard of the people. The correctness of her constitutional attitude in fulfilling the functions of the Crown had secured the respect of the educated class. Nevertheless, the forty years of widowhood had withdrawn her so much from observation that the revelation of her character and of her action during the earlier part of her reign has come as a sort of surprise to the

* "The Letters of Queen Victoria." Edited by Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. 3 vols. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co.

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vast majority of people in England. It will be no less a surprise to readers in the United States. Nowhere was she more honored than here. The American people knew that she had always entertained a friendly feeling for them; and they had the deepest respect for the example which she set of a dignified and consistent life, adorned by the highest qualities of wife and mother.

The interest of the book is fourfold. It throws much fresh light on the international politics of Europe, and particularly on the relations of England with France, Germany and Russia. It illustrates the working of the constitutional machinery of British Government, and especially that part of the machinery which is least seen and understood by the world, viz., the position in which the Sovereign stands to the Cabinet. It supplements the biographies of not a few famous men who held high office between 1837 and 1861, by giving us letters of theirs hitherto unpublished, and records of their interviews with the Queen and with one another at various critical moments. And it brings out the personal character of the Queen herself, a character some sides of which had been little understood, and could hardly have been duly appreciated, save by those who know the influences that had affected her early years. A few words may be said on each of the above four aspects of the book.

In free self-governing countries, the historian has seldom any means of knowing how international questions look when seen from the detached and exceptional position of a throne. The occupant of the throne does not publicly express his or her own views, and is deemed by a sort of constitutional fiction hardly to have any personal views. Yet a sovereign is in more than one way specially concerned with international politics. He or she is technically the friend, practically always at least the acquaintance, sometimes the relative, of the occupants of other thrones; and is thus, while interested in them personally, interested in them also simply as sovereigns, because the good or evil fortune of any one throne reacts upon the throne as a political institution in other countries. Thus it is quite likely to happen that the sympathies of a sovereign may run in a different channel from those of his own nation. He may be better fitted than the people are to judge the personal qualities of another monarch, and worse fitted to judge of the policy which that monarch follows. Queen Victoria's personal sentiments towards

the heads of other states do her great credit. She was kindly. She was fair. She was discriminating. Her strong liking for Louis Philippe disappeared, as was right and proper, under the impression of his bad behavior in the matter of the Spanish marriages in 1845-6, and revived only out of compassion for his misfortunes as an exile after the Revolution which drove him from France in 1848. When Louis Napoleon rose to power, she showed a more discreet reserve in forming her views of him than some of her Ministers did. Their later relations were sometimes politically close, sometimes almost unfriendly. But, though she never trusted him, and was in that well advised, for he was a strange shifty creature, she saw what good points he had and was perhaps fairer in her view than most of those who were in those days young and ardent Liberals and looked on "the Tyrant of France" as a sort of limb of Satan.

Among all the rulers of that time, the most striking and certainly the most formidable figure was the Tsar Nicholas. He visited the British Court in 1844, and the Queen's description of him, in a familiar letter (of June 11th, 1844) to her uncle Leopold, then King of the Belgians, gives one a better idea of the man and the way he was regarded than one might find in the pages of grave historians. There appears in it something startling to the reader of to-day; and the more startling because the Queen was a person who might have been expected not to feel it, viz., the sort of mysterious awe that then surrounded Russia and her autocrat ruler. Western Europe had not recovered from the impression produced by the disaster of Napoleon in 1812, when Russia appeared tremendous, impenetrable, invincible. The concentration of vast irresponsible power in the person of this one Tsar, reigning over many millions of men from the Baltic all across the vast spaces of Northern Asia into North America, made him seem a superhuman kind of being. However, the Queen liked him; nor did even the outbreak of the Crimean War produce any personal animosity. It was otherwise with the Queen's subjects. To most of them, especially after the harsh suppression of the risings of Polish patriots and the crushing by a Russian host of the Hungarians who were at war with Austria in 1848-9, the Tsar became the familiar conventional embodiment of tyranny and cruelty. This popular view of him had a great deal to do with the Crimean

War. What one reads in these letters bears out what may be gathered from much else spoken and written in 1852-3—that that war was undertaken with very little knowledge of the real facts of Southeastern Europe and Northwestern Asia and very little consideration of what a war against Russia in defence of the Turks would be likely to effect. Public opinion felt, as the Queen felt, that the Tsar had behaved in a somewhat overbearing way when his controversy with the Turks began. It leaped to the conclusion that the Tsar's ambition must be resisted, and as resistance to him meant armed defence of the Sultan, war followed. In the whole business, no one seems to have thought so justly and advised so prudently as the Queen herself. Some of the credit for this was, doubtless, due to Prince Albert; but it is impossible to separate how much each of the two consorts contributed to the wise moderation and foresight which the Queen's letters and the Prince's memoranda evince. One rises from their perusal with a feeling that, if the views of the Sovereign and the Prime Minister had prevailed, war would have been avoided; and that its outbreak was due chiefly to two causes: the compromises made to maintain the apparent unity of a divided Cabinet, and the attitude of that grim old lion, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, then British Ambassador at Constantinople, who, whatever he may have thought of the Turks—and he often treated them with scorn—hated Russia, and who was in a position which enabled him, almost disregarding his instructions, to affect decisively the course of events. A curious comment on the want of knowledge in England of the actual state of things in Turkey is furnished by a remarkable letter, straightforward, honest and sensible, which the late Duke of Cambridge wrote to the Queen on his arrival at Constantinople (Vol. III, p. 34). Nor is the case of the unlucky Crimean War the only instance in which the views of the Queen and Prince may be deemed to have been sounder than those held by most of their Ministers.

Prince Albert did not understand Italy, and few will now agree with the views he expressed on Italian affairs. He was, moreover, a member of a reigning house and did not like to see crowns knocked off heads, even off heads so unworthy as were those of some Italian potentates. But he did understand Germany, and what he said was mostly true and useful. However, the best evidence of the sound judgment of the consorts is to be found in

the last memorandum which the Prince ever wrote to convey their joint views. It was one which suggested to the British Cabinet the softening down of a despatch then being sent to Mr. Seward regarding the affair of the seizure by Captain Wilkes of Messrs. Slidell and Mason on the steam packet "Trent" in 1862. Every one has admitted the wisdom of that counsel, which came at a moment profoundly important for both nations. We may all, in both countries, be grateful for it.

Whoever remembers Walter Bagehot's famous description of the functions of a sovereign in a constitutional monarchy will wish that that admirable thinker could have survived to read these Letters, and see the illustrations which they afford of the views he expressed with so much ingenuity and penetration. No equally full record of the way in which a mechanism of government so delicately balanced, and therefore so liable to get out of order as the British is, has ever been laid before the world. The topic, however, needs so much explanation, not only to American, but even to English, readers, for comparatively few people know how business is done between the Crown and its Ministers, that I must not attempt to enter upon it. Let it suffice to say that the high sense of duty which the Queen brought to her functions is strikingly evident from the very beginning of her reign. In the first years, before the graver anxieties came, she was gay and bright, as a girl of seventeen ought to be. She was devotedly attached to her husband and to her children, and loved the quiet joys of home. But neither the attractions of social life nor the charm of domestic life ever made her neglect the functions which the Constitution assigned to her. That an absolute, or almost absolute, ruler of brilliant gifts, like Trajan or Constantine, like the Emperor Frederick the Second, or Henry the Fourth of France, or Frederick the Great of Prussia, should enjoy the work of ruling is only natural. No pleasure is comparable to the pleasure of being able to accomplish great designs by the exercise of intellectual force and unhampered volition. But a constitutional monarch whose will is limited in many ways and whose abilities may not be of the first order, needs an unusual sense of duty and habits of unusual diligence in order to induce constant application to work, much of which is monotonous and in which personal preferences must needs be often thwarted by other considerations. In the Queen's case, the sense of duty seems to have never been

absent. She understood her position under the Constitution perfectly, and she did not wish to travel beyond it.

King Leopold wrote to her a few months after her accession: "All trades must be learned, and nowadays the trade of a *constitutional sovereign, to do it well, is a very difficult one.*" (He, like his royal niece, was fond of italics.) He was right. The task was anything but easy. That she succeeded so well was due, not merely to her goodness, but to her uprightness. Her habit of saying plainly and directly what she thought and wished gained for her a measure of personal confidence which was quite different from the respect that attached to her office, and this confidence in her integrity smoothed her path.

A chief part of the interest of these Letters is the new light they shed on the character and conduct of the leading English statesmen of sixty years ago. Some one has said that no man is ever quite the same to any two other men. The relation of a statesman to a sovereign is unlike his relation to any one else, and thus it helps us know him better because we see him at a new angle. Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, with other lesser luminaries, figure here, and their letters add something to our knowledge of each of them. Melbourne was Prime Minister when the Queen came to the throne, and remained so for four years. He is less known to the English public than almost any other man who has filled so high a post. I recollect Mr. Gladstone's once saying that nothing was more needed than a really good life of Melbourne. In these letters he comes out extremely well, as a shrewd, genial, kindly person, having his faults, yet an English gentleman in the good old sense of the word. He was not great; he was not even brilliant. But he was firm, honorable and tactful, and he had a sense of humor (see Vol. I, p. 543). He knew how to drive his team, and while he distinctly belonged to the Whig or moderate section of the party then beginning to be called "Liberal," he did not offend the Radical section as some other less Whiggish persons did. Whether it was wise for him to continue to correspond with the Queen after his retirement from office has been doubted; but it is, at any rate, clear that he made no unfair use of this privilege to influence her against his successor.

That successor, Sir Robert Peel, appears to no less advantage

here. The Queen had entertained some little prejudice against him, a prejudice not wholly unnatural under the circumstances disclosed in this book. His reserve at first chilled her. But his straightforwardness, his sense of public duty, the impression of power he made and his respectful courtesy to herself, soon removed all distrust or aversion. Her grief for him was scarcely less deep than that felt at the death of the Duke of Wellington.

Somewhat less favorable is the impression which we receive here of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. Palmerston, so popular and powerful, during most of his long career, with the nation, was not altogether trusted or liked by his colleagues or by other leaders who nominally belonged to the same side in politics, such as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright.

As Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen begin to quit the scene new figures appear, prominent among them those of the two men who were to fill the stage during most of the later part of the Victorian epoch. At this time, however, neither Mr. Disraeli nor Mr. Gladstone was yet Prime Minister, so neither came much into direct contact with the Sovereign. The letters which they respectively addressed to the Queen, or sometimes to Prince Albert, are highly characteristic. But Disraeli, when leading the House of Commons in 1859, wrote brief descriptions of debates in the House which have a good deal of his epigrammatic touch. One deserves quotation. It relates to a debate on the Straits of Malacca Settlements:

"The speech of Sir J. Elphinstone, master of the subject, and full of striking details, produced a great effect. His vindication of the convict population of Singapore, as the moral element of that strange society, might have been considered as the richest humor, had it not been for its unmistakable simplicity. His inquiry of the Governor's lady, who never hired any servant but a convict, whether she employed in her nursery 'Thieves or Murderers'—and the answer 'Always Murderers' was very effective" (Vol. III, p. 352).

But, illuminative as these letters are in their references to the men and events of the time, their chief interest lies in the picture they give of the Queen herself. The traits of a sovereign's character are never unimportant, because they must needs, even where the monarchy is a limited one, be a factor in the history of the country. Tastes and temper, judgment, volition, manners, all make a difference,—a difference to the feelings of the people, a difference to the conduct of business with Ministers, probably also

a difference to the heads of foreign states. Apart from this practical significance, there were special circumstances in Queen Victoria's case to enhance the curiosity which attached to her personality. She had become a symbol of the Unity of the British Empire, of the connection between the ancient Crown of Great Britain and the numerous new colonies and dependencies which shortly before and during her reign had begun to grow in wealth and importance. To their inhabitants, she was a permanent figure, while the statesmen of the far-off Mother Country came and went and were for the most part forgotten.

About the practical ability disclosed in the Queen's correspondence there can be no dispute. Some critics have attributed to the influence and collaboration of Prince Albert much of the judgment and knowledge of Europe, as well as much of the argumentative strength, which appear in the letters relating to foreign affairs. His share is plain enough. His own memoranda reveal his views; and these views are often apparent in the letters which she signed. The language used is sometimes such as would not naturally come from the pen of one so young and still so inexperienced as the Queen was during the first ten years of her reign. But there is quite enough in the letters written before her marriage and in some later ones also, especially those to King Leopold, letters in the composition of which the Prince would have no share, to indicate her own talents. It is not the literary quality of these letters that is noteworthy. Though they are simple, direct, correctly and often effectively expressed, they are not striking either in phrase or in ideas. What does impress one in them is a sort of practical good sense, which shows that the writer had formed the habit of thinking. She was able to take in the position she had to deal with, and see herself in relation to her surroundings. At a time when most girls of sixteen or seventeen are filled with fancies and carried away by impulses, she had already a clear vision and a steady head. Likings and dislikings, of course, moved her, as they do all of us. She expressed them to her intimates, and especially to "Uncle Leopold," with a pleasing freedom. But she did not suffer them to affect her action. Her conduct in the question of the Ladies of the Bedchamber exposed her to much criticism at the time, and she seems to have said in later years, "I was very young then, and perhaps I should act differently if it was all to be done again." She was only

twenty. Yet, even in that instance, her attitude was perfectly dignified and, under the circumstances, not unnatural.

Probably it was a fortunate thing that her earlier years, before she came to the throne at the age of seventeen, had been passed in seclusion, and with few of those interested attentions by which one fated to inherit a throne is usually beset. Her governess, Baroness Lehzen, was a woman of strong character, who had evidently taught her self-restraint as well as habits of application. Her girlhood was, as she wrote long afterwards, rather a melancholy one. There were few pleasures, few indulgences; an austere gravity brooded over the quiet household, which enjoyed a very modest pecuniary allowance. Social engagements did not distract her mind from the study of what were called in those days "improving books." She had read a good deal, and had cultivated her natural taste both for drawing and for music. What was more important, she had become accustomed to reflect on what she read, and to reflect for herself, forming her own judgment. The criticisms on books which, before her accession, she confides to "Uncle Leopold," and the questions she puts him, show how much more mature and independent her mind had become at sixteen than is that of most girls at twenty-one. One discovers already in her two qualities which she retained through life, and which struck those who knew her personally in her later years, all the more because they seemed at first sight to be hardly compatible qualities. One was a strong personal pride and sense of the dignity of her position. She was not haughty, much less arrogant. But she was penetrated through and through with a sense of what it meant to be head of the United Kingdom and the British Empire. Yet, although this feeling was added to her own high spirit,—she would have been deemed a high-spirited woman even in a private station,—it did not in her bear the fruit of vanity. She was not vain. She knew her own intellectual limitations; and never tried to make a figure in fields for which she was not fitted. If one were to make a comparison at all between persons whose surroundings were so different, one might, in comparing her with Queen Elizabeth, observe that she was quite free from two of Elizabeth's salient faults: personal vanity and faithlessness. Truthfulness and honor were the basis of her character, and as she was above deception herself, so she had a horror of deceit in

others. She thought that international policy ought to be straightforward; and sometimes remonstrated against courses of action which seemed open to reproach on that score.

Frank and open as nature had made her, she learnt, as every one in a delicate and responsible position needs to learn, that there are many things one would like to say which it is not wise to say; many emotions which are perfectly justifiable, but which it is necessary to restrain. She carried sincerity so far as sometimes to abstain from saying what it would have seemed to most people natural to say in a conventional fashion, merely because she personally did not feel, and did not intend to force herself to feel, the sentiment which, conventionally, it would have been expected she should express whether she felt it or not.

It has already been remarked that she did not allow her dislikes, or prejudices, to interfere with her strict discharge of constitutional duty. The feeling might remain, and any feeling that had once laid hold of her mind was not easily changed. But how little it prevented her from doing what was right in her official relations is shown by the case of Lord Palmerston. Between herself and him when Foreign Minister there had been a long controversy as to his practice of sending off despatches before letting her see them. Both parties stood to their guns, and the contention was at one time quite sharp. But when Palmerston afterwards became Prime Minister, he had always perfectly fair treatment from her. The later correspondence, so far as we have it here in print, betrays no traces of the old annoyance. And when Lord Aberdeen suggested, in September, 1853, that Lord Palmerston should be invited by the Queen to Balmoral to stay there with her as Minister in Attendance, she complied, though there could have been no guest whose presence she less desired. There was no pettiness in her nature, and plenty of that best sort of tact which comes from trying to understand the feelings of others, and from a genuine kindliness of heart. The long and intimate correspondence with King Leopold is, perhaps, the best illustration of her deferential modesty, on the one hand, and her independence, on the other. She often asked the old man's opinion, and gave weight to it. But she never blindly followed it; and when she differed from him and did not follow his advice, she expressed herself with a respectful courtesy which averted any possibility of vexation on his part.

On the strength of her domestic affections it is unnecessary to dwell. They were known to every one, and no doubt they contributed to her popularity. But strong family affection does not always imply a general goodness and kindliness of nature, such as these letters disclose. The Queen had, what some cynical observers have, quite unjustly, denied to women, a capacity for friendship. It is not very easy for a sovereign, even in a constitutional country, to form a friendship with any one in the position of a subject. But the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel became to her friends as well as Ministers, and, what is more, they evidently felt a real friendship for her, although the Duke of Wellington's age and grave habits and Sir R. Peel's extreme reserve, prevented them from expressing their feelings as easily and as prettily as Lord Melbourne did. Perhaps Lord Aberdeen might also be included in this inner circle, for she always writes to him with a confidence and sense of mutual understanding which do not appear in the letters to Palmerston or Lord John Russell or Lord Derby.

The correspondence here given closes with the death of Prince Albert in December, 1861. It was a turning-point in the Queen's life, for she never recovered the brightness of her earlier years, never again mixed freely in society, and, indeed, never, till almost the last years, came to London at all except for a night or two when there was some official function which required her presence. The letters of the forty years that followed the great sorrow till her own death in January, 1901, years which saw even greater changes both at home and abroad than the years from 1837 to 1861, have not yet been given to the world. They could not well be; for the wise boldness shown in publishing now so freely much which was at one time highly confidential, and which is all the more precious to the historian because it was confidential, renders it undesirable to make public at this moment what affects persons, whether living or already departed, who belong to the generation still on earth. Meantime, the historian will be grateful for what he has received, and all those who, in America as well as in England, respected the character and valued the fine example of Queen Victoria will rejoice to know how good a ground they had for their admiration.

JAMES BRYCE.

DURHAM WHITE STEVENS.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY BARON KOGORO TAKAHIRA, IMPERIAL JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

History is replete with instances of men who unselfishly have labored in behalf of the general welfare and peace of two nations, and, more particularly, of their native land and of a race which has come under its control. To few men, however, have been entrusted the stupendous work of serving three peoples at the same time: of patriotically advancing the interests of his own country, of aiding in the fashioning of the destinies of another and of assisting in the regeneration of a third. Durham White Stevens was one of these towering figures, and in his life the world has an example of high patriotism, of unusual service and loyalty and of broad humanitarianism, which is worthy of universal commendation and better still of future emulation.

I am able to write of Mr. Stevens in two characters—that of an official of my government and that of his friend. In both capacities, putting aside the natural feeling of grief and indignation which his assassination inspired, I am struck by the sheer wantonness of the crime. It had no justification from any act of his life. He never knowingly did any one an injury; on the other hand, it was his nature unselfishly to serve others. It was absolutely useless; for, in the scheme of life, one instrument, however imperfect, replaces another. It was without consequences or the possibility of them. Japan has set her hand to the plough in establishing stable conditions in Korea and cannot relinquish it until the work is finished. It was perpetrated by an obscure and insignificant Korean criminal, thus carrying out that inexplicable and to me mysterious Will which puts the life of the highest in the hands of the most lowly. Admitting that the crime was inspired by a perverted patriotism, it aroused the

keenest regret among the enlightened of the assassin's countrymen, for they felt the blot which thereby had been placed upon them, and realized how great was the horror caused the American nation at having its soil reddened with the blood of one of its blameless citizens. And, beyond this, they recognized that in the death of this man Korea had lost one of its truest and wisest friends.

It is hardly necessary for me to recite the facts connected with the murder of Mr. Stevens; but I think it important to remind the American people that assassination is the traditional practice of the Koreans, and they would continue to observe it if permitted to remain in the backward state in which they live. Their history is dotted with these black crimes. They are in that unfortunate condition of mediævalism, similar to that in other undeveloped lands, wherein the knife and poison and the modern bullet are directed, not merely against the agents of the government which is endeavoring to provide them with peace and order and to lead them to modern civilization, but against themselves. During the spring of 1907, four attempts were made to assassinate members of the Korean Ministry. Two of the Ministry now in power — the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture—are marked for death. "We must do our best," states a high-sounding manifesto of the leader of the so-called General Korean Righteous Army, "to kill all Japanese, their spies, allies and barbarous soldiers." The purpose thus proclaimed cannot possibly deter Japan from continuing what is her manifest duty, not only to herself, but to the Koreans and the world at large. It arouses, in thinking minds, not so much condemnation as pity for the ignorance it displays. For such crimes as it contemplates, especially when committed upon men of the high type Mr. Stevens represented, can only react upon those responsible for them and the cause, however purposeless, they advocate.

It is not my intention in this article to dwell upon the unwise and improvident policy of the Rulers of Korea, which produced internal conditions unsatisfactory and even intolerable for its own people, and out of which loomed the menace of danger to the peace of the Far East. This feature of the matter can be perhaps best disposed of by merely stating that, in some respects, Korea occupies the same relation to Japan that Cuba does to the

United States. The American people felt that they could not have a condition of disorder at their door, and went to war to stop it. They liberated Cuba, but were compelled by events to re-enter upon its government. Japan's course with respect to Korea is almost parallel. We went to war to maintain Korean independence and were obliged to fight another war, partly because of Korea. And now, in order to abate a nuisance that could only be fruitful of further strife, we are seeking to provide the people of that country with a stable government, under which they may enjoy tranquillity and the prosperity which follows in its train.

This policy has dominated everything Japan has done. It was the policy Mr. Stevens pursued during the time he served as Adviser to the Emperor of Korea. When he first arrived at Seoul and assumed his delicate duty, Mr. Stevens found himself an object of suspicion and every step he advised subjected to the most jealous scrutiny. Here his tact and judgment were shown and re-enforced by his honesty, and it was not long before he enjoyed the complete confidence and trust of the Emperor and his supporters, and he worked hand in hand with them to put into effect the reforms which the interests of the people absolutely required. Those in Seoul who know of his work applaud it, and this includes not merely Japanese but foreigners and Koreans; and some day, I predict, the Korean people, as a unit, will glorify him for it.

But his work in Korea, after all, was merely one feature of Mr. Stevens's career. Its beginning is graven upon American history. After his graduation from Oberlin College and from the Columbian Law School, in Washington, he was appointed Secretary of the American Legation in Tokyo. His appointment resulted from his contact with American public men in the course of his work as a journalist which he performed while studying law. In this profession Mr. Stevens displayed high ability, and he was known throughout the Capital as an energetic, accurate reporter, reliable and dependable. Unquestionably the work quickened his native judgment of men and events, and gave him that clearness of vision and style which is found in all the diplomatic notes he prepared. He came to Japan at the period of our transition; and, sympathizing with us in our effort to adopt modern methods of government and civilization, became the

trusted friend of our statesmen of that time. He studied the Japanese language and soon acquired it. He possessed a capacious mind, and he stored it with our customs and traditions, our literature and our history. So great was the impression he made upon the officials of my Government that in 1883, after a service of ten years in the American Legation, Mr. Stevens was induced to enter the employ of the Japanese Government.

I first met Mr. Stevens in Tokyo in 1877, but it was not until 1883 that I enjoyed those intimate relations with him which true friendship insures. Mr. Stevens's first assignment was to Washington. He came in the suite of the new Japanese Minister, Count Terashima, who had been Minister of Foreign Affairs. At that time Japan was preparing to establish a parliamentary system of government. Desiring to keep the authorities and his friends advised in regard to the methods obtaining in foreign lands, Count Terashima made a close study of the Government of England. He turned his notes over to Mr. Stevens, who used them as the basis of one of the most forceful essays I have ever read. I served as *chargé d'affaires* in Washington at that time, and the pleasantest memories I have relate to my association with Mr. Stevens.

It is unfortunate that I cannot describe in detail the remarkable services Mr. Stevens rendered, not only to my country, but to America and the whole world. I cannot do so for two reasons: first, because etiquette forbids diplomatic revelations; and, second, because I well know that Mr. Stevens, as modest a man as ever lived, would not wish it. In an address which the late lamented John Hay made upon "American Diplomacy," he included the following observation:

> "There are two important lines of human endeavor in which men are forbidden ever to allude to their success—affairs of the heart and diplomatic affairs. In doing so, one not only commits a vulgarity which transcends all question of taste, but makes all future success impossible. For this reason, the diplomatic representatives of the Government must frequently suffer in silence the most outrageous imputations upon their patriotism, their intelligence and their common honesty. To justify themselves before the public, they would sometimes have to place in jeopardy the interests of the nation. They must constantly adopt for themselves the motto of the French Revolutionist, 'Let my name wither, rather than my country be injured.'"

So all I can do is to give the bare outlines of Mr. Stevens's

career in the service of Japan. His first assignment, as I have said, brought him to Washington, where he acted as counsellor of the Legation. He remained in the American Capital but a short time, being recalled to Tokyo to perform special work in connection with the revision of treaties between Japan and foreign Powers. Having accomplished this duty, with credit to himself and to the interest of all the nations participating in the negotiations, Mr. Stevens was appointed member of a mission under instructions to adjust certain difficulties that had arisen in the relations of China, Korea and Japan. He returned to Washington in 1887 and remained there until 1893, when he was again recalled to Tokyo in connection with the question of the treaty revision. He was ordered back to Washington, where he resumed his duties as counsellor, but paid official visits to Japan in 1900 and 1901. He participated largely in the revision of treaties between the United States and Japan, and aided in the establishment of official relations between Japan and Mexico. He was the Japanese agent in Hawaii in 1900-1901, in connection with questions which had arisen in those islands. During the first three years of my service here as Minister, Mr. Stevens, as counsellor, rendered invaluable service; and, working together, our friendship throve. His appointment in Korea, soon after the war was begun, was in accordance with a protocol concluded by the Japanese and Korean Governments.

These are but the skeleton facts of a Giant's career, but those who have a knowledge of the events which have unrolled themselves in the Pacific and the Far East, indeed in the whole world, during the last quarter of a century, can obtain an idea of the mind which dealt in masterly fashion with them. What I love to think of, in connection with Mr. Stevens, however, is the intense desire he had that the relations of his own country and of the country he served should be so close, so firm, that nothing could ever arise to shake them. I do not reveal any diplomatic secret when I say that during the many years Mr. Stevens was associated with the Legation in Washington—and here I speak authoritatively, for I was in charge for a part of the time I refer to—he acted not merely as the counsellor of the Minister, but as an American, and he sought the solution of all questions which was in the interest of both countries. He realized that an advantage by one country over the other was merely a temporary gain,

and that it was certain to be followed by vexatious discussion in the future which might have untoward consequences. Therefore what he sought always was an arrangement mutually satisfactory to all concerned; and he sought it without thought of its effect upon his personal fortunes, for he worked always behind the scenes.

Perhaps the best evidence of Mr. Stevens's loyalty to America and Japan is furnished by a letter he wrote while in Tokyo to a distinguished officer of the American Navy just before he started on his ill-fated trip to Washington. A copy of the letter has been handed to me, and I have been authorized to use it. It is as follows:

"TOKIO, *December 24, 1907.*

"MY DEAR ——:

"Your letter of November 19th, addressed to me at Seoul, followed me to Tokio, whither I have come on my way home. I shall probably leave some time before the middle of January, and therefore, if all goes well, it will not be long after the arrival of this letter before I shall have the pleasure of meeting you personally.

"You have already noticed, of course, that the departure of the fleet from Hampton Roads has been made the occasion of comment by a number of prominent officials and journalists in Japan. These expressions of opinion were elicited in response to requests from the United States, and are a true reflex of the views one hears expressed on all sides in this country.

"Apropos of Japanese opinion on this subject, you say that you observe that the Japanese press has been very quiet of late, and that you hope that the press of the United States will assume the same attitude, as only harm can be done by careless newspaper comments. A truer word was never spoken. But, in the interest of historical accuracy, it should be remembered that most of the silly talk which at first befogged this perfectly proper and natural development of American naval policy did not come from Japanese sources. The disquieting rumors which flew about in such abundance when the proposed movement of the fleet was first mooted were under American and European date-lines. They were repeated naturally in the Japanese press, as were also the indiscreet remarks of certain perfervid American patriots, and this resulted in something like the retort discourteous on the part of one or two sensational newspapers in Japan. The Japanese press as a whole, however,—the press which really represents intelligent public opinion,—was never anything else but quiet. I am inclined to emphasize this point somewhat, because, although it may seem now to possess only reminiscent interest, the impression seems to remain, and apparently you share it, that the announcement of the transfer of the fleet to the Pacific was greeted by a jingoistic outburst in Japan. Nothing

could be more diametrically opposed to the facts. The surmises concerning hostile designs possibly implied by this action on the part of the American Government, as I have said before, came from other sources. They were repeated in Japan, but with incredulity and amazement. There was no reason why it should have been otherwise. The friendship of Japan for America,—and by this I mean the friendship of the great mass of the people,—is a traditional feeling, having its origin in the unique circumstances which first brought the two countries into contact with each other, and strengthened to an unusual degree by the unvaryingly considerate, and sometimes even altruistically friendly, attitude of the United States. It is a deeper and a more genuine feeling than that customarily expressed in the honeyed phrases of diplomatic intercourse. I do not think that this is thoroughly comprehended in America, even in circles usually well informed regarding our foreign relations. And I am quite certain that many of the rest of our countrymen, especially some of those in the Philippines, would be the better for an elementary course in Oriental history. There would then, perhaps, be less of a tendency on their part to 'imagine strange things.'

"The thing most to be apprehended is that, largely through this ignorance, we may sacrifice one of the most valuable assets which we possess in the East, the genuinely cordial friendship of Japan. Wholly unfounded apprehensions regarding her political aspirations may unconsciously, but none the less surely, lead us into an attitude which cannot fail to retard the development of the great interests we possess in the Orient, interests which need never clash with hers, and which will gain much by the continuance of the intimate relations at present subsisting between the two countries. This is especially true of possible action with reference to immigration. You say there can be no war unless possibly it come from irritation on the part of the Japanese regarding restriction of immigration, which some people seem to demand. You may rest assured that there will be no war on that account. But, supposing that the desire and the purpose of the persons to whom you allude is carried into effect without regard to the feelings or the wishes of Japan, it would be self-deception to expect that the Japanese people will continue to entertain for us the same cordial friendship and belief in our good-will which at present exist. War, as the President has well said, is unthinkable and would be a crime. There is no *arrière-pensée* on the part of Japan, as seems to be thought in some circles which should be better informed, that would ever make it possible under any circumstances save of aggression or attack, which are also unthinkable. There would be no open breach of friendly relations even, but American influence in Japan would lessen to the disappearing-point; and, while beyond doubt the outward amenities of international intercourse would still be scrupulously observed, we would cease to enjoy the advantages which our unique connection with the affairs of Japan has hitherto given us. And it goes without saying that some of our dear European friends would like nothing better than

secretly to do what they could to increase this misunderstanding. It seems to me that the events of the past few months have clearly shown a desire on the part of some of them to embroil the two countries.

"I have been speaking, of course, of the probable results of the passage of an exclusion bill by Congress. The immigration question, as any one at all familiar with the subject knows, presents a difficult problem. But a solution honorable to both parties can be found; and, as there is no good reason why both of them should not deal with the matter in a spirit of mutual accommodation and good-will, I am confident that such a solution will be reached. But, should Congress take the bit between its teeth and pass an exclusion bill, there is no amount of sugar which can sweeten that pill to the Japanese palate. There will, as before said, be no war, and the Philippines and Hawaiian Islands will be as safe from attack then as they have always been; but the warm regard for America which has hitherto been one of the salient features of Japan's international relations will be transformed into a wall of chilly reserve which, I fear, will last for many years to come.

"Pardon me, my dear ——, if I appear to be playing the part of a male Cassandra; but, believe me, it is not without good reason. I date back, you know, to the days of Bingham, and those were not so very far removed from the days of Perry and Townsend Harris; and I have seen the ties which these great men created strengthened by repeated proofs of unselfish friendship by the United States for this the most progressive and receptive among the nations of the East. Coincident with that I have witnessed the growth of the firm belief on the part of the people of Japan that the American Government and people are more than friends in the hackneyed and formal sense of diplomatic usage, but sincere friends upon whose fraternal sympathy and regard they could always rely in the settlement of the perplexing problems created by their natural and legitimate national aspirations. It seems to me, therefore, especially regrettable that the warmth of this feeling, so useful to us in the fulfilment of our own reasonable ambitions in the Orient—even if we regard it from a wholly selfish standpoint—should be cooled by action on our part. Above all does this seem a pity when such action is the result of apprehension of dangers largely illusory, but which, even at the worst, can be avoided by the exercise of forbearance and practical good sense.

"Knowing how deeply interested you are in these matters, I have not hesitated to speak without reserve: and at the same time have no objection to your making whatever use of this letter you may think worth while.

"With best wishes, and in the hope of seeing you soon,

"Yours faithfully,

"D. W. STEVENS."

Mr. Stevens was not the bloodless type of diplomat which the world knows in fiction. He was a warm-hearted, generous gentleman, who believed in mutual trustfulness, mutual help-

fulness and unswerving honesty. When he was confronted by the Korean who had shot him, he forgave him, because of the ignorance which had inspired the act, thus observing the illustrious example of that One who gave Christianity to the world. "You poor, ignorant man! I do not blame you for shooting me," he told the man, "because you do not understand." Nothing could have been more sublime, but it was in keeping with his entire life. There are few who know that he was the mainstay of his sisters; for his devotion to them was not a thing to be hawked about for the public to admire, but a natural duty which deep affection made light.

The Emperor of Japan honored Mr. Stevens in life by conferring upon him numerous high decorations, and in death with the Rising Sun of the first class, the highest honor a Japanese Government servant can expect from his Sovereign as a reward for any lengthy services, and a gift of $100,000, including a sum from the Korean Emperor, to his heirs. These rewards were the mere expression of the affection and gratitude of His Majesty and of the entire Japanese people for the magnificent work which Mr. Stevens performed in their interest. As a son of Japan it is a pleasure to me, as he cannot be recalled, to add my wreath of thankfulness to those which have been placed upon his tomb, and here to give testimony to what he accomplished for humanity.

K. TAKAHIRA.

THE CENTENNIAL OF LINCOLN AND DARWIN.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

On February 12th, 1909, fall the centennials of Abraham Lincoln and of Charles Darwin. Already we hear that preparations are making in England and America to celebrate their birthdays. The British scientific bodies will doubtless do full honor to Darwin, the greatest of modern men of science, not only in Great Britain, but in the civilized world. In like manner our American historical societies, perhaps even Congress and some of our State and city governments, may be counted on to commemorate Abraham Lincoln. But is this enough? Does not destiny itself, which saw to it that the foremost Briton and the foremost American of the nineteenth century should come into life on the same day of the same year, seem to point out that Britain and the United States should unite in celebrating this centennial? In all history, there is no other similar coincidence.

The Twelfth of February, the birthday of Lincoln and Darwin, should be a day of international festival, a sort of Pan-Anglo-Saxon reunion, in which the scattered members of a great race should come together to reaffirm their racial principles, to feel the thrill of common hopes and common emotions, and to realize in the most convincing way that blood is thicker than water.

Public or national celebrations are never so fruitful as when they have for their object a person. The personifying instinct is one of the strongest in the hearts of men—so strong that, even when abstractions or principles are the theme, the orator and the poet, and the philosopher not less than they, clothe these abstractions with living garments of personality which even children can recognize. Now, it happens that Lincoln and Darwin embodied many of the most characteristic qualities of our race.

What have been the great English political ideals in govern-

ment, as they have been unfolded century by century, sometimes retarded, sometimes checked, but never abandoned? These have been the belief in representation and the belief in law. No King who ruled in England after the Conquest was so absolute that he could safely disregard the rights of his subjects. No tyrant could ever crush out of them the conviction that, if they were to be called upon to pay taxes and to provide military service, they must have a share in the government. That share, once secured, grew and grew until representation has become the dominant principle not only in the British Parliament, but in every nation, state, city or village which Englishmen planted or their sons now govern. This principle leads straight to Democracy—that political ideal which, beyond all others, acknowledges the obligation of making of every member of the state a citizen, and of giving all citizens liberty and equality at the voting-booth and in the courts.

But Anglo-Saxon Democracy would not be what it is, if it had not been worked out in a spirit peculiar to our race—the spirit which manifests itself in honorable compromise and in great-souled toleration. Compromise, which is not to be confounded with the base truckling, log-rolling and dishonest bargains of the politicians, has been found by long experience to be the best method by which most necessary improvements can be secured—and kept. The free political evolution of a people should be a growth; if it be not this, it may be a succession of conflicting whims and ambitions, violent but not deep, in which individuals and cliques take the place of parties and principles. To accept a compromise in cases where conscience sanctions it has been the Anglo-Saxon way: and party government, in which first one side and then the other makes the laws,—and thereby in the long run both sides record their principles on the statute-book—is also, in essence, a form of compromise.

With this has grown up toleration, the willingness to respect an adversary's opinion, the recognition that the general intellectual and moral health of a country is best served by allowing free play to all sorts of creeds and thinkers, if they do not seek to destroy society itself. Toleration did not spring up and flourish among Anglo-Saxons in a moment; but the conscience of our race accepted it long before conduct, which lags behind good resolutions, was generally practising it. And although England

was shaken by dynastic, religious and civil wars, she organized no Inquisition to take, like Frankenstein's monster, a terrible vengeance on its creator; she furnished no counterpart to the wholesale expulsion of the Huguenots from France or of the Moriscoes from Spain; and now, for above two hundred years, she has seen the representatives of her chief interests and the upholders of antagonistic political theories sit side by side at Westminster, in tolerance, if not in harmony. And America in this respect has not fallen short of the Mother's example. Less than half a century ago, our country was torn by a civil war whose causes had roots too deep for compromise, in two incompatible, mutually destructive civilizations. Yet, when the issue had been fought out, there followed no proscriptions, no batches of victims for the scaffold, no hosts of exiles, no legalized sequestrations, no multitudes rotting in political prisons.

Now, these great Anglo-Saxon principles and Democracy itself were most nobly embodied during the nineteenth century in Abraham Lincoln. Nothing could destroy his belief in popular government. Neither the abuse of enemies, nor the harsh criticism of friends, nor military defeats nor political defection could turn or embitter or disconcert him. He, indeed, probably to a greater degree than any other ruler in history, kept steadily before him the realization that the interests of all the people were his sacred charge. He would practise compromise up to the very line where compromise ceases to be a virtue. His large tolerance had malice toward none and charity for all. And he possessed to the full the Anglo-Saxon respect for law as the means to the protection of every individual, no matter how humble, and to the equal and impartial distribution of justice. Among the Latin peoples and the Germans the law is feared, rather than respected, because it has served as the instrument for punishment or restraint, instead of for protection; an ally of the hated police and of despotic governments. But Lincoln in this regard truly represented our race: and when through the exigences of a colossal war he had thrust upon him powers which were practically unlimited, he used them lawfully, aiming only at justice, righteousness and charity. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that he showed how even a dictatorship may be constitutional.

The British world may unite with America, therefore, in celebrating Abraham Lincoln as the pattern and exemplar of the

fundamental political ideals of our Anglo-Saxon race. Wherever men would learn the type of citizen and ruler, of law-giver and law-abider, which Anglo-Saxon Democracy reveres, they may turn to him. Democracy, which was but a germ in the Witenagemot, and but a tender shoot at Runnymede, came to its fruit in him.

And so Charles Darwin summed up what I believe to be the noblest intellectual characteristics of our race. He was not merely an indefatigable investigator and a penetrating observer, not merely slow to assert and quick to listen to criticism, but he was modest, generous and utterly truthful. Unlike many great men of science, he was neither opinionated nor doctrinaire: and he loved truth, even when it seemed to imperil his theory. When we think of him, there does not rise up the figure of the typical *Gelehrter*—the astonishing specialist, and nothing more—but of a great personality that included (but was not hemmed in by) the master scientist. His honesty, his candor, his quiet courage, his magnanimity, his large simplicity and sound humanity, in a word, his moral qualities, added—who can say how much?—to his intellectual efficiency. Darwin was as solicitous to be just to every fact as Lincoln was to treat every man and every opinion with perfect fairness: and they did so without any apparent urging by conscience. Their acts were so shaped by the habit of duty that they seemed inevitably righteous.

Looked at from one point of view, the chief effort of men during the past four hundred years has been to try to *rationalize* the world in which we live. This they have accomplished by discovering its processes and the laws which govern them. The Ultimate Cause still eludes pursuit, but we know and control our actual world as men never did before. At all points it seems to behave reasonably in proportion as our reason has mastered it. Steam, for instance, which, until so short a time ago, was only a tricksy vapor, to be whiffed away with the first breath, now furnishes most of the power by which civilized nations manufacture and travel. Electricity, also, still more elusive, and invisible besides, has been rationalized. And so of everything.

Darwin is the embodied Reason, seeking its own in the material world, and especially in organic life. He finds a larger order, where there were caprice, partial chaos and ignorance. He divines a cosmic law to replace primitive legends. He is afraid of nothing—not even of the Truth.

The obligation which life in a rationalized world imposes upon us is to be rational ourselves, to respect and train our reason so that we may trust it, and above all to cleave to truth. When systems dissolve, the only salvation for each individual is to believe what to him is the highest truth. For in such times, "canned" beliefs, put up by institutional packing-houses, no longer nourish.

Charles Darwin stands as the great prototype of modern Truth-seekers, Truth-speakers, and Truth-reverers. They are found now in every land, in every trade, profession and calling. But though his doctrines and disciples are spread throughout the earth, he belongs to our common Anglo-Saxon race, and Americans, not less than Englishmen, should honor his centennial.

If, as some of us hope, the allied mission of England and of the United States is but beginning,—if the principles which found expression in the development of both nations,—if the ideals which have been held by both peoples,—if the works of genius which, thanks to a common language, are the inheritance of every Englishman and of every American,—have not lost their potency, then let us draw closer together, and recognize more clearly our indelible kinship and our common destiny. The fluctuations of friendship and hostility which newspapers, politicians and designing ministers try to create can have no effect against nations conscious of the deepest racial sympathies. On these alone, we cannot too often repeat, the durable international alliances must rest. The bonds of commerce should make for peace and amity, but these bonds a sudden strain of competition may snap: at their strongest, they are only tow compared with the intellectual, moral and spiritual affinities that bind the souls of a race together. Just as the friendship of man and man, or the love of man and woman, depends neither on wealth nor physical qualities, but on ideals, so has it ever been, so will it always be, with nations.

The United States and England have to-day these reasons for friendship. Other nations, other races have pressed forward, each with its different principles, methods and ambitions. Let our Anglo-Saxon peoples declare February Twelfth the holiday of their race, and celebrate together Lincoln, the embodiment of Anglo-Saxon devotion to Justice, and Darwin, the incarnation of Anglo-Saxon devotion to Truth.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

SWIFTNESS AND CERTAINTY OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY FRANCIS M. BURDICK, DWIGHT PROFESSOR OF LAW IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE lame and halting gait of American justice has become a matter of frequent comment and regret, even by the learned persons whose business it is to dispense it. Quite recently a Supreme Court Judge of New York, on his return from England, was reported by the daily press to have said that "England's justice is much swifter than ours." Referring to a murder trial, which he attended in London, and which lasted but a day, he declared that "in this country it would have lasted a week." Similar opinions have been expressed by other judges, as well as by practising lawyers, who have watched the trial of cases in English courts. But a few months since a committee of the Alabama State Bar Association sent out a circular containing some very suggestive statistics, from which it appears that there are twelve times as many homicides in New England annually as in London; seventy-five times as many in California, and two hundred and forty-five times as many in Nevada. Commenting on these statistics, the committee said: "It is believed that the certainty and swiftness of justice in England and the lack of them in the United States account, in a large measure, for the wide difference in the number of crimes in the two countries."

That a very marked difference in the swiftness and certainty of justice between England and the United States does exist admits of no doubt. It was emphasized—perhaps unduly exaggerated for most persons—by the Thaw and Rayner murder trials. In each case the evidence of the killing by the accused was undisputed, and the only legal defence was that of the prisoner's insanity at the time of the homicide. The Rayner

trial occupied but a single day, resulting in conviction, while the first trial of Thaw dragged its weary length through more than seven weeks to the impotent conclusion of the jury's disagreement.

In commenting on these trials the London "Law Journal" of March 30th, 1907, said:

"English judges and juries do not listen with patience to arguments about degeneracy or brain-storm as excuses for not bringing home responsibility for taking the lives of others. . . . To an English lawyer the Thaw trial reads like a travesty or abuse of the common law procedure . . . a mock trial prepared for the entertainment of the curious in mental abnormities, rather than a judicial investigation into a question of fact. Comparison of the two systems indicates that the English system, with its modern improvements, coupled with the effective control of the presiding judge, affords the better means of vindicating public justice in a manner becoming the dignity of the offended law."

Of the first Thaw trial a Scotch lawyer wrote to a friend in this country:

"It is a great case, but not nearly so great as your American methods of procedure. . . . You make too much of counsel. It is really Jerome's and Delmas's acts that are on trial, with Thaw's future as a kind of by-product of the experiment. . . . Your system is a cumbersome device for wasting decent men's time and swelling lawyers' heads."

It was intimated a moment ago that these cases may exaggerate the difference which really exists between the two countries in respect of the swiftness of justice. Undoubtedly, had Rayner been rich and able to employ numerous and distinguished counsel, they might have prolonged his trial a little even in England. On the other hand, if Thaw had been poor, and, especially, if the killing had been of his putative father, because he refused to support him, instead of Stanford White for the reasons assigned by his counsel, his trial would have been greatly abridged even in New York City. But if the records of these cases are not entirely fair specimens of the difference in swiftness, they do well illustrate the difference in certainty. Rayner could not appeal from his conviction. Had Thaw been convicted he could have appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court; from an affirmance of the conviction in that tribunal to the Court of Appeals; and, if the ingenuity of counsel could discover any Federal question in the proceeding, the final determination might have been still further delayed by carrying the matter to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Moreover, upon an appeal the conviction might have been set aside and a new trial ordered for some trifling error on the part of the trial court in admitting or excluding evidence, or in giving or refusing certain instructions to the jury, or in construing the pleadings, or in applying a rule of practice. This might be done for a *trifling* error, we have said. New trials are continually awarded in this country for such errors. The theory which generally prevails in our courts is that one who appeals from the verdict of a jury, whether in a criminal or a civil case, is not bound to show that an error of the trial court was actually harmful to him. It is for the other party to show that it was harmless; that it did not and could not have affected the verdict. As a result, new trials are granted in this country with extravagant frequency. It is said that upwards of five hundred a year are recorded in our judicial reports, as against not more than five in England. Another authority declares that during the decade of 1890-1900, of the causes appealed in England, new trials were granted in less than three and one-half per cent., while in this country new trials were granted in forty-six per cent. An eminent writer on the law of evidence refers to a single volume of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in which several criminal cases are reported on appeal for a second or third time; and in all but one a conviction was reversed for errors which were merely technical. In two of the cases, the criminal afterwards pleaded guilty, while in a third the accused was again, and this time finally, convicted of murder. The American doctrine, that harm to the defeated party is to be presumed from error of any kind committed by the trial judge, operated in those cases, as it has operated in countless others, only to delay justice and bring it into popular contempt.

This contempt for our system of judicial trials and appeals has come to be reckoned one of the chief causes of mob violence in this country. Lynch law, writes Hannis Taylor, of constitutional-law renown, "may be defined to be the indignant outcry of a conservative, law-loving people against a system of criminal procedure which has become notoriously deficient."

In referring to the Rayner case, it was said that the defendant could not appeal from his conviction. Since that trial, Parliament has passed a statute providing for appeals from criminal judgments. Such appeals, however, are not to be free and un-

bridled; and they are to be subject to the rule, which has long governed appeals in civil cases in England, that a new trial is not to be granted for errors of procedure unless, in the opinion of the appellate court, such errors have occasioned some substantial wrong or miscarriage of justice.

The substitution of this rule for that generally prevailing with us has been advocated of late by many and powerful voices. Judge Amidon, President Roosevelt, Secretary Taft, the Alabama State Bar Association and a host of others have urged the change. Judge Amidon, in an address which has been widely published and discussed, declares that, under the operation of this rule, "no cause has appeared for the second time in an appellate court in England for more than thirty years." He also quotes the official statement of Sir John McDonald that, of the five hundred and fifty-five cases brought before the Court of Appeal for review in 1904, only seven were sent back for a new trial!

There seems to be no doubt that English justice is surer, as well as swifter, than the justice meted out in our courts.

Nor can there be any doubt that the prevailing American rule has developed in the trial lawyer a disposition to exalt matters of practice above matters of substance, to think more of technicalities than of the merits of the case. "In so far as I have been able to observe," Judge Amidon recently told an assemblage of lawyers, "there are two motives that animate each lawyer in the trial of a cause in our courts: get a victory if you can, but under no circumstances fail to get error into the record." Such was certainly the dominant motive of counsel for a railroad company, who, when asked by the judge how much time he wished for summing up, replied: "I do not care to address the jury, your Honor. I have two objections to your Honor's rulings, which are perfectly fatal to any judgment that may be rendered against my client. It is, therefore, a matter of indifference to me what verdict the jury brings in."

But would the adoption of the English rule governing new trials result in the reform hoped for by its advocates?

The matter was discussed at length by the New York State Bar Association in 1907. In his usually lucid and persuasive style, the late Dean Huffcut argued for the substitution of the English rule; and a number of eminent lawyers supported a resolution requesting the Committee on Law Reform to embody

its spirit in suitable amendments to the New York Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure. The proposed reform was strenuously opposed, however, with the result that the whole matter was tabled by a vote of nearly two to one.

Whoever reads the official report of this discussion will be struck by the fact that the opponents of the change were unwilling to trust judges with the power which the English rule gives them. One gentleman said that the rule might be a safe one, possibly, in England, where barristers try cases without attempting to get in evidence which they know to be incompetent, and where "men of eminent legal attainments sit as judges; but it is not a safe rule here, before gentlemen that are nominated by bosses, before gentlemen of such gracious character and good nature that they do not want to displease anybody." Another opponent declared that, instead of the amendment proposed, he would favor one requiring trial courts to be provided with "phonographs to take the tone of the judge's voice, and that we should except to his tone," if that conveyed to the jury the judge's real opinion of the case.

It must be admitted that these speeches fairly represent a very large body of public opinion. Although no candid person denies that the American bench includes, and has long included, some of the ablest and most honorable members of the legal profession, men whose motives are above suspicion and whose judgment is sound and sane, yet, as a rule, the judges of our highest courts do not command the respect of the bar and the reverence of the community in the measure in which these are accorded to their brethren in England.

Let us inquire into the causes of this difference; for such inquiry may help us to a better understanding of the reasons for the superior swiftness and certainty of English justice.

One of the causes, we submit, is to be found in the different modes of selecting judges in the two countries. In England, they are appointed by the Lord Chancellor. While he is a member of the cabinet, and his selection is determined by considerations which are partly political, no doubt, no modern Prime Minister has dared to name an unfit, or even mediocre, lawyer for this place. Accordingly, when judicial vacancies occur or additional judges are authorized, it is an eminent lawyer, of wide acquaintance and long experience at the bar, who appoints the

incumbents. If these appointees are unfit, the blame is focused upon the Lord Chancellor. He cannot escape censure or even divide it with others. How effectively this undivided responsibility operates was apparent, last summer, when an influential body of Liberal Members of Parliament sought in vain to induce Lord Loreburn to displace Conservative local magistrates with Liberal candidates. It was noticeable again, when Parliament authorized the appointment of an additional judge of the King's Bench. Although opinions differed as to the desirability of an additional judge, all parties expressed confidence that the appointment would be beyond criticism.

In most of our States, judges are elected by popular suffrage. Of this practice, Mr. Bryce has said: "Nearly everywhere the elections are influenced by political considerations; and a man not belonging to the dominant party, and not agreeable to its managers, has little chance of success." One would not expect that, as a rule, men distinguished for judicial temper and legal attainments would be the persons selected by this process for the Bench. Nor should one be surprised that, ever and anon, a Judge Cooley is relegated to private life, after twenty years of eminent judicial service, because of the superior vote-getting qualities of a judicially inexperienced opponent.

Federal judges, it is true, and those in some of the States, are appointed by the Chief Executive; but, as a rule, his authority is not exclusive. He appoints "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" or similar body. Sole responsibility for unsuitable appointees cannot be fixed upon him; and, in many cases, without doubt, the blame is fairly divisible among an indefinite number of official and unofficial persons.

Again, judicial salaries in England are so generous as to command for the Bench the highest order of legal talent. The Lord Chancellor receives £10,000 annually;* the Lord Chief Justice, £8,000; Lords of Appeal and the Master of the Rolls, £6,000 each, and the Lord Justices £5,000 each. Even the County Judges have a salary of £1,500. On this topic Goldwin Smith writes, in his "History of England":

"The salaries of English judges are large; but the money is well spent in placing on the Bench men who have full command over their

* Of this sum £4,000 is payable for his services as Speaker of the House of Lords.

courts, and can make justice swift as well as respectable and sure. That underpayment of public servants and judges is false economy America has good reason to know."

These salaries are in striking contrast with those paid American judges. Even in New York County, where judges receive the highest compensation in America, their salaries are but a trifle more than three-fifths of the amount paid officials of like rank in England, while the salary of a Federal Supreme Court Justice is less than half of that of an English Lord of Appeal; and in some of our States judges of the highest court receive but one-tenth the salary of the Master of the Rolls. It is not surprising, therefore, that the leaders of our bar are seldom aspirants for judicial honors; while it often happens that men of the greatest usefulness on the Bench feel compelled to resign in order to provide for themselves and their families.

Another respect in which the position of the English judge differs from that of his American brother is the tenure of office. In England he is appointed for life, subject to removal by the Crown only upon an address of both Houses of Parliament. It is true that our Federal Judges and those of a few States hold office during good behavior; but in most of our Commonwealths they are not only chosen by popular suffrage, but for a short term of years. The youngest member of our Union has fixed the term of office for County Judges at two years, for District Judges at four years, and for Supreme Court Judges at six years. Leaders of the Independence League declare that it is of the highest importance that judges should be elected for short terms, in order to keep them constantly conscious of their responsibility to the people.

Which of these plans tends to secure the greatest judicial independence? This is the answer of Goldwin Smith:

"Since the independence of the English judiciary was secured, the purity of the ermine has been preserved. To this great principle America has been less faithful than England; for, if the judge holds office not during good conduct, but at pleasure, as he does when he has to look for re-election, it signifies little whether the pleasure is that of a king, or that of a political party styling itself 'the people.'"

A similar answer is found in the Constitution of Massachusetts in these words:

"It is the right of every citizen to be tried by judges as free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit. It is,

therefore, not only the best policy, but for the security of the rights of the people and every citizen, that the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court should hold their offices as long as they behave themselves well."

Can any one doubt the soundness of this answer? To make the choice of a judge depend upon popular suffrage, and then to make his term short in order to keep him constantly conscious of his responsibility to the people, is the best way to convert him into a mere politician. Nothing could be better suited than this to turn his mind from the true solution of the problems of "gladsome jurisprudence," and to develop within him the arts of the demagogue. It is to the everlasting credit of the American judiciary that more of its members have not succumbed to this insidious temptation.

Allusion has been made to the great authority exercised by the English judge in the trial of cases. Nothing is more sure than this to arrest the attention of an American lawyer who happens to watch an English trial. The judge is not the mere umpire of a game, in which the chief actors are the counsel for the litigants. He has full control of the proceeding. Last summer the writer attended the trial of an important libel suit in London before the Lord Chief Justice and a jury. His first surprise was at the few objections raised by counsel, and the almost entire absence of exceptions to rulings, as well as of wrangling between counsel. He was prepared for the deference shown to the court by counsel, for he knew that Sir Richard Webster had long been a leader of the English bar before he was elevated to the Chief Justiceship and the title of Lord Alverstone. There was no need, no pretext and no precedent for the lawyers placing such a judge on trial to find out how much law he knew, as an American judge has recently said is the general practice here. The English judge is pretty sure not to need education at the hands of the bar, even of its most distinguished leaders.

In the progress of the trial referred to, the defendant became a witness in his own behalf. On his cross-examination, a question was put which he answered, and he at once launched out into an explanation. The cross-examiner objected; but, upon the court's ruling that the witness might proceed, no exception was noted. Some minutes later, the foreman of the jury rose, and protested to the court against their time being wasted with such imma-

terial statements. Lord Alverstone remarked that he could not see how the evidence was material, but he thought the witness might proceed; and neither jury nor counsel again interposed. When the judge came to charge the jury, he not only set forth the rules of law which were to govern their decision, but he gave them a perfectly frank statement of his own views as to various matters of fact; while, of course, advising them that their findings upon these matters were not to be controlled by his opinions. The result was a speedy verdict for £3,000 against the defendant.

In no class of cases has the influence of the English judge been more marked than in civil actions for libel. This was conspicuously manifest in the Soap Trust Libel Case, last summer (of Lever Brothers, Limited, against the Associated Newspapers, Limited, for publications in the "Daily Mail" and the "Evening News," of London), when the defendants assented to the return of a verdict for £50,000—the largest ever given in a libel suit. It is true that the defendants withdrew their plea of justification and terminated the trial at the conclusion of the plaintiff's evidence, but that was largely, if not wholly, due to the strictness with which an English judge holds defendants to the simple issue of libel, the certainty of the legal rules which he expounds to the jury, and the unhesitating manner in which he expresses his own opinions to them. In the Lever Case, Mr. Justice Lawrence remarked, in approving the course of defendants' counsel: "If I had been called upon to deal with these articles and there had been nothing more to justify them than appeared in the cross-examination, I should have felt it my duty to have expressed myself in no hesitating or measured language as to the character of these articles." What lawyer of distinction in this country would have advised a trust magnate, in similar circumstances, to bring a civil action for libel against an association of newspapers, with any well-grounded hope of securing a verdict of $250,000 for his client?

In some of our States, the authority of the trial judge is narrowly limited by constitutional provision. For example, the Constitution of Arkansas (Art. VII, Section 23) prescribes that "Judges shall not charge juries with regard to matters of fact, but shall declare the law." The Supreme Court of that State has referred to the provision as due to "seeming jealousy of the influence of the Bench," and has held that it precludes the judge

from characterizing evidence given upon the trial as weak or strong! Similar constitutional provisions are found in California, Nevada, South Carolina, Tennessee and Washington; while in other States limitations of like character are imposed by legislation. A statute of Maine declares that the expression of a judge's opinion on a matter of fact in his charge to a jury is cause for a new trial. The Code of Iowa forbids the court to limit "the argument of counsel in cases tried by a jury."

The judges in other States and in the Federal courts are not subject to positive enactments of this character; and the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that the trial "judge is not a mere moderator of a town meeting, submitting questions to a jury for determination, nor simply ruling on the admissibility of testimony, but one who in our jurisprudence stands charged with full responsibility." Still, in most of these tribunals, the judge finds it easier and more popular to act as a mere moderator. Indeed, Judge Amidon of the Federal Bench said to the Minnesota Bar Association not long ago: "I think, as a rule, gentlemen, you like the judge best who keeps his hands off. I have heard some of you say that." Nor has the accuracy of that statement been challenged, so far as the writer has learned.

To act well the part assigned to the English trial judge requires an abundance of legal learning and experience, high character, unflinching courage, willingness to take responsibility as well as to exert every effort in order that justice may be swiftly and surely administered in his court. A less generous outfit will suffice for an American judge of the ease-loving and popularity-seeking sort.

Again, English judges (save the Lord Chancellor) hold themselves aloof from active participation in partisan politics. Last summer, the Lords of Appeal rarely took part in the discussion of bills before the House of Lords, which involved questions of party politics only. On the few occasions when one or two did enter the party lists, they were severely rebuked by the Ministerialists, and received but lukewarm commendation from the Conservatives. Indeed, such conduct is generally defended, if at all, on the ground that the particular question transcends party politics, and involves the safety of the State.

Our judges are not equally careful to withdraw their hands from the political machine to which they owe their eleva-

tion to the Bench. It is not accounted scandalous for a judge to preside over a partisan campaign meeting, or to permit his friends to urge his nomination to a political office. Indeed, in States where the term of judicial office is brief, it often happens that a judgeship is accounted a regulation round in the ladder of political preferment.

Still another reason why our judges do not command such universal reverence as is accorded to their English brethren is that the latter are not required to pronounce upon the constitutionality of statutes. An Act of Parliament may change the British Constitution, but cannot be in legal conflict with it. An Act of Congress or of a State Legislature, which is repugnant to the Federal or State Constitution, is no part of the law of the land. Whether it is so repugnant, and hence nugatory, is for the judiciary to decide. It is in the exercise of this high power that the American judge most frequently antagonizes an intense and, it may be, an unreasonable public opinion. It is at such times that the true metal of the judge is tested and disclosed. If he is worthy of his exalted position, he will be unmoved by considerations of personal advantage, and will decide the question before him in accordance with his understanding of established legal rules. Neither the criticism of legislators and of executive officers, nor the clamor of the masses, will swerve him from the fearless discharge of his sworn duty. It is gratifying to know that the American judiciary, as a whole, has discharged this duty well—so well, indeed, that a school of modern political agitators is demanding that the duty shall be abolished; that the function of declaring laws unconstitutional shall be withdrawn from the judiciary, and that judges shall be elected for short terms in order that they shall be constantly conscious of their responsibility to the people. It is a favorite charge of this school that existing judges do not construe the laws impartially, but, on the other hand, are sure to declare a statute "unconstitutional which tends to bring powerful interests to account and to equality before the law." Another favorite phrase is that the bent of the present judicial "mind leads to decisions which are contrary to the good of the State and the welfare of the citizens." In other words, our judges are impeached as unfair and unsafe; and also as arrogating to themselves legislative and executive functions, whenever they declare a statute unconstitu-

tional. Such judges are to be eliminated, and, hereafter, those only are to be chosen who can be depended upon to uphold and apply the will of the majority, when it takes the form of a statute, however repugnant it may be to those time-honored safeguards of persons and property which have been established by the common law and written constitutions.

In striking contrast with this growing spirit of criticism and suspicion is the attitude of the English public towards their judges. This was shown during the period of agitation which followed the famous Taff Vale decision by the House of Lords. Immediately, Trade-Unionists and many others called for the enactment of a statute which should alter the legal rule laid down in that case, under which the funds of the Unions could be taken in satisfaction of judgments for boycotts declared and sustained by their leaders. But no demand was made for a new set of judges. Indeed, John Burns declared at a Hyde Park meeting, while the excitement was highest, that he "wished workingmen to hold the view he held, that the British judiciary was the best in the world." Directly after the Parliamentary elections of 1906, the Labor Party formulated its legislative demands, but the document contained not a word of distrust of the judiciary, nor an intimation of need for change in its constitution or character.

More than a generation ago, the present Ambassador from Great Britain to the United States assured his English readers that "the first condition for understanding the judicial arrangement of America is to get thoroughly rid of the English conception of a Judge." According to his outline of that conception, English judges are among the greatest permanent officials of the State. They enjoy large incomes and great social respect. On their circuits they are received with the ceremonious pomp of the Middle Ages. The public press rarely assails their ability and never their fairness. And they command universal popular reverence.

Is it not probable that this traditional attitude of the public towards the English judge has powerfully contributed to the development of his ability to administer justice with a swiftness and certainty not attained in the United States?

FRANCIS M. BURDICK.

SOME WOMEN OF PINERO'S.

BY WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

Mr. Pinero gives the predominant place in nearly all of his serious plays to women, and though he often uses the foibles of minor characters as "comic relief," his protagonists always uphold the subtlety of the sex and emphasize its tragedy. They dominate those who surround them, and in disaster they compel our compassion though they may not evoke our approval.

It is apparent to all who read or see his plays that to him a sexless world would be a world without drama, and therefore a dull world. The problems of the sexual relationship absorb him, and judicial and unpartisan as his intention towards both may be, it is nevertheless discernible that at heart he is more of an apologist than an arbiter where women are concerned. He deserves far more thanks than he receives from those of his feminine critics who regard him with no more friendliness than the impaled wasp feels for the professor scrutinizing it through a magnifying glass.

His attitude towards the sex is never wanting in respect or in the deference of fine chivalry. He does not satirize, or patronize, or condescend: women are to him in these serious plays the chief sufferers in the tangle of human life; and, in the hackneyed phrase of the day, it is they who "pay" a disproportionate penalty through their bodies and through their souls for delinquencies and misfortunes not wholly of their own creation.

We have but to look at the plays themselves for illustrations of his position, and in them may be found sufficient evidence that his intention is not to gibe or to parodize, as Mr. Bernard Shaw does, with the eyes of the peeping satyr who surprises the nymph in the bath, but to measure fairly and to insist that what is condoned in a man shall not be condemned in a woman.

Mrs. Ebbsmith I pass, for she seems to me to be one of the least convincing of all his characters and the play the least satisfying of his mature work. His plot blows in the wind, and his people are elusive and dubious, the puppets of a good artificer rather than the breathing and consistent figures he usually creates for us. At the end one feels that he has done less than he expected to do, and that he must be as unsatisfied as his audience is when it puts the book down after reading it, or hurries out of the theatre when the curtain falls.

We all know Paula, the second Mrs. Tanqueray; and it is probably superfluous to do more than mention a character who has been discussed so much, and who, at least once a year, revisits the stage. Without disparaging the play itself, I believe that it endures as it does because Mr. Pinero found in Mrs. Campbell the one woman who could fit the part and be it.

Paula's doom is foreseen as soon as we hear of her, and we know equally well that she must drag her husband down with her as she sinks. There is no lottery in such a marriage as theirs. There can be but one end to it, and that tragical. "She is a young woman of about twenty-seven; beautiful, fresh, innocent-looking." So the author describes her in the stage directions when she first appears, just after the little farewell dinner Tanqueray has been giving to his friends in his chambers—a scene which is sombre with the presage of what is to come and as fateful as the knocking at the gate in "Macbeth." But the innocence is counterfeit and the freshness the freshness of a callous heart. Tanqueray's infatuation for her does not justify itself. He has lost in his first wife a bride of ice, and he espouses, in the second, one whom he expects to be a bride of fire. But her fire does not burn clearly: it is fitful and smoky, and all his patience and coaxing are insufficient to produce the steady glow he has hoped for; the end is ashes. He is not impelled by the recklessness of youth. His spirit is temperate, his conduct deliberate. His folly is the fruit of his philosophy, and his philosophy a snare, though it at least prefers justice to convention and prudence, and claims the same indulgence for a woman as for a man.

As for Paula, she is never more than lukewarm. Under various aliases she has been the mistress of other men's establishments; but she is not reaching out her arms for salvation, and

she offers him a loophole from his thraldom after handing him a letter which she had intended to post and which he burns unread—a letter confessing to one intimacy which the gossip of the town has not communicated to him:

"Read it through after I have gone, and then—read it again and turn the matter over in your mind finally. And if, even at the very last moment, you feel you—oughtn't to go to church with me, send a message to Pont Street, any time before eleven to-morrow, telling me that you are afraid, and I—I'll take the blow."

That shows that Paula, according to the English phrase, is not altogether "a bad sort." But we are not certain that her willingness to relinquish him may not be accounted for by the tepidity of her own desire to possess him. She does not recognize any sacrifice on his part in marrying her; and, later on, when they have retired to the Surrey hills, she never thinks of repaying him by abnegation and devotion. She is vain, restless, petulant, unstable, arrogant and jealous. The peace of the country disquiets her; and, instead of being all in all to each other in their hermitage as they expected to be, they find their yoke galling. The neighbors will not call on her, and that stings her, though one is obliged to ask how she or he, being sane, could look for social acceptance. She complains to him:

"You'll kill me with this life. What is my existence Sunday to Saturday? In the morning a drive down to the village with the groom to give my orders to the tradespeople. At lunch you and Ellean"—Ellean is his daughter by his first wife. "In the afternoon a novel, the newspaper: if fine another drive—*if* fine! Tea—and you and Ellean. Then two hours of dusk—then dinner—you and Ellean. Then a game of *bezique*, you and I, while Ellean reads a religious book in a dull cover. Then a yawn from me, another from you, a sigh from Ellean; three figures suddenly rise—'Good night, good night, good night!' *(Imitating a kiss)* 'God bless you, ah!' . . . And so we shall go on here, year in and year out, until the sap is run out, and we are stale and dry and withered from sheer, solitary respectability. . . . Upon my word, I wonder we didn't see that we should have been far happier if we'd gone in for the devil-may-care, café-living sort of life in town! After all, I have a set, and you might have joined it. It's true I did want—dearly, dearly—to be a married woman, but where's the pride in being a married woman among married women who are—married! If— *(Seeing that his head has sunk into his hands)* Aubrey! My dear boy! You're not—crying?"

She is moved only for a moment, and, defying him, she invites to the house to break its monotony an old associate of hers,

who has married a degenerate sprig of patrician society, and whose skirts are as smirched as her own. Vulgar and illiterate, this lady declares after a few days: "Dodo [her husband] and me both consider you make a first-class hostess, but then you've had such practice, haven't you, dear?"—which, again to make use of the current English of the English, is "a nasty one."

They afford nothing more than a temporary diversion for her, and she is soon eager to be rid of them, even intimating to them that they are no longer welcome. Aubrey's love is not enough for her, and we feel sure that if the neighbors recognized her she would scorn their attentions. The greatest of her avowed grievances is that Ellean dislikes her; but, if the girl's confidence and affection could be won, they would not be prized. Of that, too, we are sure. Her unhappiness is of her own making, and there is no remedy but the one that in desperation she takes when she finds in Ellean's lover a former paramour of her own. Nothing in her life becomes her better than her leaving it; for, before she kills herself, she insists on being honest enough to her husband, cost what it may, and against all the pleadings and threats of her accomplice, to inform him of the tragic coincidence on which the curtain falls. An uncompromising individualist, she has that much courage, and not wholly despicable is the strength of her impenitence, which never softens, we infer, until she sees in the final complication the overwhelming disaster she has brought on him in his foolhardy experiment.

How does Mr. Pinero expect us to feel about her? I fear there are many who are not so lenient as he is.

As with Paula in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," it is easy to guess what Iris will come to in the play which bears her name; but the interest of the spectator dwells less on the issue than on the ingenious analyses by which Mr. Pinero develops the character. The plots of his serious work are in an unusual and praiseworthy degree simple and logical; rarely does he depend for effect on those marvellous coincidences which from long usage the average audience accepts without feeling any strain on its abundant credulity. In "Iris" he states nothing we cannot believe in, except one situation; and, if that play is not produced as often as the other, the probable reason is in the difficulty of finding an adequate representative for the principal part. Iris has never been impersonated as she

should be; and, as the play, like all the best of Mr. Pinero's, is more than ephemeral, it may yet be recovered from the shelf on which it bides its time until the right actress is born for it.

We receive the author's conception of the part, physically, from those italicized directions in the printed play which seem so pleasantly confidential. "She is a beautiful woman, with a soft, appealing voice and movements instinct with simple grace and dignity. Her manner is characterized by a repose amounting to languor." A widow at twenty-one, she is hampered by the terms of her deceased husband's will, which deprives her of its benefits if she remarries; and, at the opening of the play, she is dallying with a penniless young man—in love with him—but unable to decide that she has the strength to exchange for liberty and poverty the gilded cage in which she is imprisoned. A sort of drawing-room Cleopatra, "a honey pot," as John Knox called Mary Queen of Scots; she fascinates men and women alike by her gentleness, her generosity and her sweetness. At least three men are in pursuit of her—the pathetic little Croker Harrington, whose passion is hopeless, but whose devotion is doglike; a millionaire, Frederic Maldonado, and Laurence Trenwith, the youth whose ineligibility lies solely in his impecuniosity. Iris, foolish in many ways, extravagant in her habits, dependent on luxuries, cannot resign herself to the little he can offer her, nor will she surrender him. Unwilling to sacrifice her legacy, she strains the respect of her friends by allowing him to be in constant attendance on her.

That he may be always near, she, heedless of scandal, offers to support him, seeing no impropriety in her suggestion, and is surprised when he declines. Against her temptation his manhood asserts itself, and he tears himself away to wrestle with the future in Western America. She loves him and him only. Is that not an answer to every cry of prudence, and to every reminder of convention? Simple as a spoiled child, always petted and always humored, she is as unable to believe that the complaisant world can ever be so unamiable as to thwart anything she has set her heart on.

On the eve of Trenwith's departure for a ranch in British Columbia, and while Iris is shivering at the thought of hardships too severe for her endurance, news comes that a defaulting trustee has dissipated her fortune, and Maldonado, who has

been dogging her about the Italian Lakes, finds his own advantage in her reverses. Jealous and inflamed by her preference for Trenwith, he no longer offers her marriage, but conspires for a better revenge through entrapping her into the unsanctioned relationship. He has always been generous and is immeasurably opulent—a master financier. Trenwith has implored her to accompany him at the eleventh hour, but she has refused because before she gives herself to him she must prove to him that adversity is a source of strength to her:

"After I have shown to you that there are other, better and deeper qualities in my nature than you have suspected, then I'll join you, Laurie. . . . Come to me then as if you had never known me—or known me but a little. Let us then learn each other, as it were, afresh. Raise up barriers between us for the delight of breaking them down. . . . So that when you come to marry me you may marry one who is a stranger to you."

Meanwhile, Mephistopheles is skulking near in the shape of the full-blooded Maldonado, who is no Tanqueray, but the creature of a passion that drives him before it like a fugitive before a prairie-fire. She thinks she is reformed and is resigned to what is before her—a few years of transit from *pension* to *pension* in France, England or Italy, till Laurence comes back for her. Maldonado appears to approve of her course, to admire her courage, but he forces on her, against her intuitions, a book of blank cheques on his bank which will be honored whenever they are presented. She tosses the book aside, afraid of the temptation; but no sooner is he gone than she is appealed to for help by another victim of the absconding attorney. To grant it out of her own purse is impossible, and also impossible to her is the refusal of succor to a friend in distress. What is wanted she gives—and signs a cheque for the amount. Her doom is sealed from this moment. Forsaken by all but Croker Harrington, himself penniless, she gradually sinks into the poverty which Maldonado has designed for her, with such confidence in her ultimate surrender that he has a smart apartment in the West End furnished for her before she succumbs:

"At last [this is to Laurence when he returns, and she describes her vicissitudes] my devices for keeping my head above water were exhausted. I had even contrived to pledge the tiny income remaining from the wreck of my affairs, and I was without a shilling—absolutely without a shilling—my clothes nearly falling off me, my shoes in

holes! I was in London again by that time; it was as if I had come home for the finish. The horrors of it! The back room in the narrow, grimy street; the regular shameful visit to the pawnbroker's; the listless mechanical stroll out in the dusk for air and exercise. . . . And one evening—he was continually tracing me and dogging my steps—one evening I met him and let him walk beside me; and—he handed me the key of this flat. They were waiting me—these pretty rooms; they had been kept prepared for me for months. That was my deepest disgrace—that he should be so certain I should find my way here."

During his absence her heart and her thoughts have been faithful to Laurence, while to Maldonado she is but an apathetic slave, sullen in her captivity. He is as much a captive to her as she is to him, and, stung by her indifference to him, is willing to surrender all—his position, his life in England—to marry her if she will give him the affection he craves:

"I love you. I love you more than ever, my dear. What's in you? You're extraordinary. By the common rule of life I ought to be chafing to be rid of you. . . . But it is not so. I say it's wonderful, considering what is behind us, that we should do as we do—I again entreating you, as I did two years back, for a soft word, a spark of warmth, just a little tenderness."

It is while she is dwelling on Maldonado's last appeal that Laurence returns, and to him she tells her story, thinking with infantile ingenuousness that he will understand it and pity her for it and take her back to him. She is penitent, and it is incredible to her that she cannot be forgiven. Her mind works like that of a culprit child, who believes that tears should wash out every sin. But Laurence is speechless in his horror. "I'm sorry—I'm sorry—I'm sorry!" is all he can say, as with a drooping head he leaves her forever.

What can she do then but accept Maldonado's offer? But she has delayed too long. He has been spying during Laurence's visit, and he bursts in upon her in a murderous rage. He points to the door, and she is bewildered. Must she go now—at once—to-night? She seems to think that now Maldonado will be as forbearing as she expected Laurence to be. Surely he will not turn her into the streets—surely not. He thanks God that his rage has restricted itself to wrecking the furniture. "I've no ambition to figure in the dock. Only I must be careful in the future. The risk is too deadly. Go! Drift back to the condition in which I found you some months ago." And as Iris staggers

out she still holds our sympathies, and without knowing why we repeat the last words of Laurence, "I'm sorry,—sorry!"

That susceptibility in Mr. Pinero which indulges and extenuates the sex, and as if by an unconscious muscular response to a mental inclination disturbs the balance of the scales, is more open to impeachment in "The Benefit of the Doubt" than in the other plays. Here we have Theophila, the young wife of a dour and priggish Scotsman, Fraser of Locheen, an awful example of the Highlander in modern society, as he may be found in and out of London, who insists on wearing kilts when they are no more appropriate than the Roman toga would be on an Italian, or a suit of chain-mail on an Englishman in a drawing-room. Theo thus complains to him:

"'Four or five months of Duncan and Hamish and their pipes! To and fro on the terrace, for a whole hour in the morning, those pipes! To and fro, up and down, all round the house, in the afternoon, those pipes! At dinner, from the trout to the banana, those pipes! And then the notion of your persistently dining in a kilt! A Highland costume on the moors—yes; but in the lamp-light—at dinner—'

"*Fraser.* 'It is my dress; I don't vary it.'

"*Theophila.* 'Think of it! A man and woman dining tête-à-tête for months and months; the woman hypped, weary; the novelty of her new clothes gradually wearing off; she feeling she is getting lean and plain with it all, salt-cellary about the shoulders, drawn and hideous—*(staring before her, her eyes dilating)*—and every blessed night the man in a magnificent evening kilt!'

"*Fraser.* 'Surely that too was "great fun" for a time?'

"*Theophila.* 'It might have been if you had the smallest sense of humor, Alec; but one soon tires of laughing alone. No, there was never any fun in that kilt. It got on my nerves from the beginning—the solemn, stupid stateliness of it. Girls are subject to creeps and crawls; I grew at last to positively dread joining you in the hall of an evening, to be frightened at giving you my arm to go in to dinner—the simple sound of the rustling of my skirt against that petticoat of yours made the chairs, everything, dance. At those moments old Duncan and his boy Hamish seemed to be blowing into the blood-vessels of my head. And during dinner even the table wouldn't help me; I was weak, hysterical—I declare to goodness I could always see through the thickness of the board—see two knees!'"

Theo must have known about the kilts and the pedantic character of their wearer from the beginning. His position is a higher one than that of her family, who are social strugglers, and she, a flirt, has been one of a triple alliance of girls called, from their intimacy in frolics, "The Three Musketeers."

Finding him obstinate, she goes for sympathy to John Allingham, and is so imprudent with him that his wife, a jealous vixen, sues for separation in the Divorce Court, where the judge, describing her behavior as "hardly characteristic of a woman who is properly watchful of her own and her husband's honor," gives Theo the "benefit of the doubt." Through all the ordeal Fraser stands by her, solemnly and frigidly, not without some shock to his own faith, and a wound for which he does not reproach her, though it reveals itself in an increasing coldness towards her. After the disgraceful publicity she has brought on him she might, one thinks, allow him to decide as to the best course for their immediate future. But, though she prettily and ardently pleads her penitence, it is as one drop of syrup in the brimming glass of the wormwood which she administers in the long tirade we have quoted against the kilts and the pipes. She pictures to him a to-morrow of happiness framed to accommodate all her own preferences and whims, a bagpipeless and kiltless serenity in which she shall have her own way, as she has always had it from childhood. Her penitence and cajolery include no concession to him, but are succeeded by an arrogant insistence on the things she wants to do, whether they accord with his judgment or not. His plan is to go into seclusion abroad for a period. She will not hear of it:

"We've *got* to sit tight here in town; we've *got* to do it to win back my good name. Of course we shall be asked nowhere, but we must be seen about together, you and I, wherever it is possible for us to squeeze ourselves. There's the Opera; we can subscribe for a box on the ground tier—the stalls can't help picking you out there. And there we must sit, laughing and talking, Alec, and *convince* people that we're a happy couple, and that you believe in me implicitly. And when the Season's done with, *then* Locheen; we must have Locheen crowded with the best we can lay hands on—many that wouldn't touch me with the tongs at this moment will be glad of a cheap week or two at Locheen in the autumn. And we must let 'em all see that I'm a rattling good indoor as well as outdoor wife, and that you're frightfully devoted to me, and that what *she* charged me with—well, simply couldn't have been. And afterwards they'll go back to town and chatter, and in the end the thing will blow over, and—and— Oh, but to go abroad *now!* Alec, dear old boy, how could you dream of cutting and running *now?*"

He insists on the Continent, however, and in her rebellion she leaves the house and seeks Jack Allingham in his country cottage to say good-by to him before hiding herself she knows not

where. There her family and Fraser follow her in hot haste, and there she is discovered by the nagging Mrs. Allingham also and betrayed into a proposal that Jack shall run away with her. Mrs. Allingham condones the past, and punishes Jack enough by ransoming him for a future in which there can be no doubt that she will be the same as she has always been—a restless and unbalanced woman, a weathercock of passion, who loves and hates fitfully, and veers between abject contrition and paroxysms of rage and denunciation. Among Theo's relations and partisans are the Bishop of St. Olpherts and his wife, and they take her home to the episcopal palace with them, the inference being that under their protection she will elude censure and in the end return to her husband.

Through all the later scenes she appears as a martyr, and Mr. Pinero plainly wishes to divert all sympathy to her, despite her folly and the shame it has brought to Fraser. He is cold and unlovable — in the commonest sense of the word pragmatic. Another and more ardent and magnanimous husband might have been more generous with her, sworn to an unshaken faith in her, laughed at her escapade with an easy sense of humor and promised never to wear kilts any more. But the average man would have been as sore and quite as severe as Fraser was, expecting some docility in her and some compliance with his wishes as a condition of reconciliation. Mr. Pinero does all he can to make Fraser odious, but the Lord of Locheen, prig as he is, dry and mirthless as he is, remains a gentleman, who has chosen a wife too frisky for him. Mr. Pinero is a "hanging judge" for him, and reminds us of the magistrate in the Aberdeen court who could not control his delight as the evidence against the prisoner at the bar became more and more damning. "Peet it doon, Mr. Clerk, peet it doon!" the Scotch magistrate gleefully cried at points in the testimony which fastened the guilt on the prisoner, to whom he would turn with a shake of the head: "Ah, ma ma'an, we're getting a fine case against you, ma ma'an."

Mr. Pinero is obsessed by Theo, and obviously intends that, absolved by the Bishop, she shall return to poor Fraser as wayward and as self-willed as ever, and that he, crushed to the earth and broken in spirit by his tyrannical spouse, shall discard his kilts and banish Duncan and Hamish forever.

Mr. Pinero takes our breath away in amazement by his prodigious cleverness in epitomizing situations and characters. All that happens in "The Benefit of the Doubt" occurs between one afternoon and the next, and within that time we are familiarized with twelve people, who remain with us substantially, definitely and vividly as old friends and acquaintances.

Good as "The Benefit of the Doubt" is, it is probable that endorsement would not be lacking for a declaration that "The Gay Lord Quex" is Mr. Pinero's masterpiece. In that play also the period of action does not extend beyond twenty-four hours, and in that period all the people in it are presented with such perspicacity that before the end we know them through and through. In it the frivolity, the vanities, the insincerity and the indecencies of fashionable London are faithfully woven into the story of two wills striving for supremacy with so much ingenious, witty and unexpected strategy that the spectator follows it with consuming curiosity and suspense as to the issue, though the combatants are only a rakish marquis and a pert Cockney girl. No dramatist ever achieved more in the art of enucleation than Mr. Pinero has done in this play, which never for a moment drifts into irrelevancy or flags in its engrossing intensity. One can imagine the author polishing it over and over again, removing every excrescence, cutting it like a lapidary, turning it over from every point of view, and, with tireless endeavor for perfection, withholding it until every facet irradiates light, and he reaches the limits of his capacity for improving it.

Sophy Fullgarney is not a lady, except in the significance the word acquires by the emphasis of italics or the addition of quotation marks. Lord Quex describes her in his rage as "a low spy; an impudent, barefaced liar; a common kitchen cat who wriggles into the best room, gets herself fondled and then spits." But that is only because she thwarts him, and later his admiration for her is confessed in a handsome apology. When she spies and lies, which she does unblushingly, it is to protect her foster-sister. When she scratches, her claws, sharp as they are, do not inflict an adequate punishment. She will rather sacrifice herself than the object of her adoration. Her affection is boundless; her fealty irreversible and irreducible; her resources are equal to all the astuteness and ingenuity of her far better educated and much cooler headed adversary. Yet she is nothing more than a

common Cockney girl, pure in an impure atmosphere; sharp-tongued, but true-hearted; sophisticated in knowledge and alert in the arts of intrigue; no paragon of modesty, though militantly and impregnably chaste. How artful she is as she thrusts and parries with Quex when she seeks to betray him into a flirtatious indiscretion, in order that she may expose his character to her foster-sister!

The little manicurist is the most amusing of all Mr. Pinero's women, and is worth more than all the Theos ever born. She alone among those we have mentioned has in her the making of a normal and satisfying wife to any man chosen from her own class; and, as her betrothed is a practitioner of the allied art of palmistry, in what American newspapers call the "most fashionable and exclusive circles," and on a social and professional level with her, we are assured for once that matrimony will not be failure.

In the latest of all Mr. Pinero's plays, "His House in Order," the husband is not unlike Fraser of Locheen, and is held up to reprobation because, prim and methodical himself, he complains of such shortcomings as his wife's untidiness instead of accepting her as she is—venial in her faults, sterling in her merits. That is what he should have done; and it is what any unwashed and uncombed philosopher, not to speak of a real hero, would do spontaneously. But a neat and precise man of conventional habits strung to a woman who is careless of her appearance—who takes her dogs to bed with her! There we are sure to have trouble! An average man would bear deeper wounds with less irritation than the pricks of such a wife's loose pins. He would have to be a transcendentalist in abstraction, a stoic in endurance, and a saint in patience to keep her angelic qualities in mind while her dogs scratched themselves on her train and his knees, though better protected than Fraser's, itched under the table.

She may be an angel, but if she litters the house with loose feathers; if she does not preen herself and air her wings; if, when she rustles herself, the dust flies from her and lodges in his nose and eyes, it is not to be wondered at that he secretly wishes that she had less of heaven in her composition and more of the tangible and visible virtues of a simple and efficient housewife.

WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

THE OUTCOME OF THE SOUTHERN RACE QUESTION.

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

EVER since the earliest Colonial days two distinct centres of social and political life have existed in Anglo-Saxon America,—the South and the North; both sprung from about the same social strata in England, the bone and sinew in each case made up of yeomen and artificers, with a sprinkling of gentry. Differences, first of climate and pursuits, then of social, and especially of labor, systems early sprang up and have continued to the present day; so that the Northerner in the South and the Southerner in the North both find something unfamiliar, striking, perhaps unwelcome. Still, the mutual acquaintance and respect acquired through four years of intimate enmity, through travelling back and forth on both sides of the line, through the common interest in orders, churches, fraternities and learned societies, have gone far to break down artificial barriers. Men from the North and South may be warm, and even intimate, friends; may recognize in each other kindred aims; may stand together in the onward march of civilization; but they have different problems to solve and seem to each other to apply different standards.

Those problems are, in both sections based upon labor and capital; the Northern man is perplexed by the immigrant, the trades union, the employers' association, and the trust. Most of these issues the Southern man experiences in less degree; but the vast and absorbing problem before him is that of the relation of two races: for emancipation did not remove the fundamental difficulty—the presence of a non-European race, formerly servile, and permanently inferior to the white race in capacity and power of progress. The old abolitionists, the emancipators, and the framers of the reconstruction acts, were all affected by the belief,

which seemed justified by the experience of foreign immigrants, that freedom would bring out a latent manhood, would develop a sense of responsibility. If, as many people supposed, the negro were a black white man, a belated scion of civilization, the race problem would now be very different; but forty years' experience has shown that though individual negroes, especially those having some white blood, show high capacity and some of them rise to greatness, and though most individuals of the race can profit by education, still the average of the negro race is much below that of the white race. The negroes as a people have less self-control, are less affected by ultimate advantages, are less controlled by family ties and standards of personal morality, than the average even of those white people, immigrants or natives, who have the poorest chance and are the least educated and civilized.

Alongside this race difference is a race prejudice, which, though it ultimately rests on a feeling of superiority, would probably be even more active if the races were equal. It is the feeling of the Irishman for the Hungarian, of the Southwesterner for the Mexican, intensified by the fact that the negroes have so recently been the bondslaves of the whites. This strong race feeling, from which the North is not free, is an absorbing difficulty in the South because the negroes are so widely distributed. Outside of the mountains and some hill districts, they are found in large numbers in every State, every city, and nearly every county. In the two States of Mississippi and South Carolina, they are more numerous than the whites; and in some localities, such as the Yazoo Delta in Mississippi, the Black Belt of Louisiana, and the Sea Islands, they are ten to one or even a hundred to one. Almost every community in the South, therefore, has its share in the troubles that come about from the existence of two unequally matched races living side by side; one of which has most of the property and directs the industrial enterprises, while the other furnishes the greater part of the hired labor of the South.

Some Southern writers are inclined to make little of the race question, but most intelligent people as well as the influential newspapers and periodicals not only perceive a danger but dwell upon it and expand it. The remedies proposed take on every variety of form, but may be reduced to six groups of suggestions: the remedy of fusion; the remedy of race separation; the remedy of legislation; the remedy of violence; the remedy of vassalage;

and the remedy of uplift. To these various ideas in succession this article will be devoted.

I.—Remedy of Fusion.—Alongside of the conception of race superiority, and in part dependent upon it, is the well-founded belief of nearly all the whites that amalgamation would be a great misfortune for the community. Nevertheless, one hears occasionally the prediction that the mixture of the races will be the eventual outcome. A reason for this belief, which few entertain and fewer express, is the supposed experience of mankind. It is urged over and over again that history presents no example of two races living side by side indefinitely without uniting. Still more striking is the fact that there is already a partial mixture of the two races: out of the ten million people classed as negroes, probably two million have some white blood, and of these something like three hundred thousand to five hundred thousand are the children of white fathers. That miscegenation has gone on, and is still going on to an unknown degree, heightens the alarm and makes the South more determined that there shall at least be no legalized admixture of the races. Nor are examples lacking of two peoples living for centuries side by side with little mixture: Mohammedans and Hindoos, in India, have been separate for centuries; the English colonies in North America exterminated the Indians with very little race connection. Amalgamation could only be accomplished by a change in white sentiment about as probable as the Mormonization of the Northern whites; and, if it were possible, it would lead to a new and worse race question, the rivalry of a mixed race occupying the whole South against a white race in the rest of the country, which would make all present troubles seem a pleasant interlude. Amalgamation as a remedy welcomed by the Southern whites is unthinkable; as a remedy against their convictions, brought about by time, it is highly unlikely.

II.—Remedy of Race Separation.—Realizing the clash of races, a group of writers and agitators urges that the races be mechanically separated. The most obvious means would be to send the negro race out of the country, an idea now more than a century old, but hedged about with impossibilities. The first is the financial difficulty: to carry away and establish ten million people in some other part of the world would cost not less than two thousand million dollars, which must be paid by a people

depleted by the removal of ten millions of its productive population. In the second place, would a world which still has tears for the Acadians deported from Nova Scotia in 1755, be impressed with the high civilization of a nation which should send ten million people to their death in a continent where neither Briton, Frenchman, Portuguese, nor German, with all their resources, prudence and medical skill, can live? In the third place, there is not a State, city or county populous with negroes in the South which would not resent, and if need be resist, the sudden taking away of its laborers.

A milder suggestion is that the essential negro be slowly and quietly replaced by somebody else. What somebody else? Shall it be Northerners? Northern settlers in the South are few, and in any case do not replace the negro laborer for wages. Hence the only hope of a new contingent of plantation hands is in foreign immigration, which shall be vigorous enough to supersede the negro. Great efforts have been made in the last few years to induce foreigners to settle in the South: several States have set up immigration bureaus; at the immigrant station on Ellis Island immigrants are informed of the opportunities in the South; last year the government of South Carolina paid the passages of about five hundred immigrants; and a few plantations in Louisiana and Mississippi are manned by Italians or Bulgarians. Yet, so far, the whole attempt has been a failure. Outside of Texas only about five thousand immigrants landed in the South in twelve months. The few Italians who have been a few years in the country have no intention of spending their lives as plantation laborers; they work so well that they save money enough to do something that they like better. The South Carolina immigrants were so discontented, and wrote home such complaints, that the steamship companies would bring no more; and Mr. Gadsden, Commissioner of the State, reports that "Our attitude throughout the South to white labor will have to be materially altered before we can expect to have the immigrant satisfied to remain as a laborer with us."

If the negroes can neither be removed nor replaced, would the races get on more harmoniously by living in separate communities? There are many counties and a few towns into which negroes are not allowed to come; there are perhaps half a dozen negro villages in which no white man lives. Such negro towns

(of which Mound Bayou, Mississippi, is the best known) seem to be as thriving as the neighboring white places, and furnish an opportunity for the negro professional man, banker and business man. It has been suggested that the principle might be extended by permitting the negroes to take over some State and carry it on as a negro community. The instant query is, Which State? For the whites are everywhere in the ascendant, and have not the remotest intention of abandoning any of the communities that they control.

The only other way of diminishing race pressure is the so-called "race segregation," which means that in every city and town the negroes are to occupy separate quarters, go to separate schools, ride in separate sections of the street cars, use separate sidewalks, buy in separate stores, have separate churches, places of amusement, social organizations, banks and insurance companies. Race segregation on a large scale is impossible, because the greater part of the rural negroes are dependent on white landowners and merchants for their rented land or employment or advances. The Southern business man is hardly likely to look quietly on a new commercial organization in which the negro retail trade shall go wholly to negro merchants. The thing which most ameliorates race relations is the dependence of the negro on white employers, and the dependence of many lines of business on negro custom.

III.—Remedy of Legislation.—If the races are to live side by side, cannot something be done to keep them in harmony by special legislation directed against the propensities of the lowest class? There is a movement against negro dives, some of which are loathsome places, but often with white proprietors and white customers. Perhaps an efficient vagrant law might bring upon the hopelessly idle negroes—the sponges of their race—the dread punishment of work. The vagrant laws of the South, however, play into an iniquitous system by which sheriffs make money in proportion to the number of prisoners and the length of time they spend in jail. The wave of prohibition which is now dashing over the South is due, in great part, to the conviction of employers of labor in cotton mills, in industries and on the plantations, that they lose money because their laborers are irregular and unreliable through drunkenness. If the movement is intended to shut off the stream from the white man's throat

as well as from the dusky man's, it will probably increase both earnings and savings. Perhaps the legislation that is most needed is an efficient system of rural mounted police, something like the old patrols. Bills for that purpose in Georgia and South Carolina have, however, been resisted on the ground that white men might be obliged to give an account of themselves as well as negroes. The real difficulty of reform by legislation is that it does not necessarily raise the character of either element of the population, and that it very little affects the spirit of race hostility.

IV.—Remedy of Violence.—The remedy most frequently invoked in the South, most widely applied and most strenuously defended, is to terrorize the negro. Everybody knows that human life is less sacred in the South than in almost any other part of the civilized world. Fierce and ungovernable passions, assassinations and street brawls (usually miscalled duels) are shockingly frequent in both races. White men are occasionally killed by negroes, negroes are frequently killed by white men. Against the negro some public speakers and many newspapers are constantly exciting prejudice and rancor. Thomas Dixon, Jr., has in the most public manner asserted that nobody can believe that the white race "will allow the negro to master his industrial system, take the bread from his mouth, crowd him to the wall and place a mortgage on his house. . . . What will he do when put to the test? He will do exactly what his white neighbor in the North does when the negro threatens his bread—kill him." This is an incitement to murder men, not because they do ill, but because they make themselves of use to the community in which they live. Of course, the whole South cannot be held responsible for such sanguinary utterances; but upon whom shall the burden of crime be laid for the Atlanta riots of last year, in which, according to the testimony of resident white men, not one of the ten negroes killed was a criminal or so much as charged with any offence; and in which twenty white men known to be murderous rioters were indicted for misdemeanor, and not one has ever been brought to trial?

The readiest form of terror is lynching and the threat of lynching, a system about which many people in the South hold a series of conventional beliefs, many of which have been uprooted by Dr. Cutler's recent book on "Lynch Law." It seems

to be commonly believed in the South that lynching is a widely distributed practice; that it is seldom applied except to negroes, and to them only for the crime of rape. Dr. Cutler shows that, of late years, there are hardly any lynchings in the Eastern and Central States of the North; that, of 3,328 recorded lynchings from 1882 to 1903, 2,060 were of negroes, of whom 707 (an average of 32 a year) were lynched for supposed violence to women, 816 for murder, and the remainder for all sorts of offences, down to refusing to give testimony. That a community like the South, with such a proud sense of the supremacy of the white race, should be thrown into a frenzy of excitement by the deeds of less than a hundred abandoned negroes every year out of about three million adult black men, is one of the strange and terrible things in the situation; but no stranger than that for the crimes of those hundred men ten million of their race should be held responsible.

Some things, however, do not go by statistics, and the thirty or forty crimes of violence every year affright the whole white population. Perhaps something might be accomplished by special courts set up on the model of similar tribunals in slavery times, with power to deal with certain aggravated crimes outside the technicality of ordinary criminal law. If the negroes would deliver up those of their own number whom they suppose to have committed such crimes, they would do much to relieve the tension. Lynching is approved by most Southern whites, as is shown by the fact that nobody has ever been severely punished in the South for taking part in a lynching; but it is the worst and most ineffective of remedies for race troubles. Lynchings frequently degenerate into mere orgies of blood. As a young Southern white says: "You don't understand how we feel down here: when there is a row, we feel like killing a nigger whether he has done anything or not." These extraordinary remedies are not necessary if the white people of the South will make their own courts and sheriffs do their duty, insist on speedy trials and swift and orderly punishment, and disgrace and drive out of society men who take upon themselves the hangman's office.

V.—The Remedy of Vassalage.—Northerners hardly realize how different are the conditions of labor and industry in the South from those with which they are familiar at home. The Northern agricultural "hired man" frequently sits at the family

table; in the South there is still the relation of master and hand, and a tendency to keep the field negroes in a low and stationary condition. A large plantation is a workshop rather than a farm; rich cotton lands mean wealth only if the owner can find good laborers; but there are few planters who are willing to break up their holdings and sell them out to small farmers, because that takes away their occupation. The negro is therefore likely to be valued, not at what he can produce under the most favorable circumstances, but at the profit which he can make for his landlord or employer as a field laborer on wages.

The tendency of this system is to make the negro at best a peasant, and that is a word which is unwelcome in America. The European peasant is an hereditary laborer, usually on the land of another, who leaves it to other people to carry on the state; and that is not far from the present status of more than half the negroes in the South. The question is whether that is a permanent relation, or whether the negro will improve till he can provide for himself—work his own land or become a tenant on advantageous terms. To settle down on a peasant system would mean that the South must remain in the lower stage of economic progress which goes with such a system.

Even where the negro is working the little tract of twenty to thirty acres which is the ordinary tenant farm, or where he is on his own land, he is usually the dependent of some white man. To be sure, the same is true of the small white farmer and even of the considerable planter. The system under which a large part of the land-workers of the South have spent a year's income before their annual crop is sold, with its accompaniments of crop mortgages, debt, usury and occasional ruin, is one of the principal obstacles to the economic advance of which the South is capable, and accents race hostility.

One concomitant of the advance system is peonage, which in its mildest form means that nobody is expected to hire a negro who owes a debt to his employer unless the new master pays that debt and transfers it to himself. The negro who leaves his crop unfinished is in many cases simply pursued and brought back, without bothering sheriffs or juries. In a more aggravated form, peonage is the transfer and sale of a man's services through the operation of iniquitous laws and courts. The Southern States all, by law or constitutional enactments, prohibit im-

prisonment for debt; but several of them also have laws under which the laborer who incurs a debt which he cannot pay is considered to be guilty of "false pretences" and subject to the same punishment as though he had stolen the money; being convicted, and fined as a punishment, he may then be turned over by the court to some planter to work out his fine, not unlikely to the employer with whom he has just had a row. In its worst form peonage is the virtual slavery of a man or woman who, either under color of one of these leases of convicts, or in sheer defiance of all law, is compelled to serve on terms made by his master. Nobody knows how much or how little there is of this aggravated form of peonage, but there have been a dozen or more trials and a few convictions. Nevertheless, one of those slave-keepers in Alabama—the Legree of this decade—who about two years ago whipped a woman peon to death, has never suffered the slightest punishment for that misdeed. Of all the remedies for race troubles this is the worst, both because it is a hateful perversion of the power of the superior race, and because it discourages and enrages a thousand laborers for every one whose forced labor is thus secured.

VI.—The Remedy of Uplift.—All the remedies so far suggested for the acknowledged difficulties in the South are based upon the idea that the negro can be improved only by some forcible process that is distasteful to him; but the regeneration of a race, as of mankind, must proceed from within and work outward. The most obvious remedy for race troubles is, if possible, to bring both races up to a higher plane, where thrift, intelligence and reason shall have more sway. The white race is visibly on the up grade; the old-fashioned poor white described by Olmsted and sketched by Porte Crayon can scarcely be found anywhere in the South outside of the mountains; the backwoodsman has at last waked up to the fact that, in his turpentine, his timber, the minerals under his land, he has the elements of wealth; he is building better houses, providing better schools, raising better crops. Can the negro come up to a similar standard; and will he be allowed to reach it if he can? The general opinion of white people upon the ground is that a part of the race, probably one-fourth or one-fifth, is doing reasonably well and getting forward in the world. All over the South some negroes are buying land, which, once paid for, they cling to

with all their might. There is a wide-spread belief in the South that the negroes have retrograded since slavery times. That impression appears to be due, in large part, to the negroes in the small towns, who have left the plantations and find no steady employment such as is open to them in large cities. The negro is not industrious or steady as a domestic or an odd-job man; but on the land, in the sawmills and the turpentine forests, he works about as well as white wage-hands in similar pursuits. Somebody must have done some sort of work since 1865, in order to accumulate the five hundred millions of property which the members of the race in the South incontestably own. The negroes are not as a race crowded out of the skilled trades. In some cities, white laborers have taken their places; in others, they still do practically all the building and are engaged in a variety of trades.

Five hundred million dollars is only about a fortieth of the wealth of the South, and the negro surely needs every incitement to intelligence and thrift. While the average negro is held back by licentiousness and the night-prowling habit which seems characteristic of the race, the negro public schools, which did not get under way till after 1871, are doing much to raise the standards of the race. In 1865, probably ninety-five per cent. of the negroes over ten years of age were illiterate; now it is only about fifty per cent., and that does not tell the tale, for, among negro children of school age, nearly three-fourths can read and write, and the proportion is increasing. The Southern States provide secondary education for about fourteen thousand negroes and for about five thousand agricultural, normal and industrial students in higher institutions, besides those educated by endowed schools and colleges.

How far are these schools efficient? A favorite misapprehension in the South is the belief that classical education has somehow unfavorably affected the negro race. Inasmuch as the total number of negroes studying Greek and Latin in 1906, both in secondary and higher schools, was under two thousand, as against sixteen hundred thousand children in the common schools, it would seem that the evil has not as yet penetrated very deeply. The great defect of the colored schools is the lack of trained and intellectual teachers. The South missed its best opportunity to keep in

touch with the negroes and carry them forward in civilization when it refused to permit the young white people to teach the negroes, as the mistresses and children had often done in slavery times. Charleston, South Carolina, is the only large city in which the teachers of the negro public schools are white women, and it can hardly be supposed that those teachers inculcate doctrines of social equality in the minds of their pupils. Education is not a panacea for any race or country; there are educated white men in Sing Sing and proprietors of bucket-shops can read, write and cipher; but a large Mississippi planter says: "You cannot send these people out to fight the battle of life hopelessly ignorant—you cannot, through the helplessness of ignorance, make him the slave of every white man, with no master's protection to shield him."

The capacity of the negro race to take on higher education is contested, though there cannot be any doubt that many mulattoes and some full-bloods have shown high powers of acquisition, forcible use of the mother tongue, and great capacity of personal leadership. The immediate race issue is whether the ordinary, average negro shall be allowed to take on that degree of education, and exercise that degree of self-control and thrift, of which he is capable. There is a school of Southern writers which frankly asserts that the real danger is that the negro will do well. As Thomas Dixon, Jr., says: "Make the negro a scientific and successful farmer, and let him plant his feet deep in your soil, and it will mean a race war." This astonishing doctrine appears to rest upon the delusion that the prosperity of the negro race must somehow be at the expense of the white people. The experience of mankind, the development of the North, shows that, where the working classes are most intelligent and most productive, the other classes of society are most advantaged. In a community where at present the whites, who are two-thirds of the population, hold thirty-nine fortieths of the property, the better off the negro becomes the more likely he is to furnish business and profit for the white people. There is no reason in the nature of things why thrifty negroes and prosperous whites should be more hostile to each other than ignorant negroes and unprogressive whites.

That there is an element in the South, numerous and outspoken, which distinctly hates the negro, would like to drive him

out of the country, and, failing that, wants to keep him in a condition of economic dependence, is shown by the speeches and articles of a few recognized champions of white supremacy, and still more by the expressions of a multitude of white men who live in the midst of negroes. The assistant manager on a plantation, whose livelihood depends on raising a good crop, is exasperated because the negroes do not produce more, and has nothing but ill to say of them; but alongside this class stands a great body of thinking Southern people, who seek the elevation of both races and especially of that which needs it most, not only on philanthropic and religious grounds, but because they believe that the prosperity of the South depends on developing more efficient labor. There is a great cohort of plantation owners, large employers, progressive and public-spirited members of bench and bar, enlightened clergy, college professors, thoughtful business men, who believe, as much as the negro hater, that the race is inferior to the white race, which disclaims and abhors a mixture of the races, yet which expects the negro to remain, to improve, and to help to build up the community. At present that element seems to be dominant in the South.

The Southern problem is thus brought down in its last analysis to the simple question whether the two races can permanently live apart and yet together. That depends, in the first place, on the capacity of the negro to improve far enough to take away the reproach now heaped upon him; and, in the second place, on the willingness of the whites to accept the deficiencies of negro character as a part of the natural conditions of the country, like the infertility of some of the Southern soil, and to leave to him the opportunity to make the most of himself.

In a word, the remedy is patience. Dark as things look in the South, it is subject to the mighty forces of self-interest, of the spirit of humanity, of practical Christianity; if they are applied to the problem, it is not insoluble. The races can live alongside each other, and co-operate, though one be superior to the other. The superiority only throws the greater responsibility on the upper race. Nobody has given better advice to the South than Senator John Sharp Williams: "In the face of this great problem, it would be well that wise men think more, that good men pray more, and that all men talk less and curse less."

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

TOO MUCH SUCCESS.

BY EDWARD S. MARTIN.

THE fortunate people—the truly fortunate—are not so much those who succeed in life as those who succeed in living. There are some who do both; many who do neither, and some who do either one, but not the other. Success in life, so called, can be overdone, but hardly success in living. It seems possible to succeed too much in various lines of attainment legitimate and sincerely profitable in themselves, but success in living involves getting the most out of life, not in a day or a year or a decade, but in a lifetime. That involves living wisely, and you can't live too wisely. If you could, and did, it would be unwisdom, and that would be a contradiction in terms.

Of course, succeeding too much is not, and is not likely to be, a common mistake. Comparatively few people ever get a chance to fall into it. The great majority of adventurers don't succeed enough. To succeed notably calls for qualities that are rare; very valuable qualities, most of them. Yet there are familiar cases of success so commonly held to have been overdone that consideration of them will at least be helpful to discussion. The basis of the prevailing jealousy of trusts and corporations is the feeling that some of them have succeeded too much. Those that have failed—a great number—have not excited jealousy. They have merely brought sorrow to their stockholders.

In particular, there is one great and conspicuous corporation that set out years ago to succeed in business, and managed its concerns with such energy and sagacity as to make its methods a model for its rivals and neighbors, and its name the very synonym for success in trade. The man who managed it showed a genius for business. The associates whom he chose were almost without exception able, self-controlled, decent-living men; astute

adventurers and tireless workers. The leader was indomitable and insatiate. No degree of success in the field he had chosen satisfied him so long as any further degree was imaginably possible. No measure of commercial success that had ever before been set served as the limit to his aspirations. He aimed to get all there was in the business without concern whether there would be anything left in it for anybody else, or for what anybody before him had been satisfied to get out of any business. An ambitious person, certainly. His methods need not here be discussed,—whether they were lawful according to the laws of their time, whether they were moral according to the business standards of their day, whether they were unwarrantably ruthless. There was no question of their effectiveness, for by them he succeeded in his aims to a degree unmatched in familiar history. He enriched himself preposterously, enriched also every one who cast his lot in with him and left it there, and made the corporation of which his spirit was the soul the most remarkable—perhaps the greatest—business concern in the world.

Get away now from the personality of this man of commercial genius and consider merely his corporation. Did it succeed too much? There are, no doubt, gospel and philosophical reasons for saying that it did, but pass them by as inapplicable to a corporation. There is no certain indication of over-success in the mere possession by its shareholders of embarrassing riches. There may be such a thing as too much money, and some of them may suffer from it, but all that is hopelessly debatable. The corporation money may not be worth to some of its possessors all that it has cost; less at less cost might, and probably would, have left some of them in a better case to pursue happiness, but that, too, is too large and vague a field to wander in. It seems more to the point to suggest that when the corporation succeeded so much as to disturb the balance of things, and imperil the stability of that attitude of the public mind on which its own permanent prosperity as a corporation depended, it crossed the safety line. This happened when it had succeeded so profusely, and left so many crushed and yelling competitors squirming in its wake, as to force it upon the attention of the more thoughtful of the half-admiring, half-deprecating spectators that like success procured by like methods by a few score of other corporations in other lines of business would leave the population of the United States in

bondage to monopolies. Then the spectators began to suspect that it had succeeded to a degree that threatened the commercial, and indirectly the political, liberties of the people, and in that suspicion there were the seeds of discomfort for that corporation. It seems then a purely secular and material opinion that when its success had made (or seemed to make) compulsory its own restriction, the prohibition for the future of some of the methods it had grown by, and the curbing of its imitators, it had gone somewhat too far. It had achieved a prodigious, a monstrous, success in life, but, even for a corporation, a dangerously imperfect success in living.

Take another case.

It is admitted that a lively interest in athletics is very good for the young men in the colleges, and that it is important that it should be as widely diffused among them as possible. It is good for them to play together; good for them physically, socially and morally, and the good of it is recognized in all the more favorably situated colleges by ample, and often costly, provision of boat-houses, and broad fields for football, baseball and all the other out-door sports. Almost every college president would be glad to have every one of his young men devote a part of every working day to some lively out-of-door sport. The open-air exercise is good for them, and the democratic influences of games and physical contests is excellent. And as competition is the life of trade, so from the first it has been recognized as the life of college sport; so that the contests between the colleges that began in this country—more than half a century ago—with a boat-race between Yale and Harvard, came about naturally, and have extended to practically all the colleges, and to nearly all the sports in which undergraduates engage. But the colleges have rapidly increased in numbers, and have kept growing bigger and bigger, and the contests between them have multiplied and every year gained in importance, and interested more and more spectators, until conservative observers now complain that these competitions have lost their original and true function of encouraging undergraduates to take wholesome exercise and have wholesome fun, and tend rather to confine the active participation in athletics to a comparatively small body of undergraduate specialists who excel in them, and who are con-

strained to devote to them a good deal more time and energy than they can spare. This seems to be particularly true of football, which, though a valuable field sport in a great number of schools, public and private, all over the country, seems in the colleges to have become chiefly valuable as a means of advertisement.

Let us try to see what has happened to intercollegiate athletics to make such allegations as this seem reasonable.

There is a maxim to the effect that a thing that is worth doing at all is worth doing as well as you can. It is as handsome and engaging a maxim as there is in the book, and has the complexion of self-evident truth all over it. Nevertheless, it isn't so. There is a large abundance of things worth doing and necessary to do, and for each individual there are only a select few things that are worth doing as well as he can. The rest are only worth doing as well as he can afford to do them,—as well as he can do them in the time, and with the strength, that more important concerns permit him to spare to them. The trouble with intercollegiate athletics, and especially with football, about which there is the most complaint, has been this mistaken over-urgency of nearly all the colleges to do them as well as they possibly could, regardless of the claims of matters more important.

Take, for example, a college of notable distinction in sports, which has not been content to be in intercollegiate athletics merely for her health and incidental glory, but has thought it very important to be pre-eminent, and to that end has put her mind to excellent purpose in the work of organizing victory. Feeling that whatever she did was worth doing as well as she could, she has done her very best in athletics, and with magnificent results so far as winning goes. Not much sound complaint can be made about her methods—which are admirably effective—except perhaps this general one—if even this is sound —that she has, perhaps, been willing to pay more for success in athletics than it was worth, and has constrained the colleges that competed with her to pay, if they could, the same price that she did, under penalty of being beaten nine-tenths of the time.

I don't know that any of her competitors except one has ever shown any special reluctance to pay anything possible for athletic success, but one of them in a half-hearted way has hung back with some obstinacy from paying the price of victory. This one has not

wanted professional coaches, nor unduly protracted periods of preparation. She has wanted to take sport a little easier, spread it out a little thinner and wider, keep it on a lower level of execution more compatible with other interests, and try to get more fun out of it and more out-door exercise for more people. She has tried to get her chief competitor to see sport in the light that she did, and play with her on easier terms, but has not been able to get her preferences in these particulars respected. For the rival has gone straight on, getting better and better instruction for her oarsmen and football players, hiring such coaches or trainers as she needed to hire and drafting those worth drafting, and making the avocation of the university athlete more and more important and exacting and less and less reconcilable to the due development of his vocation as a student and the rounding out of his human nature. Of course in all the colleges the athletic avocation tends, among the leading athletes, to overtop and overshadow their vocation as students. No one college is to blame for that, but every college is to blame, in proportion as its influence in athletic matters has been potent and far-reaching, which has steadily made it harder to keep intercollegiate sport in its proper place. It sounds like flubdub to say that if this or that college, in her athletic methods, had been somewhat more slack, it would have been better for her and for all the colleges that compete with her. Maybe it is flubdub. Yet something like that must be the complaint if there is to be a complaint. The victories of the leaders in the current intercollegiate contests are won by the brains of graduates and hired men, and by the same means must be won any victories that are won by colleges that compete with them. Unaided, or slightly aided, undergraduates cannot win in the greater intercollegiate competitions of the present day. A football team, or a crew that is to compete on equal terms with the leading teams and crews, must have the longest and most exacting training compatible with the necessary minimum of college work and the uncontrollable idiosyncrasies of the North American climate, and must be directed in it by masters of such work, who give to it all the time that can be advantageously employed in it, let their other duties be what they may. If intercollegiate contests on these terms cost too much; if the strain of them is unwholesomely great on everybody concerned in them; if the damage they do to scholarship and the

mental and social side of education is not offset by the good they do to the moral and physical side of it; if, finally, they exact too great a sacrifice of time and energy from the students who take the leading part in them and who in some cases are virtually compelled to take it, then we may perhaps be warranted in feeling that intercollegiate athletics is suffering from some redundancy of success.

Take another case.

If a politician cannot achieve popularity he might as well go out of business. His power, for good or bad, depends upon his ability to win the liking and the confidence of the voters. If the voters don't know him, don't like him, and don't prefer him to somebody else, he cannot, in this country, go far on the road towards political preferment. If he aspires to high place, extended power, and great opportunities for public service or the gratification of his desires, he must make himself known to multitudes of people, and make them like him. That is the rule for all politicians, good or bad; for Lincoln or for Tweed; for Roosevelt or for Ruef. They are all aspirants for public favor, and they cannot do much unless they get it.

No American in recent times, if ever, has won the public favor to the extent that an eminent contemporary statesman had won it two years ago. No American in office was ever so popular as he was then. How did he do it? Undoubtedly he made a business of it, but it was a business for which he was remarkably qualified, and to which he applied himself with astonishing energy. His greatest single qualification for the job of making people like him was his great ability to like them. He is a very warm-hearted man, with the instinct to please, an enthusiasm for generous and noble ideals, and an extremely active, interesting mind with which to work upon the minds of others. His sympathies are very ready, and he has an unquestionable zeal to do the public the greatest service he can and put to rights everything that needs it. His method of practising the popular arts was, chiefly, to let himself out and behave according to his natural impulses. There was plenty of press-agent and bill-board work about his remarkable military career, but it was voluntary work, contributed *gratis* by the newspaper correspondents and bill-stickers, rejoicing to push along a good thing. Of course,

in certain particulars the luck went marvellously his way, but when Fortune's favors dropped in his arms, he never fumbled them, but dealt with them according to the impulses of his heart and the admonitions of his wits. The result was the accumulation of an all but boundless popularity, based very largely on sound reasons, and remarkably solid and durable, considering the rapidity of its growth. The trouble with it has been, not that it was too great to last, for it has lasted surprisingly, but that the enormous influence that it brought him, joined to the authority of office, gave him more power than he could handle wisely, and deprived him of checks that should have limited its use. Public opinion can restrain any officer of government, but it has been until recently of very little use as a brake to this one because he has controlled it, his popularity being so overwhelming as to make even reasonable opposition and reasonable criticism disastrously unsafe for members of his own party, and futile in any one else.

Besides that, popularity is a thing with a vast appetite that demands constant feeding. It is an instinct with most of us human creatures to hold what we have got, and try to add to it. We like to keep on rolling our snowballs, and we look to see where there is the most snow. There is a popular and disgusting maxim—disgusting because there is so much truth in it—that there is no such thing in affairs as standing still, and that when we cease to gain we begin to lose. It is that, in great measure, that keeps a great money-maker continually on the reach after more gains long after he has got enough; that that makes a college that has established the habit of winning in athletics look upon defeat as an unbearable calamity; that that makes a statesman contrive policies and press measures to hold his following. A general is bound to feed his army till he finishes the campaign. This statesman we have in mind, to fulfil his aims, had to feed his popularity, and fed it finally so many burning words and urgent purposes and autocratic actions that a very respectable and conservative element in the population came to be afraid of him, and to be solicitous that when his strenuous hands let go of the Republican sceptre it should pass to some milder man without so much reputation to maintain. It seems arguable, therefore, that he succeeded more than was profitable in the work of gaining popularity, since he got so much that it strained his resources

to feed it, and made thoughtful and friendly observers fear the consequences of its continuing to be fed. And it blinded him a little, too, making him feel that he must be right in almost everything he did, because the people were with him in such overwhelming majority. But they were with him, not because everything he did was wise, but because they believed in him and trusted in his character. For the people are pretty sound judges of character, but in their estimate of the wisdom of measures and the expediency of means they are a very untrustworthy guide.

Happily for him, and for his fame, and for the country, he had the remarkable sagacity to put an absolute limit, by a timely declaration, to his servitude to his own popularity. His notice given, in good season and in convincing form, of his purpose not to be again a candidate for the office he holds, was notice of a clear and final determination not to sacrifice the gains and the hopes of a remarkable success in living to any glamour of a possibly unprecedented success in life.

Too much success is that which is gained by the sacrifice of something worth more than itself. The great objection to it, outside of its own undesirableness, is that it disturbs the balance of things. It is unstable, impermanent, the exploit of imperfectly civilized people, carrying in itself the seeds of its own dissolution. If we are wise we shall not wish to tie up to it, nor to see our children allied with its exponents. Examples of it abound in history and in contemporary life. The Slave Power succeeded too much; the Tariff has succeeded too much; the San Francisco Labor Unions have lately done the same. Instances are very common of men who succeed too much in business or in speculation, lose their sagacity of judgment and come to crashing discomfiture. For all considerable success is a trial of character, and has its danger-point where the job begins to want to own the man.

The great, effectual remedy for dangers of that sort is the practice of the golden rule, and the resolute shifting of one's labors from self-aggrandizement and selfish accumulation, to the service of society. The men who have it in them to succeed too much are the ones whose labors it is most important to divert betimes from private concerns to the huge task of keeping order and prosperity in the world.

Is it a propensity that is peculiarly American, I wonder—this propensity to succeed too much? The examples of it that have been submitted above are typical American examples. Is it something in the air we breathe here that partially disqualifies some of our natural winners from knowing when they have won enough? Is it that our society is so restless and so rapacious that profitable living in it is too hard to achieve, and we are constrained to find such a substitute as we can for it in the headlong pursuit of success in life? Do our wheels turn too fast and wear us out with half futile revolutions? Sometimes it seems so. Certainly it seems true,—true for individuals and still more conspicuously and incontestably true for a people,—that success in life is mainly valuable as it leads to, or makes possible, success in living.

EDWARD S. MARTIN.

WHAT QUEBEC HAS MEANT TO THE UNITED STATES.

BY H. ADDINGTON BRUCE.

THREE hundred years ago this month, the foundations of Quebec were laid by Samuel de Champlain. Our neighbors to the north, properly appreciative of the notable part played in their history by the rugged rock city, are preparing to celebrate its tercentenary with twentieth-century pomp and magnificence. For nearly a fortnight there will be a succession of splendid pageants illustrating every phase in the city's development. The picturesque scenes connected with the coming of its founder, so graphically described by Champlain himself, will be re-enacted. The historic Plains of Abraham will once more ring with the tread of an armed host. Before onlooking thousands there will sweep a mighty fleet, dwarfing by its grizzly strength the craft that of yore gave battle on the waters of the lordly St. Lawrence. Living links with the wonderful past will be supplied by the presence of representatives of families tracing their descent back to the makers of Quebec—and to its conquerors. Frenchmen and Englishmen will fraternize on the spot where their ancestors fought and died, and both will be made royally welcome by the enthusiastic Canadians.

Americans will be there, too, and they should be there in goodly numbers; nor in the rôle of mere spectators. As a historical heritage, Quebec is theirs fully as much as it belongs to the people of Canada. It has exercised no less powerful an influence on their destinies than on the destinies of the Canadians. In fact, remote as the connection may seem, Quebec is well entitled to rank with Jamestown and Plymouth as a primal fountain of American liberty. In one way and another, almost from its beginning, it was a foremost factor in developing the

ideals that culminated in the Declaration of Independence. Not that it was a centre from which radiated sentiments of democracy and liberality. On the contrary, even in its days of infancy as a wilderness trading-post, it was a citadel of absolutism. And, as time passed, its absolutist characteristics became accentuated, until, on the eve of the conquest, they reached intolerable heights in the régime of the bureaucratic Vaudreuil and the infamous Bigot. Nevertheless, Quebec remained a vital force in stimulating and assisting the American people along the path of freedom.

In this respect its influence was felt, first of all and most of all, through what historians have termed the "hinterland movement." Sharply contrasting purposes animated the men from England and the men from France who, in the far-off years of early colonization, voyaged across the stormy Atlantic to take possession of the New World. The English came to America chiefly to win homes for themselves in a country where they would be free from the social, political and religious disabilities under which they had labored in their native land.* The French were inspired hardly at all by the home-building spirit. Desire to amass wealth, love of adventure and missionary zeal were their great motives. Consequently, while the English were content to establish themselves in compact settlements along the coast, the ardent French ranged far inland, making friends of the Indians, trafficking with them, Christianizing them. Champlain himself had little more than built his "habitation" at Quebec before he was up and off on the explorations that have contributed so greatly to his fame. Trader, adventurer and priest followed him, pressing steadily and rapidly towards the land of the setting sun. Within a decade of the founding of Quebec, a Recollet friar was laboring among the Lake Huron savages. Only a few years more, and the daring young Norman, Nicolet, was canoeing through Wisconsin's network of streams. A little later, and the black-gowned Jesuits were planting the Cross among the Indians of Sault Ste. Marie.

All this time the English colonists had made next to no progress, so far as westward expansion was concerned. By 1660, or twenty years after the Jesuits reached the Sault, the English "farthest west" was but a few beggarly miles from the coast, in

* This, of course, does not apply to the first English settlement, as the wealth motive predominated in the colonization of Virginia.

the upper valley of the Connecticut. In one important respect, however, the dwellers by the sea had far surpassed the pioneers of France, as the authorities in Quebec saw with undisguised alarm. In all Canada, including Acadia, the white population barely exceeded three thousand souls; in New England alone it was more than eighty thousand. Clearly, if the English continued to increase in this proportion, they would soon overflow into territory claimed by France. Already, indeed, there had been an armed invasion of Acadia by yeoman soldiery from New England. Something must be done to retard their development and at the same time strengthen French pretensions to New World dominion. Louis XIV, the most ambitious monarch who ever sat on the throne of France, lost little time in grappling with the problem once the control of French affairs passed into his powerful keeping. Troops and colonists were sent out, the trading company which had hitherto mismanaged the interests of New France was dissolved, and the colony was elevated to the status of a royal province. What was most important, King Louis found in Talon, Frontenac and La Salle a trio of servants zealous to advance the power and prestige of France.

With their advent a new and vigorous impetus was given to the hinterland movement, which for the first time became a definite part of French policy in America. It involved nothing less than the exploration and occupation of the vast Mississippi Valley, and the creation of a chain of forts and trading-posts designed to connect the mouth of the Mississippi with the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and to oppose an effectual barrier to the English did they attempt to cross the Alleghanies. The first steps in this gigantic programme were carried out by the building of Fort Frontenac in 1673; and, in the same year, by the epoch-marking voyage of Marquette and Joliet down the Mississippi. Thereafter, the advance of the French into the great valley progressed apace with the spectacular achievements of La Salle, Tonti, Iberville and Bienville. At the same time, as a means of masking their operations in the interior, and also for the purpose of weakening the English, the rulers of New France embarked on a policy of forceful aggression, enlisting the services of Indian allies for a series of devastating border raids.

Out of this grew the memorable Seventy Years War, usually subdivided by American historians into King William's War,

Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the French and Indian War. Except in its final stages, it was a conflict in which the English colonists were virtually left to fight their battles unaided by the Mother Country. Had this aid been given in anything like adequate degree, or had the colonies presented a united front, the war would speedily have come to an end. But such were the jealousies prevailing between colony and colony, union was quite out of the question, and the brunt of the fighting fell on the colonies most exposed to French attack. Even so, the merchants and farmers who rallied to the defence were not slow to meditate reprisals, and to plan conquest on their own account. They saw clearly that the seat of French power in America was Quebec; that Quebec furnished the base of operations for both red foe and white; and that until Quebec fell they could not hope for a lasting peace. As early as 1690—acting, it has been claimed, on the suggestion of Peter Schuyler, the first Mayor of Albany—a colonial Congress decided on a plan of campaign which had for objective the capture of Quebec and the conquest of New France. This attempt failed, as did several similar "glorious enterprises" launched during the next few years, and the advantage rested wholly with the French until Nicholson and Vetch conquered Acadia in 1710.

Meantime, the hinterland movement continued unceasingly, to the growing alarm of the British colonists, who began to appreciate in good earnest the menace it constituted to their future development. Their uneasiness was shared by many colonial officials, notably the Governor of Virginia, which colony laid claim to a vast extent of territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. But no representations could move the home authorities to action. Walpole's "era of good feeling" had set in, and not the slightest desire was felt to endanger the peaceful relations between England and France by a dispute over the possession of the mid-American wilderness. This attitude of selfish indifference and neglect was not lost on the colonists, already incensed at the greater favor shown the settlers of the English West Indies, whose interests had been promoted in every way possible. They did not waste breath, however, in vain reproaches; nor did they supinely allow the French to overrun them. Instead, they began a hinterland movement of their own, intended to cripple their adversaries by diverting from

Montreal and Quebec the rich fur trade of the interior, and to pave the way for trans-Alleghany settlement. And, keeping their eyes fixed steadfastly on Quebec as the source of all their woes, they awaited only a favorable opportunity to deal a crushing blow.

Their chance came with the War of the Austrian Succession, which saw England and France at odds once more. Aided by an English fleet, and led by a New England business man, four thousand colonial volunteers fought their way into the Cape Breton fortress of Louisburg, long accounted impregnable. "On to Quebec!" was then their cry, and from distant England thundered an echoing, "On to Quebec!" It seemed impossible for the Government to withstand the enthusiasm called forth by this valiant deed overseas. And, in fact, though only after painful deliberation, orders were sent to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, a veteran advocate of conquest, to raise an army for the invasion of New France, aid being promised in the form of an English squadron and a strong force of English regulars. The colonial troops were soon in waiting, but the promised assistance did not come. The Government, to tell the truth, was divided against itself, one faction wishing to end the war with France by obtaining peace at any price. More than this, after "Bonnie Prince Charlie's" futile attempt to regain the crown for the Stuarts, objections were raised on the ground that England needed her troops at home to repel a possible French invasion. In the end, notwithstanding the angry protests of ministers like the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Newcastle,* not only were the colonists again left to shift for themselves, but by the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in 1748, Louisburg was actually handed back to the French.

As a matter of course, this step was bitterly resented by the colonies and particularly by New England, the section which alone had sent its sons to the conquest of the Cape Breton stronghold. Reviewing the policy of the English Government since first the rulers of New France let loose the dogs of war from their kennel at Quebec, the colonists wrathfully told one another

* The statesmanship of Bedford and Newcastle has been quite generally underrated. A careful study of source material leads to the conclusion that Pitt gleaned from them, in large measure, the ideas which ultimately found expression in the new imperial policy of England, so successfully executed by the great war minister.

that the Mother Country cared not a whit for their welfare, that their difficulties and sufferings mattered nothing to her. Nor can it be safely argued that they were far wrong. But the time was drawing near when England, for her own sake if not for love of the colonies, would be forced to act in their behalf. Statesmen were beginning to realize that that great intangible principle known as the "balance of power," so long the motive force of international comity and international complications, had gradually shifted from Europe to America. Within a twelvemonth after Aix-la-Chapelle, official sanction was given to the colonial hinterland movement by granting to the recently organized Ohio Land Company a large tract of territory west of the Alleghanies. A little later, hearing that the French were secretly sending troops to Quebec and were striving to hamper English colonization in Acadia, the Duke of Newcastle drew up a furious memorial which would have meant war had not his peace-loving brother, Pelham, persuaded him to modify it. "If we lose our American possessions," he bluntly told Pelham, "or the influence and weight of them in time of peace, France will with great ease make war with us whenever she pleases hereafter." This unmistakably sounded a new note in English colonial statesmanship, as did the instructions sent to the colonial Governors in 1753 authorizing them to repel by force, if necessary, any invasion of English territory. Less than a year from the receipt of these instructions, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia hurried young George Washington into the western wilds to fire the shot which announced to the world that the Seventy Years War had entered on its last stage.

No need to retell here the familiar story of the titanic struggle which ended only with the fall of Quebec, the conquest of New France and the annihilation of French sovereignty in America. The important point to us is to note its significance to the English colonists, and the part they played in it. As had always been the case, the colonies most remote from the theatre of conflict showed only a half-hearted interest. Even those prompt to contribute money and men were at first sorely discouraged by the disasters brought about through the inefficiency of the commanders sent to them before the masterful genius of William Pitt dominated the war policy. And the ardor of the volunteers was further chilled, and their proper pride injured, by the open con-

tempt in which the regulars held them. Wolfe's splenetic outburst—when he denounced the colonial militia as "the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs, rather an encumbrance than any real strength to an army"—testified eloquently to the unreasoning, insolent prejudices entertained by the English soldiery in general. This, too, of men who, like their fathers and grandfathers before them, were fighting and dying in a cause that meant much to England, however signally England had failed to appreciate it.

But they could afford to disregard sneers and insults. They were battling in defence of their homes, and to them must be given a large share of credit for the triumph ultimately achieved. A careful historian, not an American, has estimated that, despite their lack of unity and harmony, the colonies put into the field more troops than were contributed by the Mother Country. It is true that they had scarcely any hand in the spectacular victories at Louisburg and Quebec, but they were pre-eminent in the inland campaigns essential to the complete subjugation of New France. Of the seven thousand men who marched with Forbes to the reduction of Fort Duquesne, five thousand were volunteers from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Bradstreet's contingent that mastered the ancient Fort Frontenac was recruited mostly from New England and New York. Colonials were the conquerors of Fort Niagara, the gateway to the Ohio Valley, and colonials made up almost half the army with which Amherst forced the surrender of the city of Montreal. Upon colonials, again, fell the heavy burden of defending the southern and southwestern frontiers against the attacks of the Indian allies of the French. It was thus that Washington got the military training which availed him so well a few years afterwards—and as with Washington, so with many others who were to win enduring fame in the heroic War of the Revolution.

Military training, however, was only one of the minor benefits accruing to the colonists from their seventy years of effort to win Quebec and thereby rid themselves of the French incubus. The long-continued struggle had developed in them to a conspicuous degree the spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence. It had helped them to appreciate their innate strength, and had conjoined with the influence of their wilderness environment to foster the qualities of alertness and resourcefulness. Over and

above all this, it had brought them far, however unconsciously, on the road to independence, by opening their eyes to the deep-rooted selfishness of the Mother Country. If further enlightenment were needed, it was furnished with the beginning of peace negotiations.

France had been utterly crushed by sea and by land, yet England could not possibly hope to reap the full fruits of victory. The most belligerent of English statesmen recognized the necessity of making concessions, as otherwise the Continental nations would rally about France, seeing in England no longer the champion of the "balance of power" but its arch-enemy and a deadly menace to the liberties of Europe. Spain's action in rushing to the assistance of France, even after France's cause had been lost, was a sufficient indication of what would happen did England insist on retaining all her conquests. Something must be surrendered, and, utterly oblivious to the interests of the American colonies, it was seriously proposed to surrender Canada and keep instead Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, and the other islands of the French West Indies which had been captured during the war. The debate that ensued was most mortifying and irritating to the colonists. There were few, outside of their agents, who insisted that their rights and desires should be consulted. On the contrary, the debaters on both sides argued as though the sole question were whether the retention of Canada or the retention of the West Indian Islands would be more profitable to England. It was, at bottom, a contest between the manufacturing and the wool-growing interests on the one hand, and the trading interests on the other, and Canada carried the day over the West Indies because the manufacturers and wool-growers proved too strong for the traders.

A popular argument with those who favored the return of Canada to France was the alleged fact that, if Canada were retained, the American colonists, being freed from the French pressure, would at once aspire to independence. This was denied, with the significant addendum that the colonies were too disunited to make an effective bid for freedom, and could not successfully defend their extended coast-line against the power of England.* Now, "suggestion," as we are daily becoming

* It is not without interest to note the other arguments advanced on both sides, as found in the pamphlet literature of the period. Those

more aware, is a potent force in determining the course of human events, and it may well be that the arguments advanced in the Canada-Guadeloupe controversy were influential in bringing the ideal of independence concretely before the eyes of the colonists. That controversy certainly could not heighten their love for England, whether or no they were even then consciously wavering in their allegiance. And, after all they had endured and the lessons they had learned in the Seventy Years War, it is not surprising that they openly voiced their discontent and made ready for stubborn resistance when England, immediately upon the conclusion of peace, abandoned her old-time policy of neglect in favor of a policy of active and obnoxious interference in their affairs.

As every one knows, discontent was succeeded by revolution, and once more the colonists found their fortunes powerfully affected by old Quebec. In the early spring of 1775, when it was realized that war could not longer be averted, they determined to invite the inhabitants of Canada to unite with them in the impending struggle to throw off the English yoke. But, notwithstanding the intrigues of local agitators, like Thomas Walker, of Montreal, and the impassioned pleas of emissaries from the American colonies, Canada remained loyal. Only the year before, the English Parliament had passed an act guaranteeing to the French-Canadians the free exercise of their religion, and they consequently had no ardent desire to join their fortune

who favored the retention of the conquered islands in the West Indies contended: (1) that the islands were economically far more valuable than Canada; (2) that their retention would deal a heavy blow to France's naval strength, as the possession of the sugar islands gave her special inducements to develop shipping and seamen; (3) that if Canada were kept there would be a heavy emigration from England, thus weakening the Mother Country; (4) that the retention of Canada would lead the American colonists to develop manufactures of their own; (5) that Canada *plus* the American colonies would form too extensive a dominion to be governed properly from a distance. To these arguments it was replied: (1) that there was no immediate need for further sugar-growing territory, whereas Canada was really needed to supply raw materials not otherwise available in England; (2) that France's naval greatness rested, not on the sugar islands, but on the Canadian fisheries; (3) that the retention of the islands, rather than the retention of Canada, would cause a heavy emigration from England, as the islands were so damp and unhealthy that they would constantly require repopulation; (4) that the American colonists would not develop manufactures, but would remain agriculturists, because of the vast extent of fertile land at their disposal; (5) that the difficulties of government would not be increased.

with those of a people who had explicitly denounced that act, and had uniformly shown themselves hostile to Roman Catholicism and Roman Catholics. The English-Canadians, of course, were differently situated, but they were in a feeble minority and, no matter how discontented they might be, were powerless so long as the French-Canadians held firm. And, still further to defeat the American overtures, there was in the palace of Quebec an English Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, able and willing to quell disaffection with an iron hand.

Friendly efforts coming to naught, a campaign of conquest was undertaken with the celebrated Arnold-Montgomery expedition. This is usually described as a gigantic failure, and failure it was in the sense that it ended in the complete repulse of the invading armies. Yet it was also of tremendous profit to the American cause. When Benedict Arnold, after the heart-breaking march through the Maine forests, was beaten back from Quebec's grim walls, he did not at once give over an attempt that had cost the brave Montgomery his life. Instead, he patiently laid siege to the city, holding it in close investment until the arrival of English reinforcements with the opening of navigation in 1776. Then, compelled to withdraw, he contested Carleton's vengeful pursuit with such desperate valor as to disrupt the carefully studied plan by which the English hoped to master the Hudson Valley, hem in New York and New England, and crush the Revolution in its incipiency. It is perhaps, then, no exaggeration to say that the manner in which Arnold conducted his retreat from Quebec was the saving of his country. So that, failure though the invasion was, it forms another and not the least impressive chapter in the story of Quebec's contribution to the making of the United States.

H. Addington Bruce.

ONE WAY OF GOVERNING MALAYS.

BY ELIZABETH WASHBURN WRIGHT.

THE Federated Malay States represent as complete a bit of executive mechanism as Great Britain or any nation may to-day boast of. There are four of them—Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan. They are touched in the north by four much-disputed states partially protected by Siam, and reach in the south to Johore and Singapore, which is the southernmost point of the Asiatic continent and misses the equator by a hair's breadth.

Johore is the one and only Malay state governed by its native head. It is, however, protected by Great Britain and submits its external policy to British supervision. Otherwise it holds an unique position of independence in the Peninsula. Singapore is on a tiny island separated from Johore and the mainland by a narrow strait.

On one side of the Peninsula stretch the Straits of Malacca, and on the other is the big wash of the China Sea. Malay, therefore, lies half-way between Ceylon and Hong-Kong, and within easy reach of that fragrant bunch of islands, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the lesser islets of the Archipelago.

Singapore was bought as a personal venture by Stamford Raffles in 1819, and it is to-day the coaling-station and calling-port of all the traffic that rides on Eastern seas. It is as well a formidable stronghold in case of war. Besides this, it is the chief and executive centre of the detached British colonies that dot the Straits of Malacca. There are five of these—a united Crown Colony, once forming an Indian Presidency, but at present owing allegiance to their Governor in Singapore and to the Colonial Secretary in London.

North of Singapore and nearest it in point of distance is Malacca, a quaint and historic town which has passed through

a picturesque and varied occupancy. Originally seized by the Portuguese in 1511, it was taken from them by the Dutch some hundred years later. This was followed in the next century by a temporary settlement by the English, who surrendered it again to Holland in 1808. Five years later, it passed finally into the keeping of Great Britain, who gave the Dutch in exchange the valuable and then unexplored island of Sumatra.

Two hundred miles farther up the coast lies a cluster of beautiful but practically uninhabited islands called the Dindings. These islands were the last acquisition of the Straits Settlements, having been taken in 1873 by the government in Singapore on the outbreak of the Malay disturbances.

The next of these colonies, the farthest north, is the island and town of Penang, or properly speaking Georgetown. This territory was bought and settled in the latter part of the eighteenth century in the interest of the East India Company. On the mainland directly opposite Penang is Wellesley Province, a narrow tract of rice-fields bordering the Straits. Here the so-called and badly called Straits Settlements end; Singapore, Malacca, Dindings, Penang and Wellesley Province—five pearls, as it were, on a broken string.

Practically all the steps leading to the acquirement of these detached territories were due to the personal energy and initiative of a few individuals, without the sanction or knowledge of the country for whose aggrandizement the work was being done. But common interests and common enemies gradually drew the little settlements together and brought them to the notice of Great Britain, who promptly amalgamated them and took them under her wing.

Their growth and government are well worthy of study. But in this paper I can only touch on their institutions as related to the government of the Malay States. This connection lies in the fact that the Governor of the Straits Settlements is also High Commissioner for the Protected Malay States. In this capacity, he has a voice in their external policy and in all matters not strictly confined within the jurisdiction of their Resident General. He likewise has power to reject or modify papers before submitting them to the Colonial Secretary, whose potter's thumb must give the final imprint to all clay from colonial kilns.

Here we cease finally with the marginal influences of the Malay

States, and now for the States themselves. Thirty-odd years ago they were disorderly, disorganized provinces under the rule, or misrule, of native rajahs or chiefs. These Malays were fishermen, hunters, pirates and despoilers of one another's peace and provinces. They carried their differences up and down their long rivers or confined them with slaughterous results within their tiny kampongs or villages. Again, banding together, they attacked unwary craft that ventured too near their shores.

They were in fierce and constant friction with the Chinese, who, led by the rumors of rich minerals in the Peninsula, had broken into their stronghold. Knowledge of the ferocity of these encounters, and of the general state of distraction existing amongst the Malays themselves, occasionally drifted to the outside world. These rumors had from time immemorial frightened away all would-be invaders. The undesirability of forcing a more accurate acquaintanceship was further discouraged by the British authorities in Singapore, who warned all subjects that they ventured into the unknown territory at their own risk.

This enforced seclusion gave unlimited swing to the Malays, and kept intact till the time of British interference an almost prehistoric and brutal condition of life. The long-delayed intervention took place in 1873, when the internal distraction in the native territory reached its limits and burst into open rupture on the seacoast. The Chinese were preying on the Malays, and the Malays to the best of their ability were retaliating. The native sultans were at loggerheads with one another, and totally unable to control or direct their turbulent and disorderly subjects.

This warfare was carried to the coast, and there it became an open menace to commerce and to all traffic passing through the Straits. Then at last, in self-defence, the Government in Singapore was told to interfere. The result was the appearance of a British man-of-war in the tumultuous waters, and, after a violent collision and some loss of life, steps were taken toward the conclusion of a treaty and overtures were made for a better understanding. This ended in the British occupation of the Dindings, the chief rendezvous of these lawless folk. Here Great Britain was able to check and finally abolish their dangerous practices.

Negotiations were opened at the same time with various native

chiefs. Finally, at the invitation of the Sultan of Perak, who was tired of the internal turmoil, a quasi-administrative, quasi-commercial officer was established in that state, with the somewhat ambiguous title of Resident.

There follows a perplexing, unpleasant page of history. Confusing mists fortunately surround the actual facts. But to Great Britain the reading was plain enough. Her official representative had been brutally murdered and that death was to be avenged. And it was. Reparation was demanded and grudgingly granted. The circumstance sealed the fate of the Malays. Great Britain was behind her cannon, and there she was to remain.

The curious and venturesome who had long desired to explore the forbidden provinces now pushed forward, and the gate has never since been closed. They came as the flotsam and jetsam of restless life that washes from one pole to the other, as individuals and in groups, as fortune-hunters drawn by the persistent rumors of gold and as the law-breaker seeking shelter. As young, untried men they came, to whom adventure is as the breath of their nostrils and the breaking of virgin soil a delight which through all ages has set young pulses throbbing. Finally, they came in little bands that Government sent out—raw, untried cadets and earnest, energetic men, who were entrusted with a great lump of unmoulded clay and told to set to work. Some were appalled and turned the ball helplessly from hand to hand, knowing no design. Others grew weary with the unwonted weight and threw away the clay. Others again took the raw matter in hand and toiled soberly and unceasingly upon it, and finally traced out a design that thought and keen observation told them was the appropriate one. To-day this pattern stands elaborated in an unique system of government, that calls other men and nations with like work before them to stop and study.

This rough clay, some thirty years ago, lay in an unmapped, unknown, impassable country. The task of moulding it required years of hardship and discouragements, and all the effort that lies between barbarism and the attainment of what the world to-day calls civilization. It meant the drawing of maps, the building of roads, the placing of villages, the tracing of rivers, all the details and equipment that go hand in hand with a modern civilization. It meant, more accurately, an endless, intolerable struggle with a thousand-limbed jungle, that took ten steps to

man's one. It meant fighting one's way foot by foot over the new land, through forest, mire and mangrove swamp. It meant frightful days of exposure in native canoes on steaming, rank rivers that wound and rewound their tortuous courses, and led into native hostile camps. It meant days and weeks and months of loneliness and despair, being scorched by a relentless sun, chilled by sudden drenching rains, threatened by natives, sickened by improper food, weakened by fever, maddened by solitude and disheartened by the daily onslaught of ever-new discouragements. Finally, it meant self-sacrifice and suffering and effacement in behalf of a nation that knew little of the land, and took no heed of the valiant vigilance of her sons to uphold her standards in an unwilling soil.

The time of this struggle seemed to the weary workmen endless in its passage, but to the observer of to-day it appears to have been incredibly swift. In less than twenty years the jungle was forced back and paths cut through it. The rivers were bridged, the mountains scaled and small settlements of Europeans sprang simultaneously into being. A tiny executive was established, and the tortuous process of gaining the confidence of the natives terminated in success.

To-day the task is practically finished, and the Malay States stand a body organized, nominally under rulers calling themselves "sultans"; but the mind and the might are Great Britain's, and the hand at the helm is a white one. It is an unique situation, involving alike the most delicate tact and masterful assertion, for the finished work stands openly not to the credit of Great Britain, but to the credit of the ignorant, indolent sultans, whose native impulse disapproves all progress, yet whose seal makes it not only possible, but compulsory.

For all practical purposes, the States follow the Civil Service code as used in the neighboring colonies, changed where necessary to fit her different needs. They each have their Resident, their District Officers, their Secretariat of English officials and English trained cadets, their magistrates and judicial corps.

Each state has its Surgeon, its District Surgeon, its hospitals and Medical Staff, a Public Works Department, a State Engineer, a Resident Railway Engineer, a Post and Telegraph Department, a Forestry Department and semi-government schools, orphanages and establishments for the destitute. These were the original

departments in the various States, or rather the final evolution of the needs of the administration in the separate States.

In 1896 the four States were federated, with their capital in Kwala Lumpor, the chief town of Selangor. Since then has taken place a general movement towards centralization. This departure threatens the sovereignty of the Residents, and tends to merge all power eventually in the hands of the Resident General, who is to-day responsible for the wider policy of the government, and to whom all questions not purely local must be referred.

Federation has also brought about unification in lesser spheres. A federal officer now controls the Public Works Department, and another the railway system throughout the four States. The tendency is for other departments to follow suit, thus simplifying the present laborious system of correspondence, which clogs the wheels of government and prevents speedy action. More essentially, it tends to bring all heads of departments into closer union and sympathy, and makes it possible to carry out a more unified system of government throughout the States. The posts of Judicial Commissioner and Legal Adviser were federal at the time of their establishment, likewise the Commissioner of Police, the Chinese Secretary, and more recently a Department for Medical Research has been established under the guidance of a specialist. The military, or Malay States Guides, is of necessity a federal organization formed of Sikh soldiers and English officers, with a Lieutenant-Colonel at their head.

All the important arteries of administration are officered and controlled by Great Britain; but the so-called and actual executive heads are to be found in the various State Councils, at which the native sultans and their chief headmen sit jointly with the British Resident, with the additional presence in the larger States of a Chinese representative, who watches the interests of the ever-increasing population of his countrymen. At this board, the revenue and expenditure of the State are discussed and new measures of policy decided upon. The exact position of the Resident, and in turn that of the British Government, are here demonstrated. It is nominally that of Adviser, the post of a practically disinterested spectator who proffers advice and suggests adequate measures that will insure its adoption.

To all intents and purposes, it is the sultan only who rules

and who ordains. The British Resident and his staff of assistant officials are, in the legal writing, but foreign hirelings in the service of the various sultans of Malaya.

The theoretical rôle of these Malay sultans is no mean one, nor would the provinces under their rule take an inferior place beside other civilized communities. But, as a matter of fact, and as is obvious to the most casual observer, the sultan carries but little, if any, weight beyond the outward lettering. He and his chiefs are allowed ostentatious seats at the Councils, and have a voice in petty local government. Here their power ceases, but the local glory attached to these offices seems to suffice, with occasional recognition from Great Britain herself, who has meted out orders and distinctions to these obsolete rulers in ratio according to their intelligent acceptance of the imposed authority.

So the Malay sultan to-day is but the sorry figurehead of a race that never in any way showed itself capable or desirous of bettering its material position or of placing itself morally in a higher status of civilization.

It must be added to the credit of Great Britain that she has shown in every way respect and consideration for these nominal heads, and, where it has been practicable, compliance in furthering their desires. To-day these effete royalties are better housed and salaried, and assured of greater personal peace and security, than was ever their fortune in the palmiest days of their independent reigns.

Whether this unique system of assisting an incompetent people to rule themselves, to literally hold the sceptre in their hands, would with a different race work as satisfactorily, is a difficult thing to say.

This particular system in this particular case has worked to a charm, and has undoubtedly solved many of the problems upon which white men have come to grief in their management of inferior races. This has been largely and obviously due to tact, justice and respect for that fundamental and essential law of treating Orientals from their own point of view, or as near it as the Westerner can safely and honestly approach. It has meant tolerance in religion, leniency in law and, above all things, unfaltering patience in the effort to grasp their childlike and often dense conceptions.

Since the disturbances in Pahang in 1891, the Malay has ceased

to resist British influences. He has proved a particularly passive model, now that he is actually subdued and conscious of the fact that British rule is working for his good and prosperity. The Malay Peninsula has undoubtedly been his camping-ground for centuries since his exodus from Sumatra, if any one knows when that took place. Here he has fished and fought, obstructed so far as lay in his power the advance of civilization, and reserved for himself and his heirs a broad hunting-ground and battle-field.

But to that civilization which represents the forward march of the crudest folk the Malays have added little. Nor have they left a single definite trace of race imagination or intelligence. There exist to-day no ruins, no relics, no remnants that would show an endeavor to beautify the land or to gratify their imagination by outward expression.

They have no architecture, no literature, no art in its wide significance; little, in fact, to distinguish their habitation of the Peninsula from that of the rudest root-eating aborigines. Yet their personalities would belie this assertion, for they are both proud and sensitive, showing courtesy and consideration if properly treated, and an obvious appreciation of it. Otherwise, they are sullen, silent, indolent, utterly immoral or unmoral, with a lively capacity for intrigue and deception.

At some time of their career Mohammedanism was introduced amongst them by wandering Arabs. This has become deeply interwoven with their native nature-worship and demonology. It is a question if this later phase of religion plays more than a minor part in their lives, Mohammedanism being to them at best but a system of outward forms, which they observe or not, as their moods or natures dictate. Superstitious to a childlike degree, they in their hearts undoubtedly cling to their instinctive belief in magic and malicious demons, and when Mohammedanism fails to solace they return to the elaborate rites and ceremonies that are supposed to propitiate these evil spirits.

With the introduction of Mohammedanism came a written language. So little have they taken advantage of this means of expression, however, or so little have they to express, that their only tribute to literature lies in a handful of fantastic, dully recorded fairy-tales, lacking in humor, in imagination, in style. Yet in verbal legend and folk-lore they are most prolific.

But art itself, the substance and body of spiritual or intellectual expression, they have disregarded or have not been able to approach. Their tribute is the very fringe and finish of a nation's utterance. There seem to have been no beginnings, no early crudities striving to explain themselves, no evolution to an ideal, but simply a detached and finished fragment. Delicate, fanciful woman's work it is, wonderfully fine in form and design, but woefully scant and unsatisfactory in its scope—boxes, bowls, buttons of precious metals cleverly chased, exquisitely chiselled, unique and original in conception and all within the rigid restrictions of Mohammedanism; yet within these narrow lines amazingly rich and resourceful, delicate tracery like lace and simple graceful forms that older, subtler, sounder races may try long in vain to equal or surpass—but it is their all, this, and the weaving of their sarongs, and the smelting of their murderous krises that run swiftly to a man's heart like a flash of crinkled lightning. Here they begin and end—indolent, melancholy, quick to take offence, sure to take revenge.

It may be that the land has overwhelmed them with its own abundant vitality; has overcome, absorbed, swept with a wide hand all trace of man's life from the land. It is a fiercely encroaching, appalling force, beside which the little animation of man becomes an abject thing. Howbeit, there are no men, no things in the Malay Peninsula—only a stupendous, prolific nature, to be feared, and reverenced and worshipped as the spell is upon it. So to-day the Malay sits paralyzed beneath this touch and drowses through the long sun hours, while the Chinaman is up and doing, the Tamil is at his slave work, and all men are helping themselves from the fulness of his land. Content with a tiny patch of paddy, a cluster of cocoanut or plantain trees, he stubbornly resists all offers, all incentives that the Government may urge to stir him into life. Firmly, philosophically he sits upon his stoop calmly chewing betel, while the power of the land is passing irrevocably from his hand.

But the Chinaman is here and here to stay. He tills the soil and digs the tin; draws the rickshaw and runs the shops; opens the opium dens and pays to Government a huge revenue for his gambling farms. He sits at the State Council, is interpreter, is clerk, is innkeeper, is table-boy, is everywhere—industrious, inscrutable, quick to learn, quick to take advantage of his new

knowledge. He is fairly clean, comparatively honest, and in twenty years rises from a coolie digging tin to a towkay handling millions.

The low-caste Tamil follows at a slower pace, does the refuse work of the Peninsula, lays its roads, opens its quarries, works in gangs on coffee estates, performs the menial work of railways and offices. In the towns he plays the rôle of money-lender, rising occasionally to a sphere of some importance.

There is besides a varied host of Sikhs and Bengalis, of Singhalese and Siamese and a smattering of peoples from the neighboring islands of the Archipelago. All these labor in more or less degree towards some end, while the Malay only is fixed in idleness.

To-day this beautiful country of his is open from end to end and sea to sea, ripe and ready for earnest work. Wide roads wind through the forests, whose giant trees hold in their grasp great ferns the size of men. Roots and ropes and mammoth vines dangle earthwards, and clinging to the mighty trunks the jungle orchid bursts into fragrant, fragile bloom.

Up the middle of the Peninsula bristles a range of mountains, and in their high passes the forests tower hundreds of feet above one's head; and before one the hills rise shoulder above shoulder till they vanish in blue mists. On these summits the nights and early mornings are dipped in icy dews, and the breath from the singing jungle is cold and weighted with the fragrance of spices and the heavy perfume of unseen flowers bursting in rank bloom.

The country rolls from beach to valley, and from valley to hill and once more to valley, and so adapts itself alike to the wants of planter and miner. Cocoanut-trees plume and drop their heavy fruit in every village, and groves of plantains flap and flower continuously. Coffee and rubber cover acres of ground, and in the valleys and on the gentle sloping hillsides is a constant ripple of tender green that marks the sprouting rice. In the soft silt of the lowlands, and in blighted barren river-beds, the tin is washed and sifted from the sand. It is this mineral that gives the Government its huge revenue and makes its full coffers the envy of the less wealthy colonies. Tons of tin pour out of the country daily, and are borne to Singapore and Penang for transhipment. There has just been finished a railway line which runs from

Singapore straight through the Peninsula to a port on the sea-coast opposite Penang, and so taps the rich country at every point.

It is unique, this little government; but, strangely enough, it is most inadequately known or appreciated by its home Government. It represents, in its finality, the uncertain, unencouraged, unidentified work of a host, many of whom have sickened and died by the way and laid down their tools, and their names have vanished. But the work remains.

Such is the pathetic fate of the pioneers, the outriders of a nation, who build up their empire like the coral reefs of the Pacific—a pitiful, powerful example of self-renunciation; and of all men to whom praise and justice should be meted out, it is to these willing exiles, who have given up their white man's birthright for a life of solitude and toil. Their failure is often pitiful; their loss of standard and ideal heartrending. But the fact stands that, despite the heaviest obstacles laid across men's paths, work has been accomplished, is being accomplished and a higher grade of civilization raised in this distant quarter of the globe.

It is such work as this that our American Government in the Philippines is doing to-day. Our system is different from that of Great Britain, and the problem before us is a much more difficult one. Though the Filipinos are largely of this same Malay stock, the question has been greatly complicated by the infusion of other races and by a two-centuries' background of Christianity and European influences.

Nevertheless the fundamentals remain the same, for the East is ever the East, and different,—and involves under whatever flag or system the same sympathy and patience and hard work.

It only remains for generous governments to smooth, so far as possible, the paths of these their standard-bearers, and for the individuals who sit at home and point with pride to the tiny checks on the map that bear their colors, to reckon seriously the price of these few inches—the hardships, the sacrifices, the despairs that have gone to swell them.

ELIZABETH WASHBURN WRIGHT.

THE REPEAL OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

BY T. B. EDGINGTON.

THE Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which took effect on February 18th, 1865, secured to the negro his freedom from slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment, which took effect on July 28th, 1868, among other things, secured to the negro his rights of citizenship, and prohibited any of the States from depriving him of the equal protection of its laws.

The Fifteenth Amendment, which took effect on March 30th, 1870, prohibited the States from denying him the right to vote on account of his color or previous condition of servitude. It reads thus:

"*Section I.* The rights of the citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"*Section II.* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

When this Amendment was on its passage before Congress, an effort was made to couple with this right to vote the right, also, to hold office; but the phraseology, "the rights of the citizens to vote or hold office," was amended by striking out the words, "or hold office." This left all the States without any constitutional prohibition against the right of a State to enact laws prohibiting the negroes from holding office. There is a popular misapprehension to the contrary.

There is another popular misapprehension to the effect that those who oppose giving suffrage to the negro are in favor of taking away certain rights of citizenship which he possesses. There are two answers to this assumption:

(1) What is called a right to vote is not a right, but a franchise.

When the Republic was founded, and for many years thereafter, the elective franchise was withheld from a very large class of male citizens over twenty-one years of age. Many of the original thirteen States required the elector to own a freehold estate of a certain value; others, a certain annual income from a freehold; others required the elector to own property of defined worth; one required the payment of taxes assessed, while Connecticut prescribed that the voter should be of quiet and orderly behavior. There was no uniformity among the States then upon the elective franchise; there is no uniformity now. With one or two exceptions among the States, the women are excluded from the privilege of voting; yet it would be improper to say that they are deprived of any of their rights of citizenship. The rights of citizenship and the franchises of sovereignty are very different matters.

(2) The right to vote was not conferred on the negro by the Fifteenth Amendment. It simply prohibited the States from excluding him from the right to vote on account of color or previous condition of servitude. In the case of the United States *vs.* Reese (92 U. S., 217), the Supreme Court of the United States says: "The Fifteenth Amendment does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one. It prevents the States, or the United States, however, from giving preference, in this particular, to one citizen of the United States over another on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." In United States *vs.* Cruikshank (92 U. S., 556), the Supreme Court says: "The right to vote comes from the State, but the right of exemption from the prohibited discrimination comes from the United States." In this case the Court further says that "the right of suffrage is not a necessary attribute of national citizenship." In the United States *vs.* Williams (193 U. S., 632), the Supreme Court says: "The privilege to vote in any State is not given by the Federal Constitution or by any of its Amendments."

Some of the former Slave States have amended their Constitutions, and it has been found that the Fifteenth Amendment really presents no very serious obstacle to the disfranchisement of the entire negro vote.

The elimination of the negro vote began with the new Constitution of the State of Mississippi in the year 1890. Section 241 of the Constitution provides, among other things, that the voter should be registered, and be able to show that he had paid

all taxes assessed against him for a certain period. This included a two-dollar poll tax. This provision of the Constitution conferred on the Legislature the right to enact laws for the registration of voters. By Section 3,631 of the code, it was provided that no citizen can register as a voter, unless he is able either to read any section of the Constitution of the State, or to understand the same when read to him, and give a reasonable interpretation thereof. This provision, together with the prepayment of taxes required by the Constitution, has left but few negroes in Mississippi who can vote, or who seek to vote.

The State of Louisiana revised its Constitution in the year 1898. Certain educational and property qualifications were enacted. There were exempted from these educational and property qualifications all persons whose fathers were voters in the year 1867 or prior thereto. This latter clause is what is known as the "grandfather clause." This clause practically conferred universal white suffrage. The Constitution of South Carolina was amended in conformity with the Constitution of Mississippi, while North Carolina has adopted the Louisiana plan.

The "grandfather clause" is capable of such extension and improvement, in connection with rigid educational and property qualifications, as to confer universal white suffrage and entirely exclude the negro voters, without violating any of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. A provision could be made in the State Constitution, or law, exempting from the property and educational requirement all naturalized citizens, and all descendants of naturalized citizens, and, indeed, all descendants of European immigrants. As a substitute for registration, a rule of evidence could be provided by law that all white persons are *prima facie* entitled to vote and that all persons of color are *prima facie* not so entitled, leaving to such persons an adequate remedy at law to establish such right.

When the Fifteenth Amendment was on its passage in the Senate, its practical inefficiency was somewhat foreseen by the members, who sought to have the Amendment commit the whole question of suffrage to Congress. This policy was opposed by Charles Sumner, who was against confiding such power to Congress on the ground that it would invade the rights of the States. The Supreme Court, in the cases referred to, held that the States themselves determined who should vote without any

limitation on their exercises of this right, except that they could not deny the right to vote on the grounds of color or previous condition of servitude. No sooner had these decisions been rendered than it dawned upon the leaders of the Republican party that the Fifteenth Amendment was an unwise and inexpedient measure.

Mr. Blaine* and John Sherman,† and most of the eminent leaders of the Republican party, took this view. Sherman went one step farther than Blaine, and expressed the opinion that the Fifteenth Amendment deprived Congress of the right to enforce that clause of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment which reduces representation in proportion as the right of suffrage is reduced. His view in substance was that, this clause having been inserted for the exclusive benefit of the negro, and with no purpose that it should have a different application, it was repealed by the enactment of this Fifteenth Amendment substitute. Mr. Sherman said:

"It is a question of grave doubt whether this amendment, though right in principle, was wise or expedient. The declared object was to secure impartial suffrage to the negro race. The practical result has been that the wise provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment have been modified by the Fifteenth Amendment. The latter Amendment has been practically nullified by the action of most of the States where the great body of this race live, and will probably always remain. This is done, not by an express denial to them of the right of suffrage, but by ingenious provisions, which exclude them on the alleged ground of ignorance, while permitting all the white race, however ignorant, to vote at all elections. No way is pointed out by which Congress can enforce this Amendment. If the principle of the Fourteenth Amendment had remained in full force, Congress would have reduced the representation of any State in the proportion in which the number of the male inhabitants of such State, denied the right of suffrage, might bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age, in such State. This simple remedy, easily enforced by Congress, would have secured the right of all persons without distinction of race or color to vote at all elections. The reduction of representation would have deterred every State from excluding the vote of any portion of the male population above twenty-one years of age. As a result of the Fifteenth Amendment, the political power of the States lately in rebellion has been increased, while the population, conferring this increase, is practically denied all political power. I see no remedy for this wrong except the growing intelligence of the negro race, which, in time, I trust, will enable them to demand and receive the right of suffrage."

* Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. 2, page 418.

† Sherman's "Recollections," Vol. 1, page 450.

The Supreme Court, in construing a provision of the Constitution of the United States, will always have recourse to the purpose of the provision and the evil it was intended to remedy. The Court will take judicial notice of the events constituting the history of the country, as well as of transactions and objects intimately connected therewith.* The Supreme Court will take judicial notice of the scope and meaning of words and phrases used in the Constitution by a resort to the history of the country.† The Constitution of the United States prohibits any State from issuing "bills of credit." The broad language of this provision seems to deny the right of any State to issue bonds or to charter banks which would issue bank-notes or bills which would circulate as money. The Court so construed this provision as to permit the States to issue bonds and charter banks which would issue bank-notes or bills that circulated as money, even though the State owned a part or all of the stock in the bank. As early as the year 1690, the Massachusetts Colony issued paper money which was not strictly a legal tender, but the bills were issued on the faith and credit of the State. Virginia, in 1775 and 1776, issued paper called "treasury notes." Congress emitted bills of credit to a large amount. The Court had recourse to our colonial and early history, and from this source it reached the conclusion that a bill of credit was paper issued by the State on the faith and credit of the State to be circulated as money.

The Supreme Court in the Slaughter House cases, in grouping the three Amendments together, says: "It is true that only the Fifteenth Amendment, in terms, mentions the negro by speaking of his color and his slavery. But it is just as true that each of the other articles was addressed to the grievances of that race and designed to remedy them as the Fifteenth."

Again, the Court in the same case says: "In any fair and just construction of these Amendments, it is necessary to look to the purpose which we have said was the pervading spirit of them all, the evil they were designed to remedy."‡

The evil designed to be remedied by the reduction of representation clause was not the removal of every restriction upon the right of suffrage. It was not the intention to coerce the

* Wright *vs.* Hollingsworth, 1 Pet. (U. S.), 165; Meade *vs.* U. S., 9 Wall., 691.

† Craig *vs.* Missouri, 4 Pet. 410.

‡ 16 Wall., 71, 72.

States into the enactment of universal suffrage. It was not an assault upon the Australian ballot system, or a poll tax prerequisite. The simple purpose was to secure the right of the negro to vote under penalty of a loss of representation. It was designed to impose the penalty of a loss of representation in cases where the negroes were denied the right to vote either in whole or in part.

The Fifteenth Amendment expressly prohibits the very thing which it had been sought to remedy by this reduction of representation clause. This clause, therefore, was repealed by the Fifteenth Amendment. The debates in Congress and contemporary history show that the reduction of representation clause was enacted to secure negro suffrage under penalty of a loss of representation and for no other purpose. Mr. Sherman is, undoubtedly, correct in his view that this clause was repealed by the Fifteenth Amendment. He had become eminent as a lawyer before he attained to distinction as a statesman. He was a member of the Senate when the three Amendments were passed, and his opinion is based on a full knowledge, both of the law and of the facts.

To those who consider the grandfather clause, and other like exceptions to the general laws of suffrage, as ingenious devices to evade a constitutional provision, the reply is that these exceptions are all made to save the State government from anarchy and misrule. The wrong lies in the Fifteenth Amendment itself. It is a stupendous fraud on the rights of local self-government. The purposes of those who enacted it were pure and patriotic, but the question was to them, for the most part, an abstract one, and they had but little concrete knowledge of it. They were, at the time, in an abnormal condition of mind with reference to this special subject-matter, not far removed from what, in criminal law parlance, is called "emotional insanity." If this Amendment were permitted to work its sinister and malevolent way, unrestrained and unchallenged, it would destroy local self-government in the former Slave States.

Local self-government in Cuba, which was projected on the same lines, without regard to color, came suddenly to a condition of anarchy with swift and accelerated velocity. It reached this condition very much in the same way and through the same instrumentalities whereby anarchy was produced in certain States

during the period of reconstruction. Cuba will soon be knocking at the door for admission into the Union as a State, and the repeal of this Amendment will become a necessary prerequisite to such admission. Cubans could not govern Cuba with the arm of self-government thus paralyzed.

There is no form of redress to any one who feels aggrieved by the provisions of a State Constitution or a State statute, which is not repugnant to the Federal or State Constitution, except to have it repealed. The courts can furnish no remedy. The good faith of the Legislature is always presumed. The motive of the Legislature, or any of its members, in enacting a statute can never be made the subject of judicial inquiry or decision. "It would be indecent in the extreme," said Chief-Justice Marshall, "to enter into an inquiry respecting the corruption of the sovereign power of a State."* The Supreme Court, in an opinion by Chief-Justice Waite, said: "We are not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the Legislature. We can only examine into its power under the Constitution."† This Court again says: "It is quite out of the power of any court to inquire what was the intention of those who enacted the law."‡

If the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was modified or repealed by the enactment of the Fifteenth Amendment, it would result that it would be revived by the repeal of the Fifteenth.

The act of Congress, approved on February 25th, 1871, provides "that whenever an act shall be repealed, which repealed a former act, such former act shall not thereby be revived, unless it shall be expressly so provided." This, however, would not apply to a constitutional provision, which would be controlled by the principles of the common law.

If the power of Congress to reduce representation is restored by the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, that body would probably avail itself of the right to do so. It would then be left to the States, either to submit to such reduction, or to avail themselves of the plural or cumulative, ballot system, somewhat in the form in which it has recently been adopted in Belgium, whereby universal suffrage and the kingship are made to dwell

* Fletcher *vs.* Peck, 6 Cranch, 131.
† *Ex parte* McCardle, 7 Wall., 514.
‡ Doyle *vs.* Continental Insurance Co., 94 U. S., 541.

together in harmony. Most, if not all, of the former Slave States would gladly accept the alternative of a reduced representation.

It would, however, be no solution of the race issue to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment and leave Section 2 of the Fourteenth remaining. The revival of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment by a repeal of the Fifteenth would only make the race conflict more distressing. Both provisions should be repealed and the States should be left to their former freedom to regulate suffrage.

The Fifteenth Amendment is the prolific source of race conflict and race prejudice. The former Slave States find that an educational and property qualification for the white voters is unnecessary, and contrary to a sound public policy. They find, too, that with universal white and negro suffrage, a republican form of government in most of the former Slave States would be impossible, and the worst form of anarchy would prevail. The negro, on the other hand, feels that he is the favored protégé of the Federal power, and that the white men, who are his neighbors, have wrongfully withheld from him that which the General Government has solemnly conferred on him. His attitude towards the white race becomes similar to that of the heir who has been cheated out of his inheritance, by corrupt and unscrupulous combinations among other members of the family. Ill-will is thus engendered and fostered between the races, where otherwise the most cordial relations would prevail. The bad boy in the back yard knows, in advance, what will happen when he ties two cats together by the tail, which had always dwelt peaceably together by the same fireside, and throws them across the clothes-line. The Fifteenth Amendment has likewise tied the two races together, and thrown them across the national clothes-line. The horrors of the situation are shared by both races, and it would be difficult to determine which of the two races is the greater sufferer.

If the Fifteenth Amendment is repealed, the States will then be free to disallow negro suffrage, or to confer it to a limited degree on the negro race, according to the views of the people of the several States, each one of which has its own system of suffrage. The better policy would be for the white race to elect or appoint a certain number of negro voters in each county, and its subdivisions of townships, districts and wards. These voters should be elected from the negro race for their worth and merit

as good citizens, without much regard for educational or property qualifications. These rights of franchise should be subject to be taken away for acts of lawlessness and failure to maintain a high degree of well-ordered citizenship. A police power of immense magnitude would thus be created and maintained, which would be active and helpful, throughout all the ramifications of local authority. The turbulent and vicious elements among the negroes would be exposed and punished through a negro citizenship, which would be bound up with that of the white race by the ties of interest, affection and reciprocal good-will.

The measures for obtaining this repeal are difficult, but the difficulty is not insurmountable. No question is settled until it is settled aright. This question of repeal should be kept as far removed as possible from partisan politics. Not only will a short campaign of education on broad lines bring to the support of the measure the people of all parties, but the leaders of the negro race will themselves become earnest advocates for the repeal. They have not as yet made sufficient advancement in the knowledge of their situation to see that their interest in this repeal is equal to that of the white race—perhaps, indeed, greater.

The time has arrived when this repeal movement should be inaugurated.

This repeal will enable the negro to acquire a just and proper conception of his relations to the State and to the General Government. He will learn, what he does not now know, that the State, and the State alone, confers the elective franchise on its citizens, and not the General Government. He has been misled and deceived by the coercive mode by which he acquired political rights. He thinks that the nation which gave him his freedom, his citizenship and the protection of the laws, is equally potent to place on his head the crown of American sovereignty. He should be remanded to the kindergarten of the State, where he can be taught those lessons of local self-government which will enable some of his race to worthily wear the American crown.

The States which passed through the trying ordeal of reconstruction have been, and still are, zealously engaged in improving their relations to the General Government. This repeal would remove every obstruction to the complete harmony and cordiality of their Federal relations.

T. B. EDGINGTON.

THE NEW IRELAND—V.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE very name of the Sinn Féin party—it is pronounced "Shinn Fain" and signifies "Ourselves Alone"—gives the clue to its programme, a programme based upon the principle of self-help and self-dependence. Their policy gathers to itself, and translates into terms of political action, all those literary, spiritual and industrial impulses that are thrilling the Irish people with a new sense of nationality and of the virtues of individualism and initiative.

Their first is also their most startling proposition. It is that the Irish M.P.'s should cease to attend at Westminster, should assemble instead at Dublin, and should there form with the assistance of delegates from the various local councils and boards, a *de facto* Home Rule Parliament of their own. I omit the historical and pass on to their purely political and material reasons for advocating this step. The presence of the Irish M.P.'s in the British Parliament is an admission, they claim, of the validity of the Act of Union, nullifies the famous Declaratory Act of 1783—the Act which affirmed that the right of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of Ireland "is hereby declared to be established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable"—and recognizes the right of a foreign assembly to legislate for the Irish people. That is their first argument—that the whole case for Home Rule is surrendered when Irishmen by their votes and acts admit Englishmen, Scotchmen and Welshmen to a preponderating part in the government of Ireland. What is the use, they argue, of denying the right of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland when Ireland sends her representatives to sit in that Parliament and to assist

in framing those laws? Such a policy, according to the Sinn Féiners' contention, is self-stultifying. It recognizes the very authority it professes to dispute, and admits in fact a right which it denies in theory. The initial move, then, in the effective assertion of Irish Nationalism should be the withdrawal of the Irish M.P.'s from Westminster.

Their second argument is that after thirty years of patient trial, Parliamentarianism has been proved a failure. It seemed to succeed for a while when Parnell was able to reduce the House of Commons to anarchy, and to fix the attention of the world upon the Irish question by persistent obstruction. But the House has amended its rules, and obstruction is no longer now a possible weapon. Parliamentarianism seemed also to stand a chance when the Irish members held the balance of power between the English parties. They used their opportunity for what it was worth, only to find that, with the House of Lords opposing an impassable barrier, it was worth nothing at all. Even assuming that the Irish Party, within the next few years, is again in a position to determine the existence of a British Ministry, or even of two or three successive Ministries, the House of Lords, with the substantial concurrence of English opinion, will still stand between them and Home Rule. Thus the Irish question is permanently postponed to the House of Lords question, and will have to bide its time until the composition of the Upper Chamber or its constitutional relations with the popular House are remodelled; and that, if at all, may not be for another generation. From the Sinn Féin standpoint, therefore, the situation roughly is that thirty years of Parliamentarianism have failed to bring Home Rule one inch nearer, have on the contrary seriously impaired its prospects, and now leave the country with a future blocked in every direction. Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1907 was a sufficient proof of how far the cause of Irish autonomy had receded since the days of Gladstone. It showed that, twenty-one years after the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill, a Liberal Government considered that a mere measure of financial and administrative devolution would satisfy the claims of Irish nationality. In the mean time, a million acres have passed out of cultivation, taxation has piled up, emigration has gone on incessantly, and Ireland remains in all educational matters just as she was—one of the most backward countries in the world.

For all this the Sinn Féiners blame the Irish Party and its Parliamentary policy with even greater vigor and directness than they blame the British Government. It is true that, since the 'seventies, a great revolution has been effected in the conditions of Irish land tenure, and that the struggle for the soil which has lasted for seven centuries is now within sight of its close. But what was it, ask the Sinn Féiners, that carried through that revolution? Was it speeches on the floor of the House of Commons or was it agitation in Ireland; Parliamentary tactics or Fenianism and the Land League? They answer without hesitation that the motive power which alone made the agrarian revolution possible, just as it won Catholic emancipation and forced the abolition of the tithes, was agitation in Ireland. Practically all the great measures that have revolutionized Irish society and politics since the Union have not, they assert, been so much granted by England as extorted by Ireland—and extorted, not by the rhetoric or manœuvres of the Irish Party at Westminster, but by the action of Irishmen in Ireland. In their view, agitation at Westminster has done nothing; agitation in Ireland, resistance in Ireland, has done everything. As it has been, say the Sinn Féiners, so it is, and so it always will be. Ireland will get nothing from England by asking for it or by whining about her "rights" in the House of Commons. She will get nothing anyway until she has convinced England either that she can take it without leave or that it is to England's interest to grant it. Trusting to England's "generosity" or "sense of justice" is quixotic. The only sound policy for Irishmen to follow is that which causes England the greatest annoyance and brings her under the stress of the heaviest compulsion. The Sinn Féiners proceed altogether upon the principle that England, unmoved by appeals to justice, will always sooner or later give way to fear, and that tactics in the House of Commons which neither paralyze the workings of that assembly, nor make the Irish vote essential to either of the chief English parties, nor influence in any way the House of Lords, are, therefore, little better than an expensive futility. Just as the exigencies of politics made it necessary that the policy of Butt should be superseded by the policy of Parnell, so the Sinn Féiners claim that the time has come for a further and more aggressive advance.

But it is above all things as a matter of political or revolution-

ary ethics, or at least of national self-respect, that Ireland is now being urged to withdraw her representatives from Westminster. Parliamentarianism, say the Sinn Féiners, acts upon the national energies like a soporific. The people quickly come to think that they have done all that can be expected of them when they elect a certain number of real or professed Home Rulers to act for them in Parliament. No tangible sacrifice of any kind is asked of them; they shout and pass unbridled resolutions and are fed on rhetoric; there are very few contested elections and therefore nothing in the nature of a political education; the "machine," directed usually by the local trader and money-lender and publican—who are often not three persons, but one—runs things to suit itself; and the political contribution of "the people" towards the cause of Home Rule takes for the most part the form of sitting listlessly at home and awaiting results they do next to nothing towards producing. It is precisely this habit of delegating functions that the Sinn Féiners wish to drive out of Irish politics. Their aim is to substitute for it a system of universal and individual service. Parliamentarianism, in their view, destroys all sense of personal responsibility and initiative. It deals with a vague collective entity which it calls "the electorate" or "the people," whereas the appeal of the Sinn Féiners is directly and solely to the single citizen. Moreover, so long as Ireland is represented at Westminster, London and not Dublin is the Irish capital; the people are irresistibly drawn into looking across the Channel for help; they grow absorbed in the spectacle of small Parliamentary manœuvres; their belief in the virtue of Acts of Parliament to remedy economic ills is fatally encouraged; and, while perpetually speculating on what England is going to do for Ireland, they forget that there is a good deal which Ireland might and should do for herself, and that Irish progress rests ultimately with the individual Irishman in Ireland. This is a habit of mind that destroys a just sense of values, saps self-reliance, and debilitates the national character; and the Sinn Féiners make it the prime object of their attack. Parliamentarianism in their eyes is mere play-acting, and fosters some of the worst weaknesses in the Irish temperament by dissipating the sense of responsibility and distracting the popular mind from the duties immediately in front of it. The policy, on the other hand, that they propose

treats every Irishman not as an electoral pawn but as a living force, appeals to and relies upon the individual, and asks for its fulfilment the constant practice of a first-hand patriotism.

I come now to the policy itself. The first article in the Sinn Féin creed is, as I have said, that the Irish M.P.'s should abandon Westminster and remain in Ireland. But that is only the negative beginning of the programme they have mapped out. Indeed, what makes their policy so interesting a novelty in Irish politics is not merely that it addresses itself to all Irishmen irrespective of creed or class, not merely that it opposes sectarianism just as it opposes every other agency of disunion, but that its spirit and purpose are essentially constructive. The real work of the Irish M.P.'s, according to the Sinn Féiners' calculations, will only begin when, after leaving Westminster and reinforced by delegates from the urban and rural bodies of five-sixths of Ireland, they assemble in Dublin in a Council of Three Hundred. The first result of this dramatic translation, it is supposed, would be an outpouring of contributions from the Irish people themselves and from their kinsmen and sympathizers in America and Australia, and at the same time a considerable diminution in the expense hitherto incurred in supporting the Irish Party in London. With these moneys the initial action of the Council would be to appoint an Irish Consular Service, and "to devote a portion of the $125,000 Ireland at present expends in keeping eighty Irishmen in London to keeping one-fourth that number of Irishmen stationed in the capitals and commercial centres of foreign countries, where a market may be found for Irish produce." From this it would go on to superintend the expenditures of the local elective bodies throughout the country on a uniform system, and the local bodies, it is not doubted and, indeed, when once the primary step is assumed, need not be doubted, would be quick to obey the resolutions of the Council and to give them the effective force of law. Thus if the Council were to decree, as of course it would, that every penny spent by the local bodies on food, clothing, furniture, bedding, building materials, medicines and medical appliances, and so on, must be spent in Ireland, the Irish farmers and manufacturers would find themselves in the enjoyment of a profitable and patriotic form of Protection.

Again, the Irish County Councils have power to levy a penny

in the pound for technical instruction, and to receive as much again from the Department of Agriculture. They have also the power, with the concurrence of the Rural Councils, to raise another penny in the pound for libraries. The total yield from these sources would amount, it is estimated, to $625,000 a year. This sum the Council of Three Hundred, without infringing any law, could order to be laid out in furnishing bounties to some new industry and in founding libraries, museums and gymnasia where the youth of the country might be mentally and physically fitted to take an active part in the national struggle. The Department of Agriculture, which, in a sense, is popularly controlled and which is doing work of enormous importance in every county throughout Ireland, could also be brought under the direction of the Council of Three Hundred. So, too, the Council would infallibly strive to man the Harbor Boards with avowed Sinn Féiners, whose policy would be to throw the bulk of the port dues on manufactured goods and to keep and publish month by month a list of such goods, with their source of origin and the names and locality of their consignees—this for the purpose of stigmatizing and discouraging the use of English instead of Irish manufactures. The Sinn Féiners are all Protectionists of the List school, and, starting with and from the individual, are bent upon employing every agency for the simultaneous upbuilding of Irish agriculture and industries. It is as part of this policy that they propose that the General Council of County Councils should undertake a general survey of Ireland's natural resources, of her coal, stone and peat especially, and should invite Irish-American money for their development. And it is also as a leading part of the same policy that they emphasize the necessity of reviving the Irish merchant marine.

The Council of Three Hundred would also, through the medium of the County Councils and the Department of Agriculture, do everything in its power to dispossess the cattle and re-establish tillage. It would endeavor to formulate a scheme of canal and river transit under the direction of the County Councils. It would order the allocation of part of the moneys raised by local taxation to the work of reafforesting the central plain of Ireland. It would classify all the offices and appointments within the gift of the local bodies, throw them open to competitive examination, and make a knowledge of Irish history,

of the Irish language and of Irish resources obligatory on all candidates in all grades—thus evolving in time a purely Irish civil service. It would follow the example of Papineau in Canada and of Deak in Hungary, by instituting voluntary Arbitration Courts, presided over by judges appointed by the Council and confined to such barristers and solicitors as the Council might sanction after they had renounced their practice in the British Courts. In the same way by voluntary subscriptions from the parents, by inviting contributions from wealthy Irish-Americans, and by co-operating with bodies like the Gaelic League and the Christian Brothers, the Council would hope to build up an educational system, complete from primary school to university, that would be animated throughout by national ideas and in which Gaelic would be the chief medium of instruction. The Sinn Féiners further complain of the hostility of the Irish Stock Exchange to the listing of Irish securities. "The position at present," they say, "is that the British Government-controlled Stock Exchange in Ireland will not, as the Stock Exchange in every other country does, make a market for local stocks, and that the small capitalist is thus compelled to invest his capital outside Ireland, in ninety-five per cent. of cases in British undertakings, to the immense financial advantage of England and to the financial loss of Ireland." To remedy this, the Council would call into existence a National Stock Exchange by ordering the public bodies it represented to transact all their business in the buying and selling of stocks through such brokers only as had engaged to constitute themselves into that National Exchange; and, by further deflecting the deposits of the local bodies, it might found a National Bank that would neither refuse to cash checks made out in Gaelic, nor send gold to London and take paper in exchange, nor invest Irish money in British securities instead of in Irish enterprises. Two other items on the Sinn Féiners' programme have still to be mentioned. They vehemently exclude from their ranks all members of the British armed forces, and the Council of Three Hundred would undoubtedly make an anti-enlisting campaign one of its first cares. The Sinn Féiners are also strong advocates of temperance, not for reasons of physiology or morals, but because "by the simple process of reducing by one-half her present expenditure on drink, Ireland can decrease the British revenue by

$12,500,000 a year, or practically the whole of the actual profit she now makes on her government of Ireland."

Such is the Sinn Féin policy—a policy of national boycott directed against England, aiming at the creation of a bilingual, self-contained, self-sufficing, wholly Irish Ireland, and prosecuted by the sacrifices, the individual exertions, and the ordered unity of the people themselves. Its appeal, as I have tried to show, is altogether to the individual. It is by acting on the individual that the Sinn Féiners hope to put a stop to enlistments in the British Army or the Royal Irish Constabulary, and to shame Irishmen out of sitting on any British Commission, or accepting any post that involves taking an oath of loyalty to the British Crown. It is by inducing the individual to drink less and smoke less that they look forward to reducing England's revenue from Ireland below her expenditure in it. It is by impressing upon the individual as well as upon public bodies the patriotic duty of buying only Irish goods and products that they play their part in promoting Irish industries and agriculture. It is by always preaching at the individual that he is an Irishman that they seek to encourage him in learning Gaelic. For the rest, the Sinn Féin policy is to thwart and weaken England, positively by passive resistance, negatively by building up a strong and prosperous Ireland. They are all on the side of material improvement so long as it comes from within—that is to say, so long as it is improvement by Irishmen, not exploitation by Englishmen. Thus while supporting every legal form of resistance to the British Government, and while always proclaiming Great Britain to be the enemy, the Sinn Féiners have a strong constructive side to their programme, and zealously forward every movement and every project that promises to make Ireland more Irish, more prosperous and more self-reliant. They are not "physical force" men. They see no necessity to be. They urge Irishmen not to fight England by arms, still less to whimper and manœuvre in her House of Commons, but to stay at home in Ireland, ignore her, boycott her, and quietly assume the administration of Irish affairs. They represent, of course, the extremists of Irish Nationalism. They are the "Young Irelanders" of the twentieth century, pursuing the "Young Ireland" policy, but pursuing it by new methods.

It is scarcely necessary at present to discuss the Sinn Féin

idea from the standpoint of English interests and policy, or to estimate its precise degree of practicability. Matters have not yet advanced that far. The Sinn Féiners have first to convert Ireland before they can hope to conquer England, and to enumerate the weapons of resistance and retaliation that repose in the British armory or to forecast the nature and issue of the struggle that would ensue between the two countries is, and must long remain, superfluous. Their policy is borrowed from the movement of passive resistance which Deak organized against Austria. But Deak only won because he was backed up by the virile Magyar spirit and because Austria was twice struck down by foreign foes. It will be time enough to consider what chances an Ireland committed to Sinn Féin possesses against England when Ireland is—what at present she is very far from being — actually committed to Sinn Féin. In other words, the importance of the movement in its present stage is Irish and not Anglo-Irish, national and not international; and the only angle from which it can as yet be profitably approached is one that is exclusively related to purely Irish politics. If Ireland had the intelligence to adopt Sinn Féin, and the tenacity to stick to it, one would then have a new and much more involved situation to deal with. But for the present it is not in England but in Ireland that the Sinn Féiners find their most formidable and immediate obstacles, and all their energies so far have been devoted to persuading their own countrymen to accept their programme and stand by it.

Many influences are working with them. They are a young party, and a vigorous and enthusiastic one. Their policy is bold and captivating. It has struck the Irish imagination; it has already enlisted the support of the more ardent youth of the country. The Sinn Féiners, moreover, profit by the disenchantment with the tactics and personnel of the Irish Party which has been growing in Ireland ever since the Parnellite split. I have already touched on this factor, and I shall have occasion to return to it and examine it in greater detail later on. They profit, again, by the many new and vital impulses that are stirring in Irish life. I am persuaded that the master-fact of present-day Ireland is the growth of individualism, of initiative, of self-reliance; and nowhere in Nationalist politics, except among the Sinn Féiners, do these qualities find expression. Like all other

Irish agitators the Sinn Féiners are brilliant journalists. Their weekly organ, "Sinn Féin," is one of the most militant, lucid and outspoken papers I have ever read. In some of the cities, in Dublin especially, they have shown a considerable electoral strength. Several avowed Sinn Féiners sit on the Dublin Corporation. Many ex-members of the Irish Party have joined their ranks, and, after the introduction and rejection of Mr. Birrell's Bill of 1907, three Irish M.P.'s broke away from the Parliamentarians and seceded to the Sinn Féiners. One of them a few months ago resigned his seat in North Leitrim and stood again in the Sinn Féin cause. He was defeated; but he polled a vote that would not have disgraced a wealthy organization of twenty years' standing, and it is certain that no Unionist, no Devolutionist, could have done half so well. The ferment is undoubtedly spreading. All that is most honest, most intelligent and most stalwart in Nationalist Ireland is turning towards Sinn Féin. After five years' work the Sinn Féiners are recognized as offering a policy that is at once a serious rival, and the only possible alternative, to Parliamentarianism.

But they have a long row to hoe. Their organization cannot begin to compare with that of the Irish Party, and they have little money. Far as they have advanced, and remarkable as are their successes, they cannot as yet be said to be within measurable distance of weaning Ireland from the Irish Party. Their strength lies almost exclusively in the towns. Rural Ireland so far has been scarcely touched by their propaganda, and is still securely barricaded against its advent by the time-honored alliance of priest, publican and politician. A few individual priests have joined the new organization, but the priesthood as a whole is undoubtedly against it, and, if it develops much more strength, will probably attack it openly. The Sinn Féiners take the secular view of things educational as instinctively as they take the national view of things political and the Protectionist view of things fiscal. They are compact of stiffness and independence; they are wholly opposed to clerical domination in the schools. That in itself is enough to draw down upon them the thunderbolts of ecclesiastical wrath. The Church, after many years of adroit manipulation, has secured a hold upon the Irish Party which will not easily be shaken off. It is far more interested in excluding the laity from the management of the schools

than in promoting Home Rule. It knows that the Irish Party will never dare to lift a finger against the clerical control of primary education, and it suspects, and I should judge rightly suspects, that the Sinn Féiners would prove by no means so complaisant. It has, therefore, no intention of deposing the Irish Party for the sake of installing Sinn Féin. As for the publicans, whose political influence is second only to that of the priests, they are against Sinn Féin if only because Sinn Féin advocates temperance; while the Irish Party itself and its adherents in the press and the members of the various "leagues" of which it is composed, repay with interest the Sinn Féiners' ridicule and invective. Moreover, although there are several men of real intellectual force among the Sinn Féiners, they have not as yet produced a leader who has appealed to the national imagination; and in Ireland, even more than in most countries, that is an almost fatal deficiency.

But perhaps the most serious difficulty ahead of the Sinn Féiners is that their policy depends for its success upon sacrifice, persistence and self-denial. The Irish people are not incapable of sacrifice and self-denial, but I think their history shows that those qualities have hitherto been mainly evoked when there was some prospect of a tangible, material reward. The Irish have struggled long and resolutely for their hold upon the land. But have they the fineness, the patriotism, the idealism to struggle equally long and resolutely for Home Rule? The land, as I have said, is life; Home Rule is sentiment. It has yet to be proved that the latter appeals to the Irish people with even half the intensity of the former. And yet the new spirit of hardihood and self-help that is penetrating the Irish character, and the new conception of nationality that is beginning to find a place in the Irish comprehension, are factors that already tell powerfully on the Sinn Féin side. Their policy may be fantastic and impossible, though I do not myself altogether think that it is; but the idea of virility and reliance that it embodies is one that is bound to exercise a profound and disintegrating influence on the Irish Party, and may end by superseding it by a broader, healthier and more personal nationalism.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be continued.)

NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR DEPARTMENTS OF SCHOOL HYGIENE.

BY WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

On the opening day of school in September, 1907, the daily press of the United States published stories regarding the home conditions of 1,400 out of 160,000 New York children found by school physicians to have defects of vision, breathing, hearing, nutrition, etc. Unless the children of Manhattan are different from other children in the country, it was estimated that an examination would find 12,000,000 in need of dental, medical, ocular care or better nourishment. The defects would be distributed approximately as follows: malnutrition, 1,248,000; enlarged glands, 5,460,000; swollen tonsils and adenoids, 7,092,000; bad teeth, 8,988,000. Accompanying these figures was the statement that the term "physical deterioration of school children" was a misnomer, and that the only new thing about these defects was the recently awakened interest in them. Notwithstanding the conservative, constructive character of the report made by the Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children, as the result of a year's scientific study, shrieking head-lines were made to sound an alarm—"Millions Diseased," "12,000,000 Defective School Children," "Millions Unfit for Schooling." Editorials followed, some using the superlatives of sensation, while others cynically poked fun at "statisticians with whom one swallow makes a summer." The majority, however, treated the situation gravely, wresting from the announcement three clear messages: (1) Beware of the bogie Socialism; (2) "cheat the hospitals, poorhouses and insane asylums of the future" by giving at school free meals, free eye-glasses, free shoes, free medical care; (3) let every parent, teacher, school superintendent and health officer set about to remove conditions that produce physical defects.

The battle will be waged for years to come. Do-nothingism is already unhorsed. The issue lies between the second and third points of view, between doing and getting done. The outcome will depend upon the persistence with which are presented such significant facts and practical conclusions as those summarized in the report that precipitated the discussion.

But are there really 12,000,000 school children who need medical, dental, ocular care or better nourishment? Do physical defects universally hamper school progress? Is it probable that considerable numbers of children reared on farms and in small towns have the defects found in 225 schools of Manhattan? Exact numbers and proportions nobody knows. We do know that mouth-breathing, headaches, nervousness, dizziness, constipation, ear trouble, weak eyes, decayed teeth, prolonged colds and infection, wherever they exist, reduce vitality and power to assimilate either food or instruction. The chances are that, in any class of thirty boys and girls, twenty need care not yet given, two will be under-nourished, nine will have enlarged glands, twelve will have adenoids or enlarged tonsils, or both; while practically all will need dental care, from fifteen to twenty will be in serious need of such care. Though special training is required to trace defects back to causes, a casual scrutiny of the average class, whether in country or city, will enable even pupils themselves to pick out those children who are "different," "queer" or "dopey." But the question whether the proportion of children needing attention is two out of three, four out of seven, or nine out of ten is a detail. The fact of facts is that in every school, whether among the tamaracks of upper Michigan, or the elms of Boston, such need of attention to school children exists. Just who and how many these children are, to just what extent backwardness, truancy, "dropping out" and industrial inefficiency are due to hitherto neglected defects, it should be made the school's business to determine.

That physical defects recognize no limits of geography, race and income is illustrated by Freddie L. and his classmates of good American stock. They live at the seashore. Throughout their twelve years they have lived in a veritable Eldorado of health and nature beauty. Groves and grains and dune flora vie with the blues of ocean and sky in resting the eye, and in preparing the soul for that harmony that is said to make for sound living.

Yet, to a child, Freddie's friends are experts on patent medicines and on the heredity that is alleged to be responsible for bad temper, running sores, anæmia and weak eyes. Freddie is particularly favored. His well-to-do parents have supplied him with ponies and games and bicycles. Nothing prevents his breathing salt air fresh from the North Pole, but hermetically sealed windows. The father thinks it absurd to make a fuss over adenoids. Didn't he have them and doesn't he weigh 200 pounds and "make good money"? The mother "never heard tell" of operations when she taught school, supposes her boy needs one, but "just can't bear to see the dear child hurt." As for Freddie, he breathes through his mouth, talks through his nose, grows indifferent to boys' fun, fails of promotion in school, and fears that he "won't be strong in spite of all the patent medicines I've taken." Father, mother and Freddie feel profound pity for the child of poverty in a New York flat.

Freddie also illustrates the second general set of facts reported for New York children. Few of the physical defects of school children can be corrected by nourishment alone; the cause of eye trouble is often not reached by eye-glasses. Europeans have mistakenly tried to cure adenoids, eye strain, malnutrition by giving a school meal without correcting bad ventilation, decayed teeth, improper home feeding, hurried and irregular eating, unhygienic habits. The best diet in the world will prove ineffective if tonsils, adenoids and bad teeth once get a good start. They do get the start on the avenue as well as in the alley. They have a start with Freddie that food cannot check. Of the children reported for malnutrition, only 145 out of 1,400—less than one-seventh—had home incomes of ten dollars a week or less, while one-third had over twenty dollars a week. The chief difference that is reported between the very poor and the comfortably situated is that a larger proportion of the latter refused to believe that their children could have any ailments.

Thirdly, children's physical defects are, in general, traceable to methods of eating rather than to quantity or character of food, and not so much to food as to decayed teeth, and unsanitary school and home conditions. The New York figures undoubtedly—so experts declare—understate the number of children needing dental care. As used in New York, "bad teeth" means large and numerous cavities that decrease power to digest and that

furnish fertile breeding-ground for disease germs. Here, again, there seems no reason to believe that country children are more favored than slum children. In fact, the city child, however poor, is even nearer to a dentist and to hospital and dispensary treatment than the child of the cross-roads, the small town or even the rich suburb. The country over, "baby" teeth are allowed to rot themselves loose, thus frequently infecting the second teeth. Permanent teeth receive little, if any, attention until after school age. This fact is of importance, because a large part of the defects so far discovered could result from neglect of teeth. Several German cities make a great point of compelling attention to teeth of school children; and certain insurance companies save death premiums by giving free dental care to policy-holders. The New York Children's Aid Society organized a short time ago a dental clinic-school where, under the leadership of Herbert L. Wheeler, D.D.S., twenty pioneer dentist-teachers have set out to convince the poor that dentistry is a profession for preventing, not merely for decorating, holes in the teeth. As for unsanitary school conditions, New York and sister cities have no apologies to make to rural districts. Unadjustable desks, dry sweeping, feather dusters, shiny blackboards, harassing discipline that wrecks nerves, excessive home study, are not peculiar to great cities. In a little Western town, a competition between two self-governing brigades for merit-points was determined by the amount of home study; looking back fifteen years, I can see that I was encouraging anæmic and over-ambitious children to rob themselves of play, sleep and vitality. Many a rural school violates more laws of health than any city factory. I never found in the slums of Glasgow, Dublin, London, Philadelphia or New York unsanitary conditions so revolting as I have seen on the grounds of American country schools.

The New York investigators carefully separated *significant facts* from *conclusions,* because the purpose of their study was not to bias opinion, but to encourage constant study of children's physical welfare. Most of their conclusions bear upon a constructive programme for local, county, State and national Departments of School Hygiene. School meals, as a remedy for physical defects, are opposed not because they would cost too much and not because they are Socialistic, but because they are inadequate. Even though free meals were adopted as a means of insuring

better discipline and more punctual attendance, the greater problem would remain untouched of stopping the manufacture of physical defects by home and school conditions. Some plan must be devised by which the school can help the child who suffers because of neglect or ignorance in the use of supposedly adequate income, as well as the child who suffers because of inadequate home income.

Whatever else is tried, the following steps are urged as indispensable; perhaps, after they are taken, there will be fewer reasons for free meals, free eye-glasses and free relief at school; if they are not taken, agitation for free meals and free eye-glasses, etc., will rapidly gain momentum. These steps constitute a programme that is immediately practicable in all States.

(1) A thorough physical examination of all children of all schools, public, parochial and private.

(2) Notification of parents and family physicians as to children's needs. That tens of thousands of records of defects piled up at health headquarters do not help children has been conclusively proved in New York.

(3) "Follow-up" notices with visits to inform and persuade parents to correct defects and to remove their causes. Of 631 examinations so followed up in one Manhattan district, all but 52 parents took the proper steps; 103 after the first notice from the Health Department, 165 after a first visit to the home, 106 after a second visit and 38 after a third visit.

(4) Enforcement of existing laws and securing proper authority, where this is now lacking, to compel obstinate parents to take necessary steps. Seldom will this force be required. Children themselves will prefer to comply with school requirements to being marked among their fellows for non-compliance. Mouth breathers do not want to be called "fly-catchers" and "dopes." Parents do not want to hold their children or other children back. Nor do they willingly sacrifice future earning power to present convenience or to prejudice.

(5) Periodic re-examination of school children during school life. The school authorities of New York City are now considering the adoption of an individual record card that will show side by side the physical and mental history of the child for eight years.

(6) Physical examination of children when applying for work

certificates. The children of Rochester, New York, are grateful to Dr. Goler for telling them how to increase their earning power by correcting physical defects or by avoiding dangerous trades for which they are physically unfit.

(7) Use of information gained regarding physical effects of bad living conditions to secure enforcement of health and tenement laws, restrictions of hours of labor, control of dangerous trades, prevention of child labor. The best possible index to any community's social and industrial problems is the physical welfare of its school children. Having read the index, the school should make its story known to everybody.

(8) School buildings and school curriculum should be so constructed and so managed that they cannot themselves either produce or aggravate physical defects.

(9) The effect of school environment and school requirements upon the child should be constantly studied. Teachers should be examined and re-examined for their vitality, which exercises an important influence upon that of the pupil.

(10) Hygiene should be so taught that children will learn their health rights and how to maintain them.

The execution of such a comprehensive programme requires some new mechanisms not hitherto known to the American school world. Because defects are as general as schools, a workable plan must provide for rural as well as city schools, for children in Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippines, as well as for those of Boston, Cleveland and New York. If all children of all schools are to be benefited, the National Bureau of Education, all State and colonial departments of education, all county and city school headquarters, must organize departments of school hygiene. National and State departments should be equipped to compile and publish results of examinations, follow-up work, etc., in individual schools. County and city departments should not only compile and publish facts, but should gather them through examinations, follow-up work, supervision of school hygiene, etc. County and city departments must be "working biological engineers." State and National departments will be more effective if they confine themselves to the rôle of "consulting biological engineers." The pupil will be examined by a physician, and his mother taught by a nurse, belonging to or associated with a city, county or provincial department of school hygiene. The records

of both nurse and physician will help teachers and principals to take more intelligent personal interest in their pupils. The work of physician and nurse will be supervised and recorded by Department officers. Quarterly or annual reports will be sent to the State Department, which will stimulate uniformity up to a minimum standard of efficiency, as State Boards of Education now encourage a high percentage of attendance both by money grants *per capita* of attendance and by comparing schools of the same size. The State Department will send its results in summary to the National Bureau, which will send back to each State the best fruits of the experience of all States. Given such co-operative and cumulative attention to the physical welfare of the nation's school children, and many of our grave social and industrial problems would assume aspects less forbidding. Down below the question of child labor is the question of child vitality; more important than under-age is under-strength. Behind problems of pedagogics are problems of living and earning. Departments of school hygiene would harness 500,000 teachers, thousands of physicians and nurses and 20,000,000 children to the fact-making, fact-gathering and fact-recording staff now endeavoring to secure education that will fit the child for industry, for parenthood and for citizenship.

Much of the machinery necessary to this plan for efficient departments of school hygiene already exists. Local, county, State and National school headquarters are in the habit of asking questions and making suggestions concerning pupil, teacher and school work. County superintendents make the rounds, criticising and suggesting. District superintendents in cities do the same. All that is needed is to include *physical welfare* among the items to be critically noted. A step in the right direction has been taken by United States Commissioner Brown, who is asking Congress to grant funds to enable the National Bureau of Education to engage "a specialist in the welfare of children to diffuse information and spread a wholesome influence touching these things." State Commissioners are equipped to pass on this information. They do not need much additional help to send out circulars of instruction and inquiry. But an occasional examiner such as has been sent out by many State boards of health or of education is a poor substitute for a State department of school hygiene, always inquiring and always getting things done by city and county de-

partments. Nor does the Massachusetts law go far enough when it leaves it optional with school boards to have school children inspected. Having recognized that every child has a right to health, to breathe through the nose, to see without pain, to clean atmosphere, floors and grounds, the State should see that these health rights are enforced equally in all its schools. Where schools receive State money it is quite as fair to require assurance that health needs are provided for as to require forty days' attendance. It is for seeing that information is used by schools receiving State money, or receiving State protection, that additional employees are needed. In both State and county offices, clerical help is required to send out notices to parents and to keep track of results. From individual schools visits must be paid to dilatory, obstinate and uninformed parents. Where communities are not large enough to furnish special nurses and physicians, the county superintendent will be given a visiting nurse; with proper supervision it should be practicable to utilize local physicians for examinations where teachers acting under instructions cannot be expected to get trustworthy results. When such activities are recorded at county school headquarters, a new meaning will be given to county visiting and subjects not shopworn will be discussed at county institutes.

A city department of school hygiene has been organized in Cleveland; Chicago has a child-study bureau; Philadelphia and Boston are doing much for their children. But New York comes nearer to a comprehensive plan to-day than is found elsewhere in America. The chess men are on the board; they only need to be arranged so that pawns, knights, queens and kings are identified and placed. (1) General supervision of children's physical welfare is in the hands of a director of physical training who has several efficient aides. While the greater part of their attention has heretofore been given to gymnastics, breathing exercises, dances and games, they are expected to influence the hygiene practised at school, ventilation, etc. The special studies of backward children, of physiological age, have emphasized the need for curriculum and discipline fitted to physique. (2) School buildings are designed by an architect who is a student of ventilation, lighting, etc. The fact that his results are frequently not satisfactory to the physical directors and teachers does not decrease the importance of the fact that New York recognizes the necessity

of having experts on construction. (3) Physicians both examine children for defects and inspect for evidences of infection. (4) Nurses treat children for skin troubles, nits, etc., and go to the homes to teach parents how to care for children's heads, where to have adenoids removed, etc. (5) Health headquarters, principals and physicians send formal notices and informal messages to parents and family physicians urging attention to the child's troubles. Mothers' meetings are held and popular lectures given. (6) Individual record cards tell teacher and principal each child's particular needs. (7) A handbook shows what dispensaries, hospitals, reliefs and fresh-air agencies are within reach of each school. Physical training, proper instruction in hygiene, shower baths, swimming-pools, roof gardens, gymnasiums, athletic leagues, rifle-shooting contests—all of these things are found in some parts of New York.

New York has everything—but a plan! It has no co-ordinating factor to see that all children of all sections enjoy the minimum of health protection. It has not systematized the plan of following up notices and visits. Nor is there co-ordination of the many official and private agencies for promoting child welfare. But the community is so convinced by work already done that conditions are now ripe for a Department of School Hygiene. The head of this Department should be directly responsible to the Board of Education through the city superintendent, and should be in the superintendent's cabinet. He should have responsibility for using the information regarding non-contagious diseases and physical defects discovered at school, as well as contagious diseases for which children are not excluded, such as ringworm, pediculosis, etc. After the school and district physician has diagnosed, the school nurse, subject to orders of the Department of School Hygiene, should wash heads, give baths or teach mothers, according to the exigencies of the case. The Department should be responsible for keeping records of examination and re-examination on individual record cards that follow the child from class to class or school to school during school life. It should also be responsible for follow-up work, for inspection of buildings, for the hygiene practised and the hygiene taught in school, for criticisms of curriculum, building and grounds so far as these injuriously affect health, and for making effective use of knowledge gained by the Department. Health benefits should be equalized

by showing which sections are deprived of health rights. The sacrifice of child vitality should be prevented in kindergarten, high and normal schools, by honor pupils as well as the backward. Teachers' training schools should be especially supervised and future teachers trained to habits of health and to methods of teaching hygiene. The examinations and re-examinations could properly be left with the school and district inspectors of the Department of Health. Thus statements regarding the physical needs of the child would come to school officers with the prestige of the sanitary code behind them. An important change was made in Manhattan last fall whereby instead of having two physicians in one large district—one for contagious diseases in homes and another for schools—each physician is given a small district and expected to do all of the work in that district for both school and home. Experiment in a few districts recently proved that the physician comes to know his district intimately and becomes known by the people of that district. Because known to all school children, teachers, school and hospital officials, parents, etc., he may become a district character more important than a political leader. As a ward boss holds each leader responsible for a full vote on primary and election days, so the Health Department holds each school and district physician responsible for reducing physical defects and contagion.

To this programme for departments of school hygiene the chief obstacle is ignorance as to the need for them and as to the benefits they would bring. The cure for ignorance is information. Facts properly presented will also cure prejudice and prevent superficial judgment. Facts and facts alone—the true reading of experience—will settle right the controverted questions as to jurisdiction of health and education boards, interference with school discipline, increasing or decreasing the teacher's burdens, justice of taxing one man for the health of another's child. The massing of facts is easy for National, State and county headquarters for school knowledge. Therefore the importance of beginning at these headquarters the organization of special departments of school hygiene. A sufficient number of teachers have already found their burdens lightened and their energies freed by physical examination of children and by proper follow-up work to convince the teaching profession, if only the facts can be circulated as are the virtues of a new method of teaching penmanship.

Taxpayers, sceptical of money-saving devices that cost money, will listen to teachers' statements that for every dollar spent on a department of school hygiene ten to one hundred dollars can be saved by removing the defects that made it necessary to take children over the same work two or more times. To write a note to a parent, to telephone to a family physician, dispensary, relief society or fresh-air agency is demonstrably much cheaper than giving things away at school. It is cheaper for schools to have a department that will set to work in the interest of school children all the social agencies of a community, than to break down trying to do school work and that of hospitals, restaurants, stores. It is better to have prohibited the sale of impure milk anywhere within city limits than to sell pure milk to school children.

American cities are compelled to choose not between examination that costs a trifle and absolute neglect, but between examination *plus* follow-up work, on the one hand, and free relief at school, on the other; between teaching that removes the causes of defects and giving that neglects causal conditions. Free meals were made a political issue in the last parliamentary election in Great Britain. Already, America's greatest professional friend of the downtrodden has through his papers laid the foundation for a political agitation in favor of free meals, free eye-glasses, free patches of every kind. Labor in Britain was decoyed by talk of free meals. Labor in America will outvote Mr. Conservative when free meals are made a political issue, unless the laborer sees that the free meal remedy is the lesser of two benefits. When the issue is child welfare *versus* money, opposition to taxes will lose. Free meals cannot be stopped on economic grounds or by theoretical or hysterical opposition to paternalism. But, given the clear issue, permanent benefits to child *versus* palliative measures, and labor will choose as wisely as capital. European countries, whose free gifts are held up to us as models, have failed utterly to cope with their own industrial and social problems. They feed children, but they also feed able-bodied men and women. Behind every child who needs free meals is a home needing attention. For securing that attention, for enlisting the intelligence of the parent in efforts to rear children capable of self-help and sound living, for giving all communities a definite basis for constructive social work, efficient departments of school hygiene are requisite.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN.

THE ALLEGED PASSING OF WAGNER.

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN.

THE process of consigning the works of Richard Wagner to the capacious dust-bin where lie the discarded products of the world's art goes energetically forward. An English critic of authority, Mr. E. A. Baughn, has lately been giving voice—in what he calls, with a touch of pathos, "the apostasy of a Wagnerian"—to doubts concerning the artistic impeccability of the tyrant of Bayreuth; not long ago Mr. Philip Hale celebrated publicly the recrudescence of Italian opera and the inferential eclipse of the music-drama according to Wagner; and now comes Mr. Reginald de Koven with tidings and prophecies of sombre import. In the April issue of this REVIEW he sought to show, in a spirit obviously free from carping and prejudice, that the decline and fall of the author of "Tristan und Isolde" was an event which had begun to cast its dire shadows into the present: he dared, in short, to announce the definitive bursting of what vivacious persons have called "the Wagner bubble," though he did not disdain to permit a certain reverence to temper the harshness of his declaration.

Let us consider Mr. de Koven's allegations, and his reasons for the belief that is in him, since he is by far the most confident witness of Wagner's downfall who has thus far put himself upon record.

Mr. de Koven believes that he is justified in accepting New York as a reasonable criterion of operatic taste, for he regards it as, to-day, "the principal operatic centre of the world." Proceeding then to a consideration of the past season of opera at the Metropolitan Opera House,* he affirms that New York "has

* Wagner's works are not in the répertoire of the Manhattan Opera House.

never known a season when fewer of Wagner's works have been performed." It is unfortunate that Mr. de Koven should have elected to found any part of his argument upon this assertion; for it is not true that New York "has never known a season when fewer of Wagner's works have been performed" than were performed during the past season. In any such contention as Mr. de Koven's, it may be conceded that the truth of the matter rests, in a considerable degree, upon the mere statistics of performances. Now, these statistics show that there have been, since the end of the German régime at the Metropolitan in 1891, many seasons during which Wagner was less frequently heard than during the season of 1907-08. According to the records, New York heard during the past season thirty performances of works by Wagner, and these performances were apportioned among nine operas and music-dramas: "Die Meistersinger," "Der Fliegende Holländer," "Lohengrin," "Tristan und Isolde," "Tannhäuser," "Die Walküre," "Siegfried," "Rheingold," and "Die Götterdämmerung"—all of his works that now hold the stage except "Rienzi" and "Parsifal." As against this record, we may set that of the season of 1891-92, when there were only eight performances of three of Wagner's works ("Der Fliegende Holländer," "Lohengrin," "Die Meistersinger"); the season of 1893-94, when three operas by Wagner ("Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin," "Die Meistersinger") were heard, in all, ten times; the season of 1894-95, when there were only seven performances of two works by Wagner ("Lohengrin" and "Die Meistersinger"); the season of 1895-96, when the Wagner record was twenty-one performances of five works; the season of 1896-97, with a precisely similar record; the season of 1901-02, when eight of Wagner's works yielded sixteen performances; and the season of 1902-03, when the same number of works had twenty-six performances. We need not carry the comparison further to show the degree to which Mr. de Koven has been betrayed by a too hasty or too casual assumption. The stubborn and inconvenient fact remains that Wagner was not less, but more, frequently performed in New York during the recent season than in many other seasons of the past. And these additional facts emerge: of the fifteen composers represented at the Metropolitan during the season of 1907-08, Wagner, in respect of numerical preponderance, heads the list, his nearest rivals

being Verdi and Puccini, each of whom totalled twenty-three performances of four operas. These facts are, it is true, deceptive as indexes of popularity, for the attractive or unattractive manner in which an opera is cast is, obviously, a factor which has to be very gravely reckoned with; they are recited here only because Mr. de Koven invites their exhibition.

Let us pass, then, to the succeeding portion of his testimony. Not only, says Mr. de Koven, has New York "never known a season when fewer of Wagner's works have been performed" (an assertion which we have seen to be in singular conflict with the facts), but there has never been a season "when performances of these works have aroused so little popular interest, or enlisted so scant a measure of popular support." Here Mr. de Koven is upon securer ground. It is undeniable that the Wagner performances at the Metropolitan last season were not so largely attended as they have been in previous years; yet one may be pardoned for believing that the reasons for this are not precisely those advanced by Mr. de Koven, and that they do not indicate so mournful a destiny as that imagined by our prophet of little faith: a time when, as he predicts, "the 'Music of the Future' may have become the 'Music of the Past.'"

Mr. de Koven would have us seek the reasons for the condition which he describes in three directions: "in the inherent character of the works themselves; behind the curtain among the singers; and in front of it among the audience." Mr. de Koven presents these reasons in reverse order. As regards the attitude of the public, he believes that their supposedly weakened allegiance to Wagner is due in part to the disappearance of the Wagnerites, and in part to the competing attractiveness of "the music of more modern composers who have out-Wagnered Wagner," and "have weaned away many admirers . . . in giving them newer, bolder and more vivid musical sensations." As regards conditions "behind the curtain," he holds that there are to-day no "great" Wagner singers, and that the "inferior" ones we do possess "struggle as best they may with . . . well-nigh impossible vocal conditions, or, as is now often the case, refuse these conditions altogether and decline to sing Wagner's music at all"; here Mr. de Koven is obsessed, of course, by the familiar delusion that Wagner's music is "ruinous for the voice." His third contention pertains to "the inherent character of Wagner's

art and his theories of it as exemplified in his operas and music-dramas"; but to this matter we shall come later on.

Mr. de Koven's explanations are not, as has already been remarked, completely persuasive. We may consider first those which are least plausible. As to the present lack of "great" Wagner singers: Let it be regretfully conceded that there is to-day no one familiar to the American stage capable of singing *Tristan* as Jean de Reszke used to sing the part; that there is as yet no successor to Lilli Lehmann. But to hold that there are to-day no Wagner singers of the first rank (the epithet "great" is not to be lightly applied) is to do flagrant injustice to more than a few extraordinarily fine artists. Does Mr. de Koven believe, for example, that the superb and engrossing *Kundry,* the magnetic *Isolde,* the alluring and splendid *Venus,* the insurpassable *Sieglinde,* of Mme. Fremstad are negligible achievements? Have *Wotan, Amfortas, Kurwenal, Wolfram,* been more impressively done than by Mr. Van Rooy? Would he maintain that Wagner has been, on the whole, less admirably sung in our day by Fremstad, Gadski, Ternina, Schumann-Heink, Homer, Van Rooy, Knote, than he was twenty years ago by Niemann, Alvary, Reichmann, Fischer, Brandt, Seidl-Krauss (the incomparable Lehmann is not to be named in any such general parallel)? Probably not. For it is a matter of fairly general agreement among those who are able to judge of the matter that the average of excellence in individual performances of Wagner is higher to-day than it was in the years when the later music-dramas were first revealed to us by singing-actors whose zeal and earnestness were as indisputable as their art was rude and inept.

Again, one must differ with Mr. de Koven when he attributes the alleged abatement of Wagnerian enthusiasm to the weaning away of many of his former admirers by "more modern composers who have out-Wagnered Wagner in giving them newer, bolder and more vivid musical sensations." Who, one wonders, are these composers? It is not easy to think of any modern composers of opera, known to America, who are writing "newer, bolder and more vivid" music than Wagner's except Claude Debussy and Richard Strauss; and the "Pelléas et Mélisande" of Debussy was unknown in this country until late in the past winter, while the "Salome" of Strauss is as yet scarcely known

here save to students and professional observers. Is Mr. de Koven thinking of Puccini, Leoncavallo, Mascagni? These are makers of music which might perhaps be characterized as "newer" than Wagner's; but "bolder"? "more vivid"? Yet Mr. de Koven has here almost stumbled upon the *crux* of the matter. It is true that Wagner's kingdom, wherein he ruled in solitary magnificence, has been invaded, and by none other than Puccini and his fellows; but it is not, one need scarcely say, any musical superiority which equipped them for that feat.

Mr. de Koven seems to feel that if the purely musical element in Wagner's stage works were more paramount and more appealing, if they possessed what he calls "more formal, salient, fluent melody," their present situation might be different. And in this he is in accord with Mr. Baughn, who blames Wagner because he did not make use of "the full resources of music and of the beautiful singing-voice in duets, concerted numbers and choruses." On the contrary, it is because Wagner was too opulently musical, because he was not Wagnerian enough, not really a faithful executant of his theories, that it is possible to find in his works to-day not only a lack of complete artistic success, but a substantial reason for a measurable slackening of his hold upon the public. He conceived himself to be primarily a dramatist, a dramatist using music solely and frankly as an auxiliary, as a means of intensifying the action and the moods of the play: and this end he pathetically imagined that he had achieved. Had any temerarious soul assured him that his dramas would survive and endure by virtue of their music alone, it is easy to fancy his mingled incredulity and anger. He was not, judged by an ideal even less uncompromising than his own, a musical dramatist at all: he was essentially—as the present deponent ventured to remark in these pages six years ago — a dramatic symphonist, a writer of programme-music who used the drama and its appurtenances, for the most part, as a mere stalking-horse for his huge and intricate and subtle orchestral tone-poems. He was seduced and overwhelmed by his own great and marvellous art, his irrepressible eloquence: his drama is distorted, exaggerated or spread to an arid thinness, to accommodate his imperious musical imagination. He called his operas by the proud title of "music-dramas"; yet often it is impossible to find the drama because of the music. He ruthlessly in-

terrupts or suspends the action of his plays or the dialogue of his personages in order that he may meditate or philosophize orchestrally; and in much of the vocal writing in his later works, dramatic consistency and truth are as unconcernedly sacrificed to the opportunity of writing triumphantly beautiful music as they are in any of the unregenerate operas which he despised. It was not, as has been said before, that he fell short, but that he went too far: he should have stopped at eloquent and pointed intensification. Instead, he smothered his none too lucid dramas in a welter of magnificent and inspired music—obscured them, stretched them to intolerable lengths, filled up every possible space in them with his wonderful tonal commentary, by which they are not, as he thought, upborne, but calamitously overweighted. He himself was one of the most formidable enemies that Wagnerism ever had. No principle of musico-dramatic construction was held by him to be more important than that the words uttered by his characters should be clearly understood. "I strove," he wrote, "to raise the dramatic dialogue itself to the main subject of musical treatment"; yet that was precisely what, in many cases, he failed to do: his vocal speech is contrived with skill and cunning, but it has to pierce through a dense orchestral web of many and rich strands, and its mere dramatic significance is frequently obscured in the process. A compromising attitude toward the orchestral commentary on the part of the conductor may do much toward bringing about a juster balance between the musical and dramatic elements; but this is often effected at the expense of much that is characteristic and essential in the quality of the music—as witness the singularly flaccid and ineffectual performance of the "Liebestod" which resulted last winter at the Metropolitan from Mr. Gustav Mahler's commendable desire to bring the words and the song of the transfigured *Isolde* into due prominence.

The effect of all this is lamentable. In the days when the impetus of a pristine enthusiasm drove the more intelligent order of opera-goers to performances of Wagner, it was a labor of love to read in advance the texts of his dramas; and even the guide-books, which were as leaves in Vallombrosa, were prayerfully studied. But to-day, as Mr. de Koven truthfully observes, there are no Wagnerites. We are no longer impelled by an apostolic fervor to delve curiously into the complex genealogy and elaborate ethics

of the "Ring," and it is no longer quite clear to many slothful intelligences just what Tristan and Isolde are talking about in the dusk of King Mark's garden. There will always be a small group of the faithful who, through invincible and loving study, will have learned by heart every secret of these dramas. But for the casual opera-goer, granting him all possible intelligence and intellectual curiosity, they cannot but seem the reverse of crystal-clear, logical and compact.

A score of years ago in New York those who cared at all for the dramatic element in opera, and the measure of whose delight was not filled up by the vocal pyrotechny which was the mainstay of the operas of the older répertoire, found their chief solace and satisfaction in the music-dramas of Wagner. He reigned then virtually alone over his kingdom. The dignity, the imaginative power and the impressive emotional sweep of his dramas, as dramas, offset their obscurity and their inordinate bulk; and always their splendid investiture of music exerted, in and of itself, an enthralling fascination. And that condition of affairs might have continued for much longer had not certain impetuous young men of modern Italy demonstrated the possibility of writing operas which were both dramatically engrossing and musically eloquent, and which had the incalculable merit, for our time and environment, of being both swift in movement and unimpeachably obvious in meaning. Thereupon began the reign of young Italy in contemporary opera. It was inaugurated with the "Cavalleria Rusticana" of Mascagni and the "I Pagliacci" of Leoncavallo; and it is continued to-day, with immense vigor and persistence, by Puccini with all his later works. The sway of the composer of "Madame Butterfly" is triumphant and well-nigh absolute; and the reasons for it are not elusive. He has selected for musical treatment dramas that are terse and rapid in action and intelligible in detail, and he has underscored them with music that is impassioned, incisive, highly spiced, rhetorical, sometimes poetic and ingenious, and pervadingly sentimental. Moreover, he possesses, as his most prosperous attribute, that facility in writing fervid and banal melodies which, as Mr. Henry T. Finck has observed, "give the singers opportunity to pour out their voices in that lavish volume and intensity which provoke applause as infallibly as horseradish provokes tears."

Thus we find the public offered, on the one hand, the rapidly moving, easily intelligible, and passionate music-dramas of Puccini and his kin (which do not depend for their appeal, let it be noted, upon the popularity of the singers who appear in them); and, on the other hand, the delight of witnessing the vocal necromancy whereby such gifted singers as Mr. Caruso, Mr. Bonci, and Mme. Sembrich have succeeded in galvanizing the obsolescent works of the old school into a semblance of vitality; is it any wonder that, in face of these opposing attractions, the productions of Richard Wagner—which are indubitably not "amusing," as Mr. de Koven sadly observes—should languish in comparative desuetude?

Let us, in conclusion, admit, then, that the general public attitude toward Wagner in New York is at present a little apathetic, by reason, as it seems, of the opposing lures whose nature has been suggested. But that his works will ever suffer any very marked neglect here is not a contingency which need alarm his most timid admirer. The Wagnerites, it is true, are gone; and the validity and persuasiveness of "Tristan" and the "Ring" as dramas seem less certain than of old. But the music lives, as an independent commentary that is of almost universal scope in its voicing of the moods and emotions of men and the varied pageant of the visible world. As music, it is still, at its best, unparalleled and unapproached; and, as Pater prophesied of the poetry of Rossetti, more torches will be lit from its flame than even enthusiasts imagine. Nothing can ever dim the glory of Wagner the weaver of tones. His place is secure among the Olympians; where he sits, one likes to fancy, apart—a little lonely and disdainful. His music is both gorgeous and exquisite, epical and tender, sublimely noble, and human as passion and despair. One can at the least think of him as the subtle observer whom I have just quoted chose to think of a master of poetry: "as a superb god of art, so proudly heedless or reckless that he never notices the loss of his winged sandals, and that he is stumbling clumsily when he might well lightly be lifting his steps against the sunway where his eyes are set."

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

BY THE EDITOR.

In contrast with nearly all the American public men of his time was Grover Cleveland; indeed, it is the exact truth that, in his official conduct, in his public utterances, in his career, he presented to the country its present standard of excellence for the measurement of republican statesmanship,—a standard of which all our active public men fall short, and to which hardly any of them seek to attain.

Great Presidents have been very few; the reasons for this are many, and some of them are obvious. The President of the United States has more power than the English monarch; and, in times when vigorous and quick action is needed, he has more than the British Prime Minister. But the American Executive cannot manifest greatness unless the times and their circumstances require unusual action. It does not follow that a man who, in his age, may be accounted great is recognized necessarily, if he be chosen to the office, to be a great President. The times may not permit; the opportunity may not present itself; the conditions of the country may be so satisfying, so conducive to general contentment that a great man may only manifest his greatness by a wise inactivity. A foolish man in such a place at such a time would disturb the peace and the happiness of the country, because his emotions would lead him to think that he must vindicate his right to supremacy by doing something. Now, to do something merely for the sake of action—to do something when repose is essential—is not to vindicate a right to supremacy, but to demonstrate the gift of inferiority. The still-sitting soul is sublime; but the whirling and whirring fancy is ludicrous weakness, so long as it is not injurious.

The great Presidents whom we have happily possessed may

be easily counted. George Washington was great as a man and a soldier and a statesman. We owe to him, far above all other men, the independence of the country and the Union of the States. Thomas Jefferson was great as political philosopher and as statesman. We owe to him our early teachings of the dignity and worth of manhood, and of the deep significance of the essential principles of individual liberty; and we owe to him our Western boundaries. Abraham Lincoln was a great President. He saved the Union, partly by his splendid patience in dealing with its open enemies, his faith in his cause, and in the people, both Northern and Southern, and partly by his self-sacrificing and very intelligent resistance to the radicals of his own party. Had he lived, the Republic would have been better off to-day than it is likely to be for many years to come. Grover Cleveland is also to be counted a great President, great especially in character. The alternative was more than once presented to him to prefer his party or to defend and protect the general welfare, and he did what is done by all men who are worthy of political leadership; he accepted the issue as it was presented to him, and chose his part without considering his own fortunes; he did what was best for the country and what would, therefore, have been best for his party also if the party had been endowed with the wisdom to accept his reasoned conclusions.

Mr. Cleveland was a great Executive. He asserted and maintained the independence and the dignity of the Presidency against the attacks of the Senate, the enmity of disappointed politicians, the wiles of his own fellow partisans. He enforced the law without prejudice and without favor. He exercised power to maintain Federal rights, and he protected the rights of the States. Without an army and without a competent navy he gained the national purpose against the will of a Power which had successfully declined to yield to the prayers of many administrations before his.

It was a great political career; it is one more testimony to what is really a maxim of the art of government; no man can be a successful statesman who, at any critical moment, will consider the exigencies of his party to the detriment of the public interests. It may be said that his party's judgment of what is best for the public interests is more likely to be correct than his own. This probably will always be untrue; for the party's

view, especially in emergencies arising from new conditions, will necessarily be a compromise. While it is a common and, on the whole, a true saying that free government, such as our own and such as England's, is government by compromise, there come times when compromise is inevitably wrong, even immoral, and then the public good depends upon the firm conscience and the high courage of the man who will not compromise. The man who then consults his party may be a clever politician whose cleverness may serve him throughout his time; but he will not rank high among statesmen, and what fame he gains will be greatest among his contemporaries.

The first reason for recognizing Cleveland as the man who set up the present standard of excellence in American political life is that he never sought an office; that he never considered his own interests in any political action he took, or in any word he uttered; that, strong partisan as he always was, he regarded his party as an instrument for advancing the public welfare, or for defending or maintaining free government; and that he invariably took office—sometimes at what seemed to him to be a grievous personal sacrifice—for the reason that he was called upon to render service, the highest service of citizenship. The honors and trappings of office were nothing to him; perhaps they and their symbolism were the most grievous burden of his public life; the obligations and duties of office were everything to him. Public life was hard and exacting to him, as it must be to every one whose public work is beneficent.

When he was in the court-room engaged in the trial of a case, he was told that he had been nominated to be Mayor of Buffalo. He had no desire to hold the office; he had never thought that he should be called to it; he was daily becoming more and more interested in his increasing practice; but, as he said in accepting the Democratic nomination for the office, he felt he had no right to consult his own inclination when his fellow citizens called upon him to render a public service. The service, in this instance, was to aid by leading the "efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs." The spontaneous response of the people to unselfish devotion to public duty is an answer to the critics of democracy. Cleveland's reputation as a very intelligent, very honest and very effective municipal chief magistrate was so wide and so convincing that Buffalo's Mayor was honored

throughout the country, and even in this comparatively humble office he made his name one to conjure with.

It was natural that his party should think of him as an "available" candidate for Governor. It is one of the developed facts of the history of democracy that the possession of character is the most important element of "availability." Cleveland's character induced, perhaps compelled, every nomination that he received from the politicians, and led to every one of his popular majorities; while it was his character which gave him in his retirement the great influence he possessed with the people of the country—the people of all parties and of all sections. So distinguished was his position that to question it or him, its appropriateness or his desert, would have been to create a suspicion of the soundness of the character, or of the sanity of the judgment, of the questioner. The professions made by Cleveland of high ideals of service, and his promises to subordinate personal inclinations and pure partisanship to the good of the community, sound perhaps familiar to those who are acquainted with the words and the ways of the usual politician, the words of promise and the ways of negation. Cleveland, in our expressive phrase, "made good"; it was soon learned that he never had intention to utter empty words, or to lure votes for himself by jingling the small counterfeit coin of speeches and letters of acceptance, as well as of platforms, that has now jingled so often that its meretricious tintinnabulations never penetrate beyond the portal of the public ear. He seemed a new kind of politician in those early days. His official life was on the high plane of his utterances. Many men before him had prattled about service, but he served, not grudgingly, not fitfully; he never spared himself. He was literally the servant of the people whose officer he was. It was their government that he administered, their property that he cared for, their offices that he filled, and their good that he consulted.

When his friends told him that they thought he ought to be nominated for Governor he was not patient, and some said that he was petulantly impatient, while some regarded him as rude. A good many people have thought Cleveland rude first and last, but most of the time the seeming rudeness could be traced to preoccupation. He had now become engrossed in the concerns of a city. These concerns were sadly disarranged when

he became Mayor, and in a few months he had done much to put them in order; so much had he accomplished that the corrupt leeches on the body politic were shaken off their prey, and were as angry against the Mayor as good citizens were pleased with him. He resented the attempt to take him from what had now become an absorbing occupation, but the party prevailed. It had been wise enough to seize its opportunity, and its candidate was made Governor of the State. In about two years he was again taken from an office in which he was rendering public service, and was nominated to be President of the United States.

It is one of the significant facts in Cleveland's public life that he deeply offended every plundering politician with whom he came in contact, or with whose plans and political occupations, directly or indirectly, he interfered. When he was Mayor of Buffalo he put an end to the usual easy stealing which makes city politics so tempting a field to those who seek office for the customary purpose of serving themselves and those of their friends and acquaintances who keep them in power. Cleveland had no fear of these offended persons because he had nothing to ask of them. Nor did he have the politician's fear of offending public clamor. He was a just man, and executed the law as it was written and as was its intent. So he vetoed the "Elevated Railroad Five-Cent Bill," thereby raising a windy storm of angry and menacing words which passed on, in time, into generous praise for a manly discharge of a plain duty. The Congressman who gains his poor place in public life by catering to the selfishness of his constituents encountered him after he became President. The men who sought votes through the distribution of seed to "drought-stricken" farmers at the expense of the Federal Government were startled by the President's refusal to violate the law in their behalf; the practice of raiding the Treasury for pensions in aid of those who were not entitled to them under general laws, or who were not entitled to them at all because their claims were fraudulent, was long a source of large profit to pension agents and to politicians; Cleveland made no friends of these by his many vetoes of this scandalous legislation. The party managers who desired the distribution of the public offices for the profit of parties and partisans soon found that Cleveland's devotion to the public interests was incompatible with their designs.

The public man of the United States who, like Cleveland,

administers the public law for the public welfare is not generally counted a good politician. Carl Schurz used to say that such a man was the best of politicians. What is meant here by the "good politician" is the man who can win most votes at the polls. The narrow-visioned, unimaginative, unobservant politician is wrong, and Carl Schurz was right. Sometimes the time-server is forced to recognize the truth and to nominate the man of the first rank, whom, however, sooner or later, he will have at the mercy of his petty wrath and small opinion. In the main, the politician will refuse to nominate the large man, thus denying to the country the opportunity to express its opinion of him; it remains true, nevertheless, that the public servant who devotes himself to the public good in this country will always command the public respect and affection. To fill office and to perform its functions in this way, with the self-sacrifice which this way demands, is to be a statesman. To do this consistently and persistently is to make one's career a standard of statesmanship. And this Cleveland accomplished. In his active official life every moment was the city's or the State's or the Nation's. All his thoughts and deeds were for those for whom he was trustee. He lived up to his ideal with a courage and a devotion that made him in his retirement the most influential citizen of the country. When he held office he more than once refused to sacrifice what he esteemed to be the good of the country to party harmony, to party gain or to personal advantage. He defended the country against the selfishness and greed of politicians and of other dealers in public wares. He defended, too, against the Senate, the office which had been bestowed upon him, as he defended Federal rights against the States, as he was circumspectly jealous of the rights of the States. He could not be moved, as other men, some of them good, have been, by temptations presented to his ambition, for he had no ambition to hold office or to wield power. "What can you do with such a man?" asked some one; "he doesn't want anything." The public life of Grover Cleveland was one of service, and from it grew his wonderful influence. He was the pre-eminent embodiment of these political and social truths—that from the truest service comes the noblest power, and that the power of influence is vastly greater than the power of authority.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR AND CHARLES JOHNSTON.

"ROSE MACLEOD."*

It almost seems as if there must be something suddenly and monstrously wrong with the young women of America when they can suggest, within a few months, two such closely similar types as Miss Anne Douglas Sedgwick's *Imogen* in her "A Fountain Sealed" and the somewhat more dispassionately presented *Electra* in Miss Alice Brown's "Rose MacLeod." For the dismaying feature of these two unlovely characters is their air of having been zealously studied from life. The reader is obliged to conclude that there must exist, in ripe perfection, the type that both these accomplished novelists have chosen to reveal,—the cold-blooded, strong-willed young egotist with an undigested education who is no less of a bore because she is elaborately enlightened and no less inhuman because she professes so stern a devotion to the abstract virtues. "You're not clever," Electra is at one point spiritedly reminded. "There's no need of your being. But you've made yourself so intelligent that you're as dull as death. You've cultivated your talents till you've snapped them all in two. You've tried so hard to be a model of conduct that you're a horror, a positive horror." Artistically such a type does not arouse deep interest because it admits of but a single bald interpretation. Almost any reader would declare at once that it was fundamentally objectionable and silently pray that he might not encounter its original. It is the sociological aspect of the case, however, that is agitating. Is there to be a plague of Imogens and Electras, and what conditions produce them? Miss

* "Rose MacLeod." By Alice Brown. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Sedgwick hints delicately of colleges and Miss Brown of women's clubs, but it would manifestly be unfair to hold either of these institutions fully responsible. If there is a problem contained here, it is so far an utterly unillumined one.

It will be remembered that Miss Sedgwick's young woman had a convenient object of discipline in her charming mother, but Electra Fulton, whether or not because her parents succumbed early to her own youthful severities, is an orphan, her only immediate victim being an entertaining and unregenerate grandmother. Of course everybody knows that this is the age of grandmothers and one expects them to be pompadoured rather than lace-capped, and flippant rather than benevolent. But the distinguishing exploit of Electra's grandmother is one that during the serial publication of "Rose MacLeod" the reading world has accepted with singular calmness. Being in need of money, and also, as she says, of "fun," this daring and ingenious old lady accepted a publisher's offer to write her "recollections," her husband having been a learned man and her life passed in Cambridge and Boston. This volume, made up of invented letters and concocted reminiscences, was a prompt success, and its author received and spent her profits with great relish. Her unrepentant attitude is very engaging. "'For Heaven's sake, Electra,' she fulminated, 'what is there so sacred about Brook Farm? If anybody is going to make up letters from anywhere, why shouldn't it be from there?'" It is a distinct triumph of Miss Brown's that one finds oneself willing to accept all the old lady's amusing naughtinesses. But as to the success of her bit of bravado—are publishers and public and critics so easily imposed upon as this lightly related episode would imply? The guardians of the integrity of literature have at all events not sprung to their own defence.

But, after all, this is called a novel about Rose MacLeod. One finds oneself wondering why one encounters so many delays in arriving at a discussion of the heroine. It may always be more or less of a misfortune to be a heroine; at all events, Rose MacLeod suffers particularly from this enforced prominence. One would like her so much better if it were not for the uncomfortable feeling that one ought to take her more seriously than one can. After recklessly endowing her with "the most beautiful hair in Europe," Miss Brown transports Rose to suburban Boston in a

most ingloriously passive rôle. She is a pleasant but inconceivably limp young creature who serves, however, as a foil to Electra's more vigorously conceived unpleasantness, and as an illustration also of the paternal policy of that very well presented demagogue, Markham MacLeod. Perhaps the most masterly touches in the book are expended upon this portrait of the "Chief" of the universal "Brotherhood," whose despotic power over its members extended to the matter of life and death—Miss Brown is perhaps a little afraid of the darker aspects of this portion of her material—who won power by his robust physical magnetism and who "offered commonplaces in a rich voice that made them memorable." Miss Brown has been successful with this character to the point that one forgets all about Rose when he is on the stage; and one has to force oneself to remember that the interest of the book is probably intended to centre in Rose MacLeod's love-story,—which is less a story, however, than a succession of graceful scenes and which keeps the reader at a comfortable and unagitating distance from life. It is as though one learned of Rose's experiences at second or third hand,—one is not intimately moved by them. The romantic interest of the book is throughout rather cool and thin, and of far less rich and satisfying quality than its comedy,—than the fantastically conceived relation between Electra and her grandmother, or than the irrepressible old lady's passages with her elderly lover whom she whimsically engages herself to marry merely by way of offsetting her granddaughter's ostentatious virtues and proprieties. "You can't mean—grandmother, are you going to marry him?" Electra asked. "Not at once," the old lady replied. "I expect to have a good many little affairs before I settle down."

A fact that rather sets Miss Brown's book apart from most novels of equal merit is that apart from the distressing problem of the Electras of society, already referred to, and the introduction of the "Brotherhood," the story is simply a story and is concerned with no special theme or condition. Yet the book has the appearance of a very ambitious undertaking because its group of characters are differentiated and individualized with such excessive care. Peter, the artist lover of whom a cruelly prompt justice deprives the priggish Electra; Osmond, the crippled hermit; Billy Stark, the amiable little man of the world, are all energetically imagined and, by the exercise of an unusually

strong dramatic sense, skilfully related. And these characters are probably no less effective because they are obviously the creations of a feminine mind. Women have perhaps been rather too much praised for writing books that sound as though a man had written them. It is never the least interesting feature of Miss Brown's work that her stories unmistakably reflect a woman's view of the world.

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER.*

ONE reads a book like this with regret and misgiving. Not only is one forced to disagree with very much that it contains, but one is also compelled to think that it will inevitably cast a shadow on Mr. Campbell's earlier work, with its very genuine liberalism and spirituality, and will furnish a weapon to the forces of dogmatism and reaction, which will be used with vigor and effect. In his earlier work, Mr. Campbell again and again insisted that spiritual well-being, spiritual life, all that is meant by "salvation," depends not so much on verbal and mental assent to certain formulas, as on inward spiritual awakening, growth in spiritual life and a gradual raising of the interior consciousness until it reaches and becomes one with the divine consciousness; that thus through "the new birth from above," the spiritual man comes into being, and that this spiritual man is of his own nature, or rather through his sharing in the divine nature, immortal, a habitant of eternity; in a word, the mystical teaching of the saints in all ages.

It would seem that Mr. Campbell has lacked something of the courage and aspiration needed for further spiritual growth; that he has drawn back, appalled by the silence and darkness of the invisible worlds: that initial darkness to which all saints have borne witness; and that he has sought refuge in a materialism, which is all the more to be regretted because it is covered up by the phrases and emotions of idealism. He no longer finds true spiritual well-being in the development of spiritual life and the spiritual man, the present immortal; but rather in a purely material security, whose merely sensuous appeal is veiled by the assurance that something great and beautiful is being sought for

* "Christianity and the Social Order." By Rev. R. J. Campbell. New York: The Macmillan Co

all mankind. As if what is undeniably injurious for one becomes less so when it is shared among all. And no one with a broad view of history and religion can deny that to set the affections on things of earth is injurious, whether for one or for many.

But it is not the earthward tendency of this new book which is its most regrettable feature. After all, hedonism, whether frank or sentimental, has never lacked its prophets. What is to be regretted, and deeply regretted, is the fact that Mr. Campbell has tried to bring down to the level of his hedonism the Founder of Christianity and the whole teaching of the Apostles. This attempt fills the first part of the work, and it is this part which is likely to be decisive in giving the book its final place.

Mr. Campbell's critical procedure is at least simple. He wishes to show that Jesus taught primarily the establishment of an earthly kingdom. He finds obstacles to this view in all the purely spiritual teaching, which is most characteristic of the Master, the teaching, for instance, as it was understood and set forth by the beloved disciple. Therefore Mr. Campbell decides to discard the Fourth Gospel as an historic record, and simply rules St. John out of court. But there is a growing opinion among the most enlightened students of the Christian documents that not only is the Fourth Gospel not what Mr. Campbell assumes it to be, a religious romance of late date, but that it is, in part at least, the oldest and earliest document in the New Testament; the first-hand evidence of the beloved disciple himself, written within a short time, perhaps a few weeks, after the Crucifixion. Two-thirds of the Fourth Gospel refer to the last few weeks of the life of Jesus, and one-third refers to the last twenty-four hours before the Crucifixion. And this whole part has a freshness, a minuteness of detail, a directness, which speak of a record made at the time of the events themselves, or immediately after. It is possible that the opening chapters were written many years later, and it is certain that the whole was gone over, very probably by John himself, then an old man, who added notes to make certain Jewish customs more intelligible for non-Jews, probably the disciples of his church of Smyrna; and it is these notes which have been used to throw doubt on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. But we must remember that this too sceptical criticism was simply the reaction from a too emphatic dogmatism, and is now giving way to much more conservative

views. There is little doubt that before long John will be universally recognized as the author of the Fourth Gospel, and that the greater part of it was written very soon after the events of which it gives such a living record. And with John's record thus established, as a first-hand account of the life and teaching of the Master, the spiritual nature of the Master's message will come out clear and inspiring, and it will become increasingly difficult for any one to assert that Jesus sought primarily to establish a reign of material well-being on earth, as Mr. Campbell would have us believe. It is hardly necessary to criticise his views of the Apostolic age, and particularly of Paul. We may content ourselves by letting Paul speak for himself, as he does in two of the "uncontested and incontestable" epistles. His phrases are at once quaintly characteristic and drastic, and give little countenance to the new sentimental hedonism. The first sentence is this: "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them." The second phrase goes farther, and is more constructive: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For he that soweth to the flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *June, 1908.*

QUESTIONS of foreign policy have more than held their own during the last few weeks in interest and importance against the competition of domestic events. The visit of M. Fallières to London in the last week of May—one of the most successful and enjoyable visits, I should judge, ever paid by the head of one state to the ruler and the people of another—was something more than a ceremonial exchange of courtesies. It was a political demonstration of real and deep significance. It coincided, moreover, with an announcement even more auspicious and momentous, the announcement that King Edward, for the first time since his accession, was about to visit the Tsar of Russia. Two such events, so closely connected not only in time, but in the weightier relationship of political cause and consequence, greatly moved and impressed England, and indeed all Europe, and started a discussion on the aims and possibilities of British foreign policy that is raging, as I write, from the Thames to the Neva.

It may, perhaps, be useful to American readers if I recall very briefly the history of the Anglo-French *entente*. It was born of the union of three streams of tendencies: (1) Of the reaction in England against the Philo-Germanism of British foreign policy; (2) of the desire of France to simplify and co-ordinate her external interests; and (3) of an accession of weariness and disgust among the French and British peoples with the furious scoldings and recriminations of Fashoda, the Dreyfus case and the Boer war. Almost up to the moment of the Kaiser's telegram to President Krüger, Great Britain, as between the Dual and the Triple Alliance, had tended rather to side with the latter.

She was at loggerheads with both France and Russia; she was on terms of friendship, though a somewhat cooling friendship, with Germany. I need not now detail the various incidents and influences that in the last twelve years have gradually changed both the popular and the official attitude of this country towards Germany. It is enough that the change took place—it reached, perhaps, its acme in the national outburst of wrath over the Anglo-German compact for the coercion of Venezuela—and that it was automatically accompanied by a corresponding improvement in Anglo-French relations. On both sides of the Channel, there was a simultaneous movement towards a better understanding. It became a fixed point in M. Delcassé's policy to work for a *rapprochement* with Great Britain. He saw that France could not afford two first-class hatreds; that she could not be at one and the same time anti-German and anti-British; that she could not simultaneously oppose the strongest military and the strongest naval Power in the world. He decided that the haphazard and provocative policy which brought England and France face to face at more than one perilous point, which dissipated instead of consolidating the strength of his country and which seduced France from what must always be her paramount objective, was really risking more than the game was worth. He therefore made up his mind to abandon it.

In this determination he was greatly aided by two factors. One was the accession to the British throne of a sovereign whom all Frenchmen knew and liked, and who speedily made it his business to further the gathering impulse towards confidence and good-will. The other was a sense of shame that had come over the British and French peoples when they reviewed their mutual cannonade of abuse and began to appreciate the essentially insignificant nature of most of their disputes. It was in these circumstances that the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 was negotiated. It was at first a purely Colonial compact. But events quickly expanded its scope and gave to the new-born friendship it embodied a European importance and application. The *entente* served to draw a ring round the combatants in the Far East; it furnished a round-table at which both Great Britain and France could meet for the settlement of the North Sea incident; and under the impact of the Kaiser's visit to Tangier and of the exciting months that preceded and followed the sum-

moning of the Algeciras Conference, it developed into one of the mainstays of the European equilibrium, and virtually bound France and Great Britain together in a defensive alliance. It has produced other results besides these. It has rescued Great Britain from an isolation that was becoming perilous. It has made it possible for France to concentrate all her strength on a single point. It has proved a platform on which Great Britain and Russia, and France and Japan, have been able to meet for purposes of friendly accommodation; and it has been the means of bringing all the Mediterranean Powers together in the adjustment of their common interests.

These are very great achievements. But do they exhaust the possibilities of the *entente?* In the enthusiasm evoked by the visit of President Fallières to London, a considerable body of opinion was revealed on either side of the Channel in favor, not merely of maintaining the *entente,* but of expanding it, of converting it, in fact, into a formal alliance. There is something to be said for such a course; but, on the whole, the best opinion both in England and in France seems agreed that there is more to be said against it. The indefiniteness that obtains as to the precise political obligations involved in the *entente* is urged as a reason for clearing up all uncertainty. If, it is said, Great Britain has made up her mind that the security and independence of France are British interests, if she is prepared to join with France in resisting an unprovoked attack, would it not be better to say so openly? A public compact binding Great Britain and France to stand together in opposing an aggressive onslaught would, it is argued, be the most effective means of preventing such an onslaught from being delivered; and by supplementing the Dual Alliance, by forming what would practically be a new Triplice, it would enormously reinforce the guarantees of peace. On the other hand, the "*Temps,*" which is always in close touch with the Quai d'Orsay, gave a new turn to the discussion by bluntly saying that an Anglo-French alliance, though very desirable, was out of the question so long as the British army remained a negligible quantity. It is unquestionably the fact that Great Britain is less capable of taking part in Continental warfare to-day than at any moment of her history. Only the adoption of some form of compulsory and universal military service could enable her to duplicate the phe-

nomenal efforts she put forth and the successes she achieved in the Napoleonic wars. But not even for the agreeable prospect of an Anglo-French Alliance is Great Britain prepared to maintain not only the overwhelming navy called for by her insular position, not only a professional and very expensive army for the defence of the Empire, but also a system of universal service for a possible Continental war. If, therefore, the views of the "*Temps*" correctly represent the views of those in authority in France, British opinion reluctantly concludes that the price of an alliance comes too high, and would prefer in consequence that things should remain as they are. It would not, however, be difficult to show that the "*Temps*" has taken a too exclusively military, and therefore incomplete, view of the situation, and that Great Britain, without increasing her present army, could co-operate with France with an effectiveness that even in a vast Continental struggle might well prove decisive.

It is, at any rate, a piquant and momentous development in European politics that the idea of an Anglo-French Alliance should no longer be dismissed as something flatly incredible, but should be backed by a substantial minority in both countries without arousing the opposition of the still unconverted majority. The importance of that fact is confirmed and emphasized by the increasing friendliness of Anglo-Russian relations. King Edward's visit to the Tsar had, indeed, an even greater significance than the French President's triumphant descent upon London. It was in a sense a ratification both of the Peace of Portsmouth and of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It was a proof that Russia, for the moment at all events, acquiesces in the results of her struggle with Japan and in the new political dispensation that has been established in the Far East. It was a not less emphatic testimony to the improvement which M. Stolypin has brought about in Russia's domestic conditions. It confirmed, again, the *entente* with France, which in British eyes must always remain incomplete so long as Russia, the ally of France, is not included in it. It showed, also, that the Anglo-Russian Agreement of last year, and the policy of friendship with England upon which it was based, have the personal approval and sympathy of the Tsar; and the wishes and sentiments of the Tsar, I need hardly add, are still and will long continue to be a leading, and often a controlling, factor in the guidance of Russia's foreign policy. A section

of English Radicals objected to the King's visit, and spoke of it as though it were an act of treachery to the cause of freedom. The great bulk of the British people, however, have no sympathy with these views. They wish well for the progress of Russian liberty. They are confident that the influence of so modern and unprejudiced a sovereign as King Edward will be used on the side of appeasement and reconciliation between the Tsar and his people, and should therefore be welcomed by the friends of Russian advancement. The idea of boycotting the Tsar, or of holding him personally responsible for the deeds and policies of the bureaucracy, does not appeal to them. They perceive that the only result of acting upon it would be to thrust the Tsar back into the arms of less enlightened advisers and to encourage all the reactionary elements. Moreover, the British people have awakened to the fact that their long estrangement from Russia has been profitable to neither country. The Morocco episode taught them that it is not a British interest, but the very reverse, that Russia should be weak, disorganized and unable to make her due weight felt in Europe. They are sincerely anxious for better relations with Russia and they welcome every prospect of co-operation between the two countries. They have, therefore, watched with virtually unanimous approval King Edward's efforts to cement the good understanding that now exists between London and St. Petersburg by establishing equally close and confidential relations between himself and the Tsar. Great Britain, France and Russia must from now onwards draw nearer together. The motive that impels them is a motive that has always operated in European history. Whenever a single Power has shown signs of attaining to an unhealthy predominance, the other Powers that feel themselves threatened have invariably combined for purposes of self-defence. It is this, at bottom, that accounts for the Anglo-French *entente,* for the *rapprochement* between England and Russia and for the gradual welding together of all three Powers in an informal Triplice. It is the exact truth to say that it is not a league which is aimed at Germany. But it is also the exact truth to call it a league of mutual insurance against Germany.

In domestic affairs by far the most interesting incident of the last few weeks has been Mr. Asquith's statement on woman suffrage. Answering a deputation, the Prime Minister announced

that, before the next appeal to the country was taken, the Government would introduce and would pass an electoral reform bill; and that if an amendment were proposed in favor of woman suffrage the Government would not oppose it, provided (1) that it was framed upon democratic lines, and (2) that it had behind it "the overwhelming support of the women in the country, no less than the support of the men." The first proviso is taken to mean that no attempt to limit the franchise to women who are possessed of the property qualification will be accepted by the Government. With regard to the second condition, I am bound to say that it lacks the definiteness and practicality of most of Mr. Asquith's utterances. How can any proof be forthcoming that female suffrage has the "overwhelming support" of the women in the country? Who is to determine the comparative strength of those who favor and of those who oppose this vast and revolutionary extension of the suffrage? What machinery is to be set in motion for ascertaining whether more than half the men and women of England desire the political enfranchisement of women? A referendum on the question might furnish a clear answer; but a referendum, though I believe it to be one of the certainties of the future, is a device at present unknown to the British Constitution, and its introduction would be an innovation at least as great as the grant of woman suffrage itself. One may, therefore, discount the second of the provisos laid down by Mr. Asquith. Nobody knows, nobody probably ever will know, nor is there any means of finding out, even the approximate number of men and women who support female suffrage. The question has never been thought out by the country; it has never been presented to the voters as even a prominent issue; it is not a dividing line between the parties; and even the present Government, while professing to regard it with a benevolent neutrality, would not dare to make it a vital part of its programme. Under these circumstances, I do not expect to see woman suffrage, except possibly in an extremely limited degree, granted by this Parliament. The House of Lords will certainly emasculate any amendment to the projected electoral reform bill that is likely to satisfy the suffragists; and the Government, not having proposed the amendment on its own account, but having merely accepted it at second hand, will not, I should think, feel called upon to make it a *casus belli* with the Upper House.

ST. PETERSBURG, *June, 1908.*

THE struggle for parliamentary government is the main fact of contemporary Russian history; and, during the past three months, it has been waged with a degree of success which cannot be accounted for either by the moderate wisdom of its champions or the utter folly of its adversaries. True, the Parliament has shown unexpected push, the Cabinet has displayed a greater degree of compliance and foresight and the Crown has put forth a more sobering influence upon its friends and foes than most onlookers anticipated.

Besides, whatever happened gave a fillip to the democratic cause. And naturally so, for the current of such public opinion as exists is definitely set against a strong monarchy and in favor of parliamentary government. Moreover, as there is already a Cabinet and a Prime Minister in name, there must in time be a Cabinet and a Prime Minister in reality. At present, in theory the Cabinet wields no power over such important matters as the army, the navy, the conduct of foreign affairs, while the Premier can neither choose his colleagues nor press on his policy if it fail to secure the support of the Crown. But, in point of fact, there is a tendency, obvious and pronounced, among the Ministers outside the Cabinet to take refuge within the fold, now on this pretext, now on that, and to allow the Duma at least a share of their responsibility. Thus the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the express permission of the Tsar, gracefully submitted his views on the Far East and his policy in Macedonia to the judgment of the Deputies, who rewarded him by approving both. Lastly, it should be said that the absence of certain conditions, which in other countries proved essential to the growth of parliamentary government, is fully compensated in Russia by the short-sightedness, apathy and blunders of the anti-popular party, which calls itself "conservative," yet lacks settled principles, eschews long views and scorns combined action.

Among the more striking illustrations of the ups and downs of the struggle for popular government, the incident of the "Constitutional Rouble" is worthy of note. The estimates of the Railway Minister coming before the Duma the other day, it was resolved that one item of 5,500 dollars, representing the travelling expenses of certain officials, should be struck out. The grounds were conclusive: the scale of travelling expenses for

public servants is still calculated as in olden times when there were no railways. So many dollars are allowed per horse and mile, and the number of horses is determined by the rank of the official—a Councillor of State, for example, having a right to six horses and one carriage, while a Minister, curiously enough, moves about, theoretically, in two troikas. To this extravagant mode of travelling the Duma cried halt, and disallowed 5,500 dollars. The Railway Minister demurred. "You cannot," he said in substance, "cut down my estimates because they were ratified by the Tsar when the Duma was not sitting, and therefore, according to the fundamental laws, the Chamber has no power over them."

A member of the Opposition then arose and joined issue with the Minister. "When you plead the authority of the Tsar," he said, "you are relying not upon the fundamental laws, as you imagine, but upon a breach of those laws. The clause in virtue of which His Majesty intervened does not provide for such intervention at all. True, there is another clause of the fundamental laws in virtue of which His Majesty might have ratified your estimates down to January last, but not beyond that date. But, instead of that, you asked His Majesty to invoke a paragraph that is wholly irrelevant." This contention being unanswerable, the Duma, at the instance of a conservative Deputy, brushed aside the Imperial ukase, struck out the 5,500 dollars and further curtailed the estimates by one rouble — or fifty cents—to show its sense of dissatisfaction at the slovenly way in which the Cabinet had toyed with the Imperial authority and the fundamental laws. But the main point underlined by the press was that the Duma had vindicated its authority as against the alleged authority of the Tsar, and that the initiative was taken by the conservative party.

The delinquencies of the Railway Ministry, which has been peculiarly unfortunate in its dealings with the Duma, provided the occasion for another act by which the Parliament again asserted its rights and extended them. Russian railways, which might be most lucrative enterprises, do not pay: like benevolent institutions, they are run at a loss. A large percentage of passengers bribe the conductors and travel gratis, and syndicates of thieves pay confederates in the service of the railways to falsify receipts and invoices, and then claim compensation for

imaginary losses. One result of these predatory methods is that the greater the traffic on a line, the greater is the cost of carrying it per ton. The Deputies turning these things over in their minds, hit upon the expedient of appointing a commission to overhaul the mechanism of railway administration, to study it on various lines at different times, and then to frame a measure of radical reform.

Again the Minister, von Schaufuss, opposed the motion. "If you wish to make an inquiry, I will help you," he said. "All data in our possession are at your service. Any questions you may put will be answered. But you have no right to go to work independently of my Ministry. Still less may you go about from line to line cross-examining people. In a word, you are not competent to pass a law appointing a parliamentary commission." And truth compels one to add that the Minister was technically right. But the Duma flared up, stigmatized the Railway Department as incapable and, after a lively debate, passed the motion in favor of a parliamentary commission.

One sympathizes with the Duma when it insists on retrenchment whenever retrenchment is not incompatible with a due regard for the pressing needs of the Empire. For the financial condition of Russia is become of primary importance, and will remain so during the next two or three years. In this respect the nation may be likened to a man, once strong, who has undergone three attacks of illness in quick succession—typhus, malaria and inflammation of the lungs—and is now on the way to recovery, but feeling still very weak. He is certain to get back his pristine health and strength—unless he contracts another malady, and in that case his chances of pulling through are infinitesimal. The thrift of the Duma, therefore, is salutary; and, when Deputies inveighed against the mismanagement of the Railways and proposed to appoint a parliamentary commission to ascertain the source of the evil, every friend of Russia applauded. "The Railway Minister ought not to be trusted with the spending even of a thousand roubles without the strictest control," Deputies said. And yet when the Railway Minister asked for a credit of about two hundred million dollars for the construction of a railway parallel to the Amur River, the Duma, asking no questions, made haste to vote the money.

This rash vote may make as much mischief as did the resolve

of the Tsar's Government to "lease" Port Arthur. Look at it from whatever point of view you like, and you cannot fail to see that it bristles with drawbacks. Politically, it constitutes a provocation to Japan and China; economically and financially, it is a needless weakening of the nation; strategically, it fetters the freedom of action of the army.

The scheme in itself is excellent. To open up vast regions whose mineral wealth is inexhaustible, will in time benefit the poverty-stricken Russian people. Besides, the development of railways and waterways is an essential condition of well-being to an empire which stretches over one-sixth of the globe. Moreover, it would be unwise to leave such great tracts of territory unutilized in face of the millions of Chinese and Japanese who are eager to settle there. These considerations moved the Ministers to take the matter up two years ago, and on June 26th, 1906, they approved the proposal to allot funds for the necessary surveys. The minutes of their discussion being laid before the Tsar, His Majesty wrote on the margin: "It is imperatively necessary to make haste and set about building the railway." Thus the Ministers had had preliminary surveys in view, whereas the Monarch wanted the railway. And the result was that, in virtue of the supreme legislative authority vested in the Tsar when the Duma is not sitting, orders were given that the work of laying the rails should be begun, and it is still going on.

But, sooner or later, the Duma had to be consulted. Shortly afterwards, therefore, a Bill was drawn up enacting that the line be constructed within four years, and that only Russian labor be employed. Of surveys there was no mention, although they are indispensable in a desolate, rugged country about which next to nothing is known. Strategical grounds were pleaded in justification of the haste. It was a question of life and death, the War Minister asserted. The work, he added, must be undertaken at once, and it would have to be completed by 1912, when Japan will have finished her preparations for war. This argument put an aspect on the matter which disconcerted the advocates of peace. Japan and Russia, they had been told, are now friends. That was the object and the effect of the Russo-Japanese Convention. Yet, that being so, whence comes the danger of war? On the other hand, if the misgivings of the War Minister are well grounded, will the Amur Railway effectively dispel them,

and give the nation the security it needs? On this point experts were at variance, some averring that the Amur Railway would once and for all safeguard Russia's Far Eastern possessions, others asserting that it would make little or no difference, while a third group of specialists held that it would deprive the army of its opportunity to choose the battlefield and would therefore help the Japanese. General Kuropatkin, who is still looked up to as an authority in strategic matters, gave it as his opinion that the railway alone would be inadequate for the purpose of defence without other measures. If, in order to defend the Russians in Port Arthur, some strategists reasoned, Kuropatkin had to as an authority in strategic matters, gave it as his opinion Harbin, the Generalissimo in the next war will have to defend the Russian colonists who will have been induced by the Government to settle on the Amur. And this would be disastrous, because the right scheme of defence would be to abandon the Amur region and await the invaders in Transbaikalia.

On the financial aspect of the scheme, great stress was laid by Count Witte, who was the soul of the opposition. He showed that, although one hundred and fifty million dollars was the estimated cost, the total would not be less than two hundred and fifty millions. Then the railway itself would have to be defended and several fortresses built, each of which would cost about one hundred and fifty millions. Barracks, arsenals, stores and troops would necessitate the outlay of as much again. Thus, at a moderate estimate, about six hundred million dollars would be the total of the bill in its final shape. And as the railway would, the Government admitted, have to be run at a loss for several years to come, the financial burden which it would impose on the nation would be extremely irksome.

The Finance Minister in reply to Count Witte's objections promised to provide the sums needed—one hundred and fifty million dollars for the Amur scheme, three hundred millions for the army supplies and two hundred millions for laying down a second track on the Transsiberian Railway. But the conditions he laid down were dismal or fantastic: there must be no supplementary demands; no costly internal reforms must be tackled before the Amur Line is built and paid for; the temporary war-taxes must not be abolished; the new taxes which are now being framed must, with the exception of the income tax, be levied.

In international affairs, Russia's secular aspirations, her traditional aims, throughout the world seem destined, thanks to Germany's opposition, to remain disembodied dreams. Her mission among the Slav subjects of the Sultan is being thwarted by Austria and Germany. Her claim to enter upon the succession of the Turk in Asia Minor is forestalled by the Kaiser, whose Baghdad Railway will in all probability have become a powerful factor in world-politics before the present generation disappears. Her confident hope of absorbing northern Persia is baffled by Wilhelm II, who proclaims himself the ally of Moslems throughout the globe. And if the Tsar's Far Eastern schemes, seemingly well-laid and grandiose, have also been frustrated beyond remedy, Russians fancy they can discern the deliberate cause of that defeat in Berlin. In a word, it looks as though Slav and Teuton have at last met in the struggle for national life or death.

WASHINGTON, *June, 1908.*

THE Republican National Convention was thoroughly organized and steadily controlled by the friends of the Roosevelt Administration. The event fulfilled almost exactly the prediction of Mr. Hitchcock, the Administration's campaign manager, that, on the first ballot, Judge Taft would have more than 700 out of the 980 votes. It is true that the programme, which, so far as the platform and the leading name on the ticket are concerned, was planned in Washington, was threatened with two dangers. In the first place, the Convention might be stampeded for Mr. Roosevelt: in the second place, the conservative element of the party might prove strong enough in the Committee on Resolutions to strike out the anti-injunction plank, fashioned in Washington, in which case an open fight on the floor of the Convention would have followed, and the Radicals, aggrieved by the loss of the anti-injunction plank, might have nominated Mr. Roosevelt. The first danger was shrewdly averted by Senator Lodge, who, in his speech on assuming the function of Permanent Chairman, contrived to uncork the bottled enthusiasm of the "Third-Termers." The second peril was conjured by an agreement between the Conservatives and Radicals in the Committee on Resolutions so to reconstruct the anti-injunction plank as to offer the minimum of concession to the demand of the Labor-

Unionists. The result was that every effort made on June 18th to stampede the Convention for Mr. Roosevelt miscarried.

The qualifications of William H. Taft for the Presidency may be indicated in a paragraph. He is the son of Alphonso Taft, who, like the present Secretary of War, was a graduate of Yale College, and who was himself at one time Secretary of War, as well as Attorney-General of the United States, a United States Circuit Court Judge, Minister to Austria and Minister to Russia. During the two years following his graduation from Yale, William H. Taft was a reporter for Cincinnati newspapers while preparing himself for the bar. In 1881, he was appointed Assistant Prosecuting Attorney for Hamilton County, Ohio, and, in the following year, he became Collector of Internal Revenue in the First District of his State. In 1887, he became a State Judge, being appointed to the Superior Court bench by Governor Foraker, and in the subsequent year he was elected to succeed himself. This is the only elective office which he has ever held. In 1890 he was appointed by President Harrison Solicitor-General of the United States, a post which he gave up two years later to accept the United States Circuit Judgeship of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, which included his native State. In 1900, President McKinley prevailed upon him to resign his seat on the Federal Bench, in order to become the Chairman of the Philippines Commission. In 1902, he was sent to Rome by President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Root to confer with Pope Leo XIII concerning the agricultural lands of religious orders in the Philippines. In 1904, he was recalled from the archipelago to succeed Mr. Root as Secretary of War. The work which he has since performed in connection with the Panama Canal and with the restoration of order in Cuba is well known.

Such is a naked outline of his public life. But, when we come to the question of his prospect of success, we, naturally, must examine the objections made to him by his opponents. It is urged, in the first place, that the Labor-Unionists will never forgive him for certain decisions which he rendered during his career on the bench. In 1890, while an elective State Judge, he upheld the judgment of a lower court, which had awarded damages against the Bricklayers' Union for boycotting a firm with which it had no quarrel, because the said firm had sold goods to an employer with whom there was a dispute. Judge Taft said that this

"secondary" boycott, as it is called, was an unlawful conspiracy, the participants in which were liable for any injury arising therefrom. Subsequently, in 1894, when he was on the Federal Bench, he laid down the law in the case of Phelan (a lieutenant of E. V. Debs of the American Railway Union), punished for contempt of court, in calling out employees of an unoffending road which was being conducted by a United States Court's receiver. Phelan's and Debs's purpose, he said, was to starve the companies and the public into compelling Pullman to do something which they had no lawful right to compel him to do. Judge Taft declared that the starvation of a nation cannot be a lawful purpose of combinations, and that it is utterly immaterial whether the purpose be effected by means usually lawful or otherwise. It is doubtful whether this decision can materially injure Mr. Taft in the eyes of fair-minded Labor-Unionists, in view of the fact that later the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Firemen, in their strike against the Wabash Railroad, invoked his ruling in the Phelan case to get an injunction against them dissolved, and they succeeded. The second objection to Mr. Taft's availability is based on the assertion that the opposition of the negro voters growing out of the Brownsville incident may cause him to lose some doubtful States. Such a result seems improbable, because negro voters would have nothing to gain from a Democratic administration, and because the platform adopted at Chicago declares without reservation for the enforcement in letter and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. There is absolutely no ground for the third objection, namely, that, on his return from the Philippines, by way of the Trans-Siberian Railway, he made a courteous reply to the Tsar's hospitable greeting. Our Jewish citizens have too much good sense to imagine that it was the function of Mr. Taft to lecture a European sovereign on his methods of ruling his dominions. International business is not transacted in that way. Even more derisible is the objection based on the supposed stupidity of Grand Army men, who are credited with an intention to use their influence against Mr. Taft because, in an earnest eulogy of General Grant, he had repeated the statement of a certain writer to the effect that, some years before the Civil War, that officer had resigned for the reason that he was then addicted to the drinking habit. Every intelli-

gent person can see that the purpose of the allusion was to emphasize the splendor of Grant's conquest of the Southern Confederacy by recalling that he had first been forced to effect a conquest of himself. That, according to Scripture, was the greater victory. As for the fifth objection, that Mr. Taft is "another man's man," the mere legatee of President Roosevelt, and the obsequious executor of another man's policies—that is one of those silly notions that inspection of Mr. Taft's past record and observation of his personal attitude in the campaign now begun are likely quickly to dispel.

Turning to the Republican platform, we pass over the plank relating to negroes, which we have already mentioned, and also the perfunctory glorification of the past and recent achievements of the Republican party, together with the fulsome eulogy of Mr. Roosevelt's Presidential career. The enactment of the Emergency Currency Bill is commended. To an immediate revision of the existing tariff, at a special session of Congress to follow the inauguration of the next President, the Republican party is definitely committed. The principle of protection to be embodied in the revised tariff is, we are told, the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and that of production abroad—to which is to be added a reasonable profit for American industry. Of course, Stand-Patters and the original revisionists are likely to differ materially as to the meaning of the word "reasonable." It will be observed that the platform does not accept the Taft programme for the Philippines, because, while, in general terms, it advocates a free interchange of products between the United States and the archipelago, it expressly excepts sugar and tobacco, as to which such limitations must be made as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests. How much satisfaction such a qualified concession will give the Filipinos remains to be seen. Among the concessions made to the Labor-Unionists are those planks of the platform which favor the establishment of a postal savings-bank system; the strengthening of the Sherman Anti-Trust law; such an increase of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission as will enable it to approve of traffic agreements between railroads, while sturdily maintaining the principle of competition between lines naturally competing. The same plank also advocates such national legislation and supervision as

will prevent a future over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate carriers. The plank relating to Court injunctions, which was finally agreed upon, after long and heated discussion in the Committee on Resolutions, is virtually a defeat for the Labor-Unionists, and for the Roosevelt-Taft wing of the Republican party. As finally framed and adopted, it simply recommends that no injunction should hereafter be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing should be granted to the enjoined party on an order to show cause. This simply amounts to a recommendation that Congress should define by statute one of the powers which already is exercised in the way proposed by Federal Courts of Equity.

Such are the chief controversial planks in the Republican platform. It is obvious that the programme, taken as a whole, is more likely to please the conservative than the radical element of the party. At the same time, the general endorsement of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, supplemented as it was on the evening of June 18th by an immediate public expression of approval by the President, will doubtless suffice to prevent even such Radicals as Senator La Follette from wavering in their allegiance to the party. Under the circumstances, have Democrats any chance of success in the coming election? It is the consensus of expert and disinterested observers in Washington that Democrats have no chance whatever of victory, provided they put forward for their standard-bearer Mr. Bryan, who is himself committed to the support of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, and who, so far as he is associated with any independent programme, has alienated many of his friends by his advocacy of the Government ownership of railroads and of the application of the Swiss Initiative and Referendum to the United States. It by no means follows, however, that the Democrats might not have a chance of triumph, if, instead of Mr. Bryan, they should nominate Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota or Judge George Gray of Delaware, or almost any of the alternative candidates, whose claims have lately been described at length in this REVIEW. On the whole, however, there is but little likelihood that the Democratic Convention, to be held at Denver, will pursue a judicious course, in view of the assertion that Mr. Bryan has already at his disposal some two-thirds of the elected delegates.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

The Undertaker at Close Range.

We have received the following interesting and illuminating communication from Brookville, Indiana:

"Sir,—Being closely associated at the present time with two undertakers, my husband and my brother-in-law, and by actual count numbering among my acquaintances no less than a dozen others, I cannot refrain from making some reply to your article entitled 'The Proper Conduct of Funerals.' We cannot, it is true, deny the gravity of death, and if, as you say, 'dying is one of the most popular things we can do,' do you not even then diminish our last rays of glory on earth by the glaring publicity of the undertaker? To our mind the dead, the friends, the funeral, the—everything must be completely overshadowed by that monstrosity in human shape and garb—the undertaker.

"But to enlighten the unenlightened. 'How would it seem to be an undertaker?' Not one bit different than to be any other man in the every-day walks of life — a man, just as other men, ofttimes doing without compensation the duty which lies nearest him. Unwittingly, perhaps, the remarks are most unjust to a respected and respectable profession. The man of whom you speak is not 'notoriously considerate' and 'ostentatiously patient' with those with whom he has to deal. He is in all cases both considerate and patient, not on account of 'business,' but because of the manhood in him. Sometimes, however, he may be so human as to find that patience has ceased to be a virtue.

"'Physically he conveys the impression of unhealthiness.' Verily your knowledge must be very limited. In my circle of acquaintances the majority give evidence of as healthy internal organs as one could wish for. I believe the practice of the profession does sometimes seriously affect the health. I know personally of three such cases, but to give as a cause 'the constant mournful mien' can only awaken a feeling of indignation in those who realize the falsity of the statement. When you consider that in all probability poisonous gases arise from all dead bodies; the various diseases with which he must come in contact; that he must go to all sorts and conditions of men; that he must be willing to handle bodies in conditions which most people would

never dream of, and a hundred other things which only an undertaker of experience could tell you of—it is a matter far too serious to be treated lightly.

"Judging from the members of my own family, undertakers quite frequently enjoy a game of tennis, as well as such sports as hunting, fishing, etc., and more than once have I seen them at the country club, a dance or the theatre, the gayest of the gay, and yet retaining the 'custom of the élite.'

"Notwithstanding the fact that my husband's eyelids do sometimes droop in church (how like most men that is), I feel sure that his comprehension is in no way blunted, but rather awakened to the desirability of saving his soul. He is a member of the official Board of the Methodist Church in this city and attends church regularly.

"Of the men in this profession of whom I speak nearly all are allied with some church, and the greater number of them are active church-workers.

"No, he does not throughout meals or at any other time 'preserve his official demeanor.' He enjoys home and the baby. Yes, he even has children; sometimes as many as six and sometimes, not being blessed with one of his own, he adopts one.

"That they 'unconsciously come to regard themselves as apart from other men—and so perhaps they are, as a sexton is or a hangman'—is most unjust to men engaged in a harmless and necessary business. Both my husband and myself are alumni of one of the leading universities of the Middle West. He was formerly employed in a bank, and in becoming an undertaker neither he nor his family were ostracized from the society to which they had been born and raised, neither at home nor abroad. We still retain the standing which is by birth, manners and education ours.

"As to why 'anybody could be induced to make a business or profession of the handling of corpses' there may be various reasons. I believe the majority of undertakers are influenced by circumstance rather than choice. In two instances within my knowledge has the business descended from father to son. In one instance the profession was selected from choice—by a man as far from the one portrayed in your article as the North is from the South.

"As to the little book entitled 'The Funeral,' when you more thoroughly understand the subject you may realize whose criticism it is that suggests 'flippancy hardly becoming the treatment of a subject so shrouded in solemnity.'

"I am, sir, etc.,

"HALLIE HARRELL SHOWALTER."

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XVII.

(1) Pli bona estas seka peco da pano, sed kun trankvileco, ol domo plena de viando kun malpaco. (2) Saĝa sklavo regos super filo hontinda kaj dividos heredon kune kun fratoj. (3) Fandujo estas por arĝento kaj forno por oro, sed la korojn esploras Dio. (4) Malbon faranto obeas malbonajn buŝojn, malveremulo atentas malpian langon. (5) Kiu mokas malriĉulon, tiu ofendas lian Kreinton; kiu ĝojas pri ies malfeliĉo, tiu ne restos sen puno. (6) Nepoj estas krono de maljunuloj, kaj gloro de infanoj estas iliaj gepatroj. (7) Al malsaĝulo ne konvenas alta parolado, kaj ankoraŭ malpli al eminentulo mensogado. (8) Donaco estas juvelo en la okuloj de ĝiamastro; kien ajn li sin turnos, li sukcesos. (9) Kiu kovras kulpon, tiu serĉas amikecon; sed kiu reparolas pri la afero, tiu forigas amikon. (10) Pli efikas riproĉo ĉe saĝulo, ol cent batoj ĉe malsaĝulo. (11) Malbonulo serĉas nur ribelon; sed terura sendato estos sendita kontraŭ li. (12) Pli bone estas renkonti ursinon, al kiu estas rabitaj ĝiaj infanoj, ol malsaĝulon kun lia malsaĝeco. (13) Kiu redonas malbonon por bono, el ties domo ne malaperos malbono. (14) La komenco de malpaco estas kiel liberigo de akvo; antaŭ ol vi tro entiriĝis, forlasu la malpacon. (15) Kiu pravigas malvirtulon kaj kiu malpravigas

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for The North American Review. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

virtulon, ambaŭ estas abomenaĵo por Dio. (16) Por kio servas mono en la mano de malsaĝulo? ĉu por aĉeti saĝon, kiam li koron ne havas? (17) En ĉiu tempo amiko amas, kaj li fariĝas frato en mizero. (18) Homo malsaĝa donas manon en manon kaj garantias por sia proksimulo. (19) Kiu amas malpacon, tiu amas pekon; kiu tro alte levas sian pordon, tiu serĉas pereon. (20) Malica koro ne trovos bonon, kaj kiu havas neĝustan langon, tiu enfalos en malfeliĉon. (21) Kiu naskas malsaĝulon, havas ĉagrenon, kaj patro de malprudentulo ne havos ĝojon. (22) Ĝoja koro estas saniga, kaj malĝoja spirito sekigas la ostojn. (23) Kaŝitajn donacojn akceptas malvirtulo, por deklini la vojon de la justeco. (24) Antaŭ la vizaĝo de prudentulo estas saĝo, sed la okuloj de malsaĝulo estas en la fino de la tero. (25) Filo malsaĝa estas ĉagreno por sia patro kaj malĝojo por sia patrino. (26) Ne estas bone suferigi virtulon, nek bati noblulon, kiu agas juste. (27) Kiu ŝparas siajn vortojn, tiu estas prudenta, kaj trankvilanimulo estas homo saĝa. (28) Eĉ malsaĝulo, se li silentas, estas rigardata kiel saĝulo, kaj kiel prudentulo—se li tenas fermita sian buŝon.

ĈAPITRO XVIII.

(1) Kiu apartiĝas, tiu serĉas sian volupton kaj iras kontraŭ ĉiu saĝa konsilo. (2) Malsaĝulo ne deziras prudenton, sed nur malkovri sian koron. (3) Kiam venas malvirtulo, venas ankaŭ malestimo kun honto kaj moko. (4) La vortoj de homa buŝo estas profunda akvo, la fonto de saĝo estas fluanta rivero. (5) Ne estas bone favori malvirtulon, por faligi virtulon ĉe la juĝo. (6) La lipoj de malsaĝulo kondukas al malpaco, kaj lia buŝo venigas batojn. (7) La buŝo de malsaĝulo estas pereo por li, kaj liaj lipoj en retigas lian animon. (8) La vortoj de kalumniantoj estas kiel sorĉo, kaj ili penetras en la profundon de la ventro. (9) Kiu estas senzorga en sia laborado, tiu estas frato de pereiganto. (10) La nomo de Dio estas fortika turo: tien kuras virtulo kaj estas ŝirmata. (11) La havo de riĉulo estas lia fortika urbo, kaj kiel post alta muro li estas en sia bela ĉambro. (12) Antaŭ la pereo la koro de homo fieriĝas, kaj antaŭ honoro estas humileco. (13) Kiu respondas antaŭ ol li aŭdis, tiu havas malsaĝon kaj honton. (14) La spirito de homo nutras lin en lia malsano, sed spiriton premitan kiu povas elporti? (15) La koro de saĝulo akiras prudenton, kaj la orelo de saĝuloj

serĉas scion. (16) Donaco de homo donas al li vastecon kaj kondukas lin al la grandsinjoroj. (17) La unua estas prava en sia proceso, sed venas lia proksimulo kaj ĝin klarigas. (18) La loto ĉesigas disputojn kaj decidas inter potenculoj. (19) Malpaciĝinta frato estas pli obstina, ol fortikigita urbo, kaj disputoj estas kiel rigliloj de turo. (20) De la fruktoj de la buŝo de homo satiĝas lia ventro; li manĝas la produktojn de siaj lipoj. (21) Morto kaj vivo dependas de la lango, kaj kiu ĝin amas, tiu manĝos ĝiajn fruktojn. (22) Kiu trovis edzinon, tiu trovis bonon kaj ricevis favoron de Dio. (23) Per petegado parolas malriĉulo, kaj riĉulo respondas arogante. (24) Havi multajn amikojn estas embarase; sed ofte amiko estas pli sindona ol frato.

ĈAPITRO XIX.

(1) Pli bona estas malriĉulo, kiu iras en sia senkulpeco, ol malicbuŝulo kaj malsaĝulo. (2) Animo sen prudento ne estas bona, kaj kiu tro rapidas, tiu pekas. (3) Malsaĝeco de homo erarigas lian vojon, kaj lia koro koleras Dion. (4) Riĉeco donas multon da amikoj, sed malriĉulo estas forlasata de sia amiko. (5) Falsa atestanto ne restos sen puno, kaj kiu parolas mensogojn, tiu ne saviĝos. (6) Multaj serĉas favoron de eminentulo, kaj ĉiu estas amiko de homo, kiu donas donacojn. (7) Ĉiuj fratoj de malriĉulo lin malamas, tiom pli malproksimiĝas de li liaj amikoj; li havas esperon pri vortoj, kiuj ne estos plenumitaj. (8) Kiu akiras saĝon, tiu amas sian animon, kiu gardas prudenton, tiu trovas bonon. (9) Falsa atestanto ne restos sen puno, kaj kiu parolas mengsogojn, tiu pereos. (10) Al malsaĝulo ne konvenas agrablaĵo, ankoraŭ malpli konvenas al sklavo regi super princoj. (11) Saĝo de homo faras lin pacienca, kaj gloro por li estas pardoni pekon. (12) Kiel krio de leono estas la kolero de reĝo, kaj lia favoro estas kiel roso sur herbo. (13) Pereo por sia patro estas malsaĝa filo, kaj malpacema virino estas kiel konstanta gutado. (14) Domo kaj havo estas heredataj de gepatroj, sed saĝa edzino estas de Dio. (15) Mallaboremeco enigas en profundan dormon, kaj animo maldiligenta suferos malsaton. (16) Kiu konservas moralordonon, konservas sian animon, sed kiu ne atentas sian vojon, tiu mortos. (17) Kiu kompatas malriĉulon, tiu pruntedonas al Dio, kaj Tiu redonos al li por lia bonfaro. (18) Punu vian filon, dum ekzistas espero, kaj lian ploradon ne atentu. (19) Forte kolera devas esti punata,

ĉar se vi ĝin indulgos, ĝi fariĝos ankoraŭ pli granda. (20) Aŭskultu konsilon kaj akceptu admonon, por ke vi poste estu saĝa. (21) Multaj estas la intencoj en la koro de homo, sed la decido de Dio restas fortike. (22) Ĝojo estas por la homo lia bonfaro; kaj pli bona estas malriĉulo ol homo mensogema. (23) Timo antaŭ Dio kondukas al vico, al sateco kaj al evito de malbono. (24) Mallaboremulo metas sian manon en la poton kaj eĉ al sia buŝo li ĝin ne relevas. (25) Se vi batos blasfemanton, sensciulo fariĝos atenta; se oni punas saĝulon, li komprenas la instruon. (26) Kiu ruinigas patron kaj forpelas patrinon, estas filo hontinda kaj malbeninda. (27) Ĉesu, mia filo, aŭskulti admonon kaj tamen dekliniĝi de la vortoj de la instruo. (28) Fripona atestanto mokas juĝon, kaj la buŝo de malvirtuloj en glutas maljustaĵon. (29) La blasfemantojn atendas punoj, kaj batoj la dorson de malsaĝuloj.

Ninety-fourth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 188: No. 2.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

August, 1908.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

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HENRY LOOMIS NELSON,

whose lamented death a few months ago involved, it was widely felt, a severe loss to the country, was David A. Wells Professor of Political Science in Williams College, where he had received his education. He was admitted to the bar in 1869. In 1878 he went to Washington as correspondent of the "Boston Post," and after serving that paper in that capacity for seven years, he became its editor-in-chief. From 1894 to 1898 he edited "Harper's Weekly." He was the author of a number of well-known books, including "Our Unjust Tariff Law" and "The Money we Need."

JEAN JAURÈS,

one of the most conspicuous figures in French public life, has been a member of the Chamber of Deputies since 1885. He was born at Castres in 1859, and for some time taught Philosophy at Albi and Toulouse. He edits a paper entitled "*La Petite République.*" He is the leader of the Socialist party in France, and the author of a number of works, among which may be mentioned "*Action Socialiste*" and "*Études Socialistes.*"

Sir Martin Conway

was educated at Repton and Trinity College, Cambridge. From 1882 to 1885, he was University Extension lecturer. From 1885 to 1888, he was Professor of Art in the University College, Liverpool; and, from 1888 to 1890, he was Honorary Secretary of the Art Congress. In 1889, he travelled in Egypt and the East. He has gained great fame as a mountain-climber. In 1892, he climbed a peak in the Himalayas twenty-three thousand feet high. In 1894, he traversed the Alps from end to end. He has explored the interior of Spitzbergen, the Bolivian Andes and the glaciers of Tierra del Fuego. He has published a large number of books.

Theodore Gilman,

a well-known banker of New York, graduated from Williams College in 1862. He has been chairman, president, treasurer, director and trustee of various railway and other business and financial corporations. He has written a number of works on financial subjects, including "A Graded Banking System" and "Federal Clearing House." He prepared and presented bills to the Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth and Fifty-seventh Congresses providing for the incorporation of clearing houses, and made statements in their support before the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

Elizabeth Bisland

(Mrs. Wetmore) is a Southerner by birth, and her earliest literary work was done for the New Orleans "Times Democrat." For some time she was on the editorial staff of the "Cosmopolitan Magazine," and she has contributed frequently to the Review. She is the author of "A Flying Trip around the World," "A Candle of Understanding" and a Life of Lafcadio Hearn.

Britannicus

is a well-known English writer, who for many years has made a close and comprehensive study of international pol-

itics, and of the questions which arise out of, or affect, the relations between the great European Powers.

GEORGE V. L. MEYER,

Postmaster-General of the United States, after graduating from Harvard, in 1879, took an active interest in public affairs in his native State of Massachusetts. He was a member of the Boston Common Council in 1889-90; a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1891; a member of the Massachusetts Legislature from 1892 to 1896, and Speaker of the House from 1894 to 1896. In 1905 he was appointed United States Ambassador to Russia.

SYDNEY BROOKS

is an English journalist who has already contributed a number of articles to the REVIEW on a variety of subjects. He visited Ireland last year, and spent a number of months in observing on the spot existing conditions in that country.

FRANCIS M. BURDICK,

Dwight Professor of Law in Columbia University, is a graduate of Hamilton College. He practised law in Utica from 1872 to 1883. He was Professor of Law and History in Hamilton College from 1882 to 1887, and Professor of Law in Cornell University from 1887 to 1891. He is the author of a number of standard works on legal subjects, including "The Essentials of Business Law," "Cases on Torts," "Law of Partnership" and "Cases on Partnership."

OTTO SIMON

is a German educator who has for years been an enthusiastic student of Esperanto, and who has watched with sympathetic interest the progress made by the new auxiliary language in his native country.

JESSIE B. RITTENHOUSE,

author and critic, graduated from Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, Lima, New York, in 1890, and for several years thereafter taught Latin and English in Cairo, Illinois, and

Grand Haven, Michigan. She began her literary career in 1895 as contributor to newspapers and press syndicates.

EDWARD PORRITT

is a native of Bury, in Lancashire, England. For several years he was connected with a number of English papers. In 1884, he came to the United States and joined the staff of the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat." Returning to England, he was employed for some time as a parliamentary reporter. He now resides in the United States as correspondent for important British newspapers. He is the author of "The Englishman at Home" and "The History of the Unreformed House of Commons."

BRANDER MATTHEWS

is one of the best known of living American authors. He was born in New Orleans in 1852, and studied at Columbia College, where he graduated in 1871. He was admitted to the New York bar, but he turned from law to literature, to which, for many years, he has devoted an indefatigable and versatile pen. In 1892, he was appointed Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXXXIII.

AUGUST, 1908.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

BY THE LATE HENRY LOOMIS NELSON. REVISED BY THE LATE DANIEL S. LAMONT.

For several years before his death, Grover Cleveland was recognized by most of his fellow countrymen as the first citizen of the land. He was an eminent product of democratic institutions. He did not in his youth possess the advantages of wealth, nor did he suffer any of its disadvantages. The circumstances of his immediate family were narrow; he had not the money with which to pay for a college education, nor had he the time to earn one; but he was brought up in a wholesome domestic atmosphere, with parents of intellectual force and of some education. In his earliest days he was a member of a household which knew neither poverty nor riches, and in his later youth he dwelt in the home of an uncle who had sufficient of the world's goods to give to himself and his young guest comfort, even luxury, and that in the society of men of power and of position in the State and the Nation. The youth was not unfortunate in the beginning of his life, which was that of the normal American boy.

Mr. Cleveland was born at Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey, on the 18th of March, 1837. His father, who was the Presbyterian minister of the town, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, where the grandfather of the subject of this sketch had

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followed the occupation of watchmaker. On the father's side, Mr. Cleveland was of English stock; on his mother's side he was partly of Irish blood. His mother was Anna Neal, the daughter of an Irishman who was a bookseller and publisher in Baltimore. But, as so often happens in this country of mingled and mingling races, this Irish blood was not pure, for the mother's mother was Barbara Real, a German Quakeress, of Germantown, Pennsylvania.

The boy was baptized Stephen Grover, in honor of the father's predecessor in the Caldwell pastorate, but the first name was dropped by Mr. Cleveland in early life. In 1841, the family moved to Fayetteville, then to Clinton, then to Holland Patent, all in New York.

In Holland Patent, Grover Cleveland grew up. Here his father died in 1853, when this son was sixteen years of age. There were eight other children, and the mother was left in such circumstances as are commonly the lot of widows of country pastors. Like many other such widows in this country, too, she bore her ills with dignity and courage, and nobly did her duty by her young family. The affectionate remembrance and the high honor in which she was held by her famous son are shown in a letter which he wrote to his brother on the day when he was chosen Governor of New York. Said he: "If mother were here, I should be writing to her, and I feel as if it were time to write to some one who will believe what I write." And again, in the course of the same letter, Mr. Cleveland wrote: "Do you know that if mother were alive I should feel safer? I have always thought her prayers had much to do with my success."

Mr. Cleveland had the usual schooling of the country, and had prepared to enter Hamilton College, but his father's death compelled him to take up the task of bread-winning. He had been a clerk in a country store at Fayetteville before his father died. Now, when he was seventeen years old, he became an assistant to his brother, who was the principal of the boys' and men's department of the New York Institution for the Blind. At the end of a year he went to Buffalo to study law. His boyhood had been circumscribed, his energies had been bounded, his teaching had been meagre. It is likely that under like circumstances in any other country the family would have suffered want, but it is doubtful if the mother and her children ever knew by expe-

rience what such suffering meant. The boy had passed a wholesome boyhood, and his instruction, small though it was, had been intellectually and morally sound.

He spent his years in Buffalo in easy circumstances. He had started from Holland Patent to go to Cleveland, Ohio. He was emigrating to that part of the country, which was then the West. His uncle, Lewis H. Allen, lived in Buffalo and stopped his nephew on the journey. In Mr. Allen's fine house overlooking the Niagara River Mr. Cleveland passed the days of his apprenticeship to the bar. Buffalo was an intellectual, political and social centre. Millard Fillmore was its first citizen, while at the bar were some of the strongest lawyers of the State. In this intellectual and social atmosphere Mr. Cleveland began his active career. He was always a favorite of the best people, and was one of them. Following the instincts of their kind, his partisan opponents, when he first became the candidate of his party for President, undertook to class him with those whom good society refuses to recognize; but, in truth, he lived with the best, and was, from the beginning of his professional career, a successful lawyer. He was also a man of mark in the community, one of the best citizens of the town, ready to do his civic duty, a patriot who believed profoundly in the responsibilities and duties of every one who enjoys the blessings and privileges of American citizenship. In his profession he was not ambitious of a great practice; in his civic and in his public life he was always moved by a high moral purpose. He was once Sheriff of Erie County for the purpose of gaining the opportunity and the means for securing a better legal education than he could gain in the practice of the profession; for, though he did not seek great gains, he desired to perform his tasks as well as possible. He took advantage of the opportunities and employed the means thus acquired for this purpose. He had been Assistant District Attorney and an efficient prosecuting officer. He afterwards gained such a position at the bar that on the death of Mr. Lanning, the very able counsel of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, Mr. Cleveland was invited to be his successor. He declined the invitation for the reason that his practice gave him sufficient for his wants, and he did not wish to tie himself to the service of such an exacting client. He advised the employment of the young men who had been Mr. Lanning's

partners, but there was objection to them because of their youth and consequent lack of experience. With characteristic generosity, Mr. Cleveland then offered to accept the retainer of the railroad company until the young men could secure a senior member for their firm who would be a counsel satisfactory to the corporation. During the short time when he thus represented the company, its legal business was admirably performed; and this I have from the then president of the railroad, himself a lawyer and a leader of the Republican party.

During his novitiate he had acquired property worth, probably, about $100,000. This property consisted of houses and land in the city of Buffalo. It is necessary to mention this because it has been alleged by malicious, and has been repeated by ignorant, persons that Mr. Cleveland entered public life an unsuccessful and impecunious man. His position in Buffalo, on the contrary, was characteristic of successful Americans and of American social life.

In 1881, when Mr. Cleveland was forty-four years old, the time came when high public office was bestowed upon him. He was chosen Mayor of Buffalo by the largest majority ever before given to any candidate in the city. He had been the candidate of his party, and he was always a partisan Democrat. He believed in the principles of the party which leaned on the plain people, consulted primarily their interests, and trusted them. In his speech of acceptance and in his inaugural address he emphasized what was the guiding principle of his public career. In the first he said: "When we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty." In the second he said: "We hold the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality; and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus intrusted to us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty."

The administration of the office of Mayor, thus begun, was soon to attract the attention of the State and then of the nation.

Amid all the American cities of the time, Buffalo possessed a Mayor who illustrated, in the discharge of his duties, the highest type of American common sense, American honesty and character, American courage and American plainness of speech. It is true that these virtues are not peculiar to our country, except, perhaps, the last; but the denial that they are to be found in American public men has made it well to emphasize the fact that in this country, more than in any other, are men unused to public life who, when the responsibility is thrown upon them, apply to daily civic duties the loftiest civic virtues. As Mayor, Mr. Cleveland served the city with a single purpose. He vetoed improper appropriations. He drew the line between public duty and private charity. He refused to permit the Aldermen to spend the city's money for the observance of Decoration Day, because the money had not been taken from the taxpayers for that purpose; and he headed a private and sufficient subscription. It was a lesson teaching the difference between a public object and a private object. He attacked the vultures who had grown fat on corrupt contracts. In public addresses he gave evidence of his high idealism. At the semi-centennial of the founding of the city he said: "We boast of our citizenship to-night. But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God. . . . He who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city will find that he is living falsely, and in the neglect of his highest duty."

He had been Mayor of Buffalo for less than a year when he was nominated by the Democratic party for Governor of New York. Mr. Cleveland's fame had grown by the manner in which he had administered his municipal office, and this fame was non-partisan. His following in Buffalo consisted of the good citizens of both parties. His political enemies were also, impartially, the bad citizens of both parties. He was the Mayor of the city, and they naturally desired to have a Mayor of a party; it mattered not which party, for a party hack is a better mayor for the corrupt men of the opposition than is a good mayor for either party. The Democratic party had been torn into factions by fights with Tammany. The New York County Democracy had, in 1879, driven Tammany to revolt. This organization was determined to prevent its city and county opponents, by an alliance with the "Up-State" Democrats, from ruling the State.

They had bolted the nomination of Lucius Robinson, and had compassed his defeat. The New York City organization was now, in 1882, fronting the opposition of the Brooklyn, or Kings County, organization led by Mr. Hugh McLaughlin. The rival candidates for the nomination for Governor were Roswell P. Flower and Henry W. Slocum. It was an important year, for it was evident that the national Democrats had an opportunity which, however, they might ruin by internal discord and strife. The dissensions in the cities gave to the County Democracy and their country allies their opportunity. No shrewder and abler politicians ever managed party affairs in New York than Mr. William C. Whitney and Mr. Daniel Manning. They were the leaders of the County Democracy, a name synonymous in New York City with the party of Tilden. This party, or the Democratic party of thirty years ago, when it was led by the Tilden men, was the party of promise; and whenever this party, or this faction of the party, dominated in State politics, the Democrats carried the day. The County Democracy, or the friends of Tilden, under the advice of Mr. Whitney and Mr. Manning, took up the cause of Mr. Cleveland, who was first named by the people of Buffalo. Tammany, facing defeat from Brooklyn, yielded to its old enemies, and supported Mr. Cleveland. He was nominated on the third ballot. His nomination was the successful result of a movement to defeat both Tammany and Kings County, at the same time to harmonize the party, and to name a candidate who might be elected. As events demonstrated, the Democrats had made the best nomination possible. Mr. Cleveland's name, owing to his services as Mayor of Buffalo, appealed to the people of the State. The Republican party was torn to pieces. Not only in New York, but throughout the country, its factional strife had reaped the usual consequences of such contentions. The party was actually split in two, and the election of a Democratic President in 1884 was practically assured if the party, in choosing its candidate, would forget its folly of 1880 and return to its wisdom of 1876. In New York, the Blaine men were the bitter enemies of the Conkling men, while the Conkling men had also come to be the enemies of President Arthur. Mr. Arthur forced the nomination of Judge Folger against the angry protests of Conkling, and the way was open to Mr. Cleveland to the Governorship.

It was a singular characteristic of Mr. Cleveland's political career that he was never elected to any office, except, perhaps, that of Sheriff, by a purely partisan vote. In every one of his campaigns in which he was successful he received the votes of Independents and Republicans. He was a party man in his political thoughts and conceptions; and, while he was never a slave of organization, he preferred the cause of his party if that cause was in harmony with what he conceived to be its principles. True as he was to principle, however, he was known to be firmly devoted to the interests of the whole community, city or State, in administering the public business; to be wholly unselfish; to be a devoted servant of the law, absolutely pure; and as sternly courageous as were the unbending Connecticut Puritans of his paternal stock. So the people who were discontented with the quarrelling factions of the Republican party voted for Mr. Cleveland, and he was elected Governor of the State by the wonderful majority of 193,000.

It was on the first day of 1883, one year after his inauguration as Mayor of Buffalo, that Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated as Governor of New York. In this one year of public service, Mr. Cleveland's reputation had attained to national proportions, and he was recognized as one worthy to be considered as a candidate for the Presidency. His Governorship was marked, as was his Mayoralty, by the traits of character, the capacity, the industry and the reverence for the law of the land and for the spirit of that law, which have marked him as easily the best endowed, the best equipped and the most effective American Executive since Abraham Lincoln. I may as well explain that I have called him the most effective because, with a strong hostile element among the Congressmen of his own party, he succeeded in securing the most valuable piece of legislation for the country which has been enacted since the War of Secession. This, however, is anticipating the time which is yet to be considered in this recital. As Governor, Mr. Cleveland protected the rights and the property of the taxpayers against wasteful and illegal legislation. He acted as trustee for those who, by the payment of taxes, furnished the revenues of the State. He showed also that courage, that absolute indifference to possible, even to probable, consequences to himself, which more than once distinguished his career as President. He was always unmoved from his purpose to consider

as pre-eminent the rights of the whole State, notwithstanding popular or partisan clamor. So, against the outcries of the people of the city of New York, he declined to sign a bill granting a uniform fare of five cents on the Elevated Railway, not because such a fare would not have been sufficient and, therefore, just, but because, by its own law, the State was pledged in honor not to pass such a measure. "But we have especially in our keeping," he wrote, "the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the Commonwealth."

The calm sense and the cool courage which enabled Mr. Cleveland to defend the law against the assaults of passion did not impair his usefulness nor has his conduct injured his fame. He would not yield to the passions of the multitude, nor would he sign bills whose enactment would merely have aided his party.

These were the days when Civil Service Reform was in its infancy, for it was when Mr. Cleveland was Governor, in 1883, that the Pendleton Bill, establishing the present national merit system, was passed by Congress. Mr. Cleveland's appointments as Governor, however, were made on about the same principle as that which was adopted nearly twenty years later by Mr. Roosevelt. He entered office at a time when the spoils system was in vogue. There was no classified list whatever, and it had been the practice of good Executives to secure the best assistants whom the party workers could name. Mr. Cleveland only insisted upon good men, the best who could be obtained from the recognized source; but for some of his officers, notably for his Superintendent of Insurance, and for his Commissioner of the Capitol, he promoted subordinates, or went entirely outside of the politicians and sought for experts. He treated the subjects of labor and corporations from the point of view of a sane and sympathetic lawyer and man of affairs. He would promote the valid interests of both, and he would defend the State, or the community, from the injurious acts of either. He rose steadily in the esteem of all who desire to see government in the hands of careful men devoted to the general good, servants of the law, having those essential characteristics, apparently so commonplace, in fact so uncommon, that make a man a trustee who is to be trusted implicitly with all the property of his wards or with all the rights and privileges of his State or of his country.

Thus confided in, not only by the people of his State, but by the observing and watchful people of the country, Mr. Cleveland came to his national honors. He had been elected Governor of the State before he completed his term as Mayor of Buffalo, and he was chosen President of the United States while he was still Governor. As he was nominated for Governor by the able politicians who led the Democrats of the State outside of Tammany Hall and Kings County, so it was by their astute leadership that the National Convention which met in Chicago on the 8th of July, 1884, was convinced that Mr. Cleveland was the most available, and the best, man to lead the Democratic party in the coming contest. His nomination was not a spontaneous act on the part of the Convention. He met with opposition, and the most dangerous hostility came from his own State. Tammany Hall, under the leadership of John Kelly, was strongly opposed to him in 1884, as the same organization was opposed to him later under the leadership of Richard Croker. In the whole course of his political career he never made friends with the element of his party which Tammany represented. Once in a while he yielded his judgment to some of the ordinary kind of party leaders, usually to his regret and never to their full satisfaction; but he never made it the rule of his conduct to take the word of the "organization," even when the leader was a Senator, in place of the word of better citizens who had no private ends to gain by securing the appointment to public office of men who would do their bidding. Tammany was against him because his election meant nothing of profit to the "Hall." Furthermore, too, there were as candidates for the nomination distinguished men who had rendered admirable service to the party and the country, any one of whom would have had the advantage, in character, over the Republican candidate. Thomas F. Bayard, Allen G. Thurman and Thomas A. Hendricks were the principal names against his, and the first of these, to say nothing of the others, appealed strongly to the independent voters. All three, however, were hampered in the estimation of the country, because they had participated, in opposition to the prevailing party and its triumphant policy, in the politics of the War and of reconstruction. They had thus been looked upon by thousands of people who had actually grown weary of the Republican party, and of its jangling leaders, as enemies of the Union. An infu-

sion of new men was needed, and there was one new man who, in less than three years, had made a reputation as the best executive in the country. Mr. Cleveland received 392 votes on the first ballot; Mr. Bayard, 170; Mr. Thurman, 88. Under the two-thirds rule, 547 votes were needed for a nomination. After the first ballot there was an adjournment overnight, during which a "spontaneous" outburst for Mr. Hendricks was organized. The plan was carried out on the following morning. There were a magnificent tumult, vociferous shouting, dazzling waving of banners. The plotted effort to stampede the Convention was worthy of its authors; and, when it was over, Mr. Cleveland received 683 votes and Mr. Hendricks 45½. Then Mr. Hendricks was made the candidate for Vice-President.

The campaign which followed, so far as the politicians were concerned, was all that a Presidential campaign should not be; but the Independents supported Mr. Cleveland and the issue became one of character. Mr. Blaine was tainted as a public man; an effort was made to taint Mr. Cleveland's private character. This effort reacted on those who originated it and who hoped to profit by it. A committee of Republicans of Buffalo investigated the accusations against him and became strong admirers and partisans of Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland was elected, receiving 219 electoral votes to 182 cast for Mr. Blaine. Mr. Cleveland carried New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. The thirty-six votes of New York determined the election, and that State was carried by Mr. Cleveland by a plurality of only 1,047. An effort was made to reverse the decision, and the people of the city of New York, by reason of a suspicion which they entertained of an attempt by a telegraph company to tamper with the returns, grew dangerously angry. At last the truth was acknowledged; but Republican politicians, then disappointed, continued, and continue, to declare that Mr. Cleveland was "counted in" in New York. The charge was repeated last by Senator Hoar in his book of reminiscences. The Senator fixed upon Long Island City as the place where the fraud was perpetrated. This was a new location. It was charged originally against the city of New York. As a matter of fact, there was never a fairer count in the State of New York. Each party watched the other with closest care. The Republicans controlled the majority of the returning officers of the State, and the intention of these

was suspected, as was the intention of the Democrats by the others. The Republicans, in their nervous anxiety, were finally misled by a mistake in the count of the city's votes. An early announcement of the Butler vote showed apparently that a very large number of ballots had been cast for the Greenback candidate. Further examination indicated that the mistake consisted in giving, as the Butler vote, the sum of all the ballots cast for all the electors, instead of the number of ballots cast for the leading elector. There was nothing in the charge; while Senator Hoar was possibly deceived by a new accusation invented long after the election, and never heard of by any other responsible person, or else his memory had betrayed him into reviving the old charge, which all but credulous partisans had recognized as exploded.

When Mr. Cleveland was elected President, a new and useful, and, therefore, a successful political era might have begun for the country. A strong second party might have been built up; a party decidedly different from its antagonist in mental attributes and in political tendency; a party which, while in power, would have the strong Republican party for its opponent, and which, out of power, would itself constitute that kind of an opposition without which there is little hope for good government. If there is no such party now as that which Mr. Cleveland seemed to lead in the early part of the year 1885, it is the fault of the heterogeneous mass that did its best to discredit the administration of the only Democratic President since the War, and that, in the end, wrecked the party itself.

Mr. Cleveland had many difficulties to overcome. Clamoring at his back were thousands of fellow partisans who had been excluded from all Federal office since 1861 because they were Democrats. Some of these were infants during the War of Secession, so that the partisan charge made against their elders that they had sympathized with the South could not hold against them. Not only were the Federal offices filled with Republicans, but these offices had been used for partisan purposes, and their incumbents had formed the nucleus of the party army which was devoted to Republican success. It was absolutely necessary that there should be many removals, and doubtless there were more than were necessary for the good of the public service. Mr. Cleveland's standard was stated in a letter to Mr. George Will-

iam Curtis, President of the National Civil Service Reform Association. The letter was written before Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated. In it the President-elect, after saying that the new law would be enforced, as would all laws, announced his attitude toward Democratic applicants as follows: "If I were addressing none but party friends, I should deem it proper to remind them that though the coming administration is to be Democratic, a due regard to the people's interest does not permit faithful party work to be always rewarded by appointment to office, and to say to them that, while Democrats may expect all proper consideration, selections for office not embraced within the civil service rules will be based upon sufficient inquiry as to fitness instituted by those charged with that duty, rather than persistent importunity or self-solicited recommendations on behalf of candidates for appointment."

The struggle for the "relief of silver" from the penalties of the "crime of 1873" had begun. Both parties were engaged in the dubious task of reinstating the "white metal." The Democratic leaders of the silver forces in the House of Representatives were Mr. Bland and Mr. A. J. Warner. The latter wrote a letter to Mr. Cleveland asking for his views on the question. The Act of 1878, requiring the coinage of at least $2,000,000 of silver every month, was in force. In his reply, Mr. Cleveland did not court the silver Democrats. On the contrary, he told them firmly that he favored the "suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver." It was a strong letter, and, what is more important, it was the letter of a man who believed in indicating the independence of the Executive Department. Here was a President intent upon speaking his own views as the Constitution required that the President should do. These letters were written before the inauguration, so that Mr. Cleveland began his administration under suspicion of the Democratic spoilsmen and the Democratic silver men. At this period neither party desired a President who would refuse to reward party service with public place, while all so-called practical politicians who believed in the free coinage of silver were clamoring for it, while those who were opposed to it were keeping still. Mr. Cleveland offended against the traditions and the practice.

Mr. Cleveland became at once the President of the whole country, as he had been Mayor of the whole city of Buffalo and Gov-

ernor of the whole State of New York. This distinguished him from most modern Presidents, Mr. Hayes being a notable exception. The Democratic President further returned to the policy of older days in choosing his Cabinet. He had a very small acquaintance with public men, and, therefore, he invited the prominent Democrats of the country, especially those of the Senate and the House of Representatives, to consult with him at Albany, where he was passing the time between the election and his inauguration. The result of his consultations was a very strong Cabinet, although the appointment of Mr. Bayard, Mr. Garland and Mr. Lamar, who would have been very useful to the new administration if they had remained in the Senate, may be criticised. The two New York members of the Cabinet were Mr. Manning and Mr. Whitney, and they were strongly supplemented by Mr. Daniel S. Lamont, who was the President's Secretary. The Cabinet was the most distinguished of all Presidential cabinets since the administration of Mr. Lincoln, with the possible exception of that of Mr. Hayes. The return of the Democrats to power took place under promising auspices. Many of the great appointments, notably that of Edward J. Phelps as minister to England, were in keeping with the Cabinet appointments, while many of the subordinate places were also filled by strong and able men. The incoming of the party was of great value to the country, to which was thus given a new body of public servants intent upon bettering the work of their predecessors.

The new President, when he took office in 1885, was able to inaugurate a struggle for the independence of the Executive. Through its control of the civil service, constitutional and usurped, the Senate had been able to make the President subordinate in the matter of appointments. Mr. Cleveland was the only President since the War of Secession who insisted, against the opposition of the Senate, upon asserting and enjoying the rights and powers which the Constitution has given to the Executive Department. The Tenure of Office Act was passed in 1867 for the purpose of compelling Andrew Johnson to retain an obnoxious Secretary of War. In 1869, soon after General Grant's inauguration, the most obnoxious features of the law were repealed. In 1885 the Senate, the majority being Republican, and, on this occasion, under the leadership of Senator Edmunds, insisted on a report from the Attorney-General as to the

reasons for the removal of the United States District Attorney of Southern Alabama. The further contention was made that the Senate was entitled to know the reasons for which the President made removals, and to this Mr. Cleveland, assuming the responsibility of the Attorney General's refusal to comply with the Senate's demand, asserted that the duty of nomination and removal was placed by the Constitution upon him alone, and that he would permit no interference by a co-ordinate branch of the Government. The President, he argued, was alone responsible, and he would not tolerate any questioning of his motives. Mr. Cleveland gained a signal victory over the Senate. In 1886, the remainder of the Tenure of Office Act was repealed. Mr. Cleveland, like his predecessors and like his successors also, notwithstanding his victory on this occasion, was greatly hampered by the practice of the Senate, and especially by its "rule of courtesy." This rule was frequently resorted to in order to prevent Mr. Cleveland from refusing to name for offices the friends of Senators; in his second administration it was used for the purpose of preventing him from securing the appointment of the Democrats in whom he especially confided. Mr. Cleveland was more than once forced to appoint men of whom he did not approve, or whom he would not have selected, in order that he might carry on the Government by filling the essential subordinate places. He did not yield gracefully to this system of compulsion, but the Senators would have crippled the Government, by refusing their assent to any nominations, if the President had not yielded now and then, but by his obstinate assertion of his independence on every occasion and at every moment when he could succeed, Mr. Cleveland gained the enmity of the spoilsmen of both parties. He also incurred the antagonism of the Independents, or "Mugwumps" as they had been called in the campaign of 1884, because these would not consent to any dalliance with the old system of rewarding politicians. Before his official career was ended, however, the Independent leaders and voters came thoroughly to understand his real devotion to their own ideals, and perhaps to realize the difference between the limitations upon the President, who is forced to work the institutions of Government with the means at his command, and the freedom of those whose duty it is to keep the standard constantly before the public.

Mr. Cleveland's first administration enormously increased the credit of the Democratic party, and it greatly helped the Republican party. The Democrats controlled the House of Representatives, and the Republicans controlled the Senate. Some excellent measures were enacted, and the attacks upon the integrity of the Government and upon the prosperity of the country which had been predicted by reckless partisans were not made. The House advocated and passed good measures, and the Senate majority exercised its power, on the whole wisely, for the public good. The old rule of the succession to the Presidency was changed to be more in harmony with our system of government, so that the Presidency would go, if there were no Vice-President, to the members of the Cabinet in a certain order of precedence, instead of, first, to the President *pro tempore* of the Senate and then to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Inter-State Commerce Commission was established. A law was passed regulating the counting of the electoral votes, to the end that we might never again have a repetition of the utterly demoralizing performance after the election of 1876.

The great legislative feature of this first term was the attempt to change the tariff taxes. Mr. Cleveland came slowly to his final conviction as to the need of tariff reform, as to the injustices of the existing tariff to the consumers of the country—that is, to the country at large. His progress to the views which he expressed in his tariff message of 1887 was not satisfactory to the Democrats in Congress, who had then been engaged in the struggle for more rational duties since 1883; but, when Mr. Cleveland finally spoke, it was with a power which shook the political body. His message was confined to the single theme. "It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory," he said, and he added: "The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our working-men have, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts."

The message was followed during the session by a bill by Mr. Roger Q. Mills—really the bill of the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee, of which Mr. Mills was chairman. In 1883, when Mr. Morrison introduced his bill, Mr. Randall, chief of the knot of Democratic Protectionists, was able to procure the defeat of the measure. The party had grown more united in 1888, and Mr. Mills's bill was carried in the House by a vote of 162 to 149.

The President had not kept his hold upon the country for reasons which have been given, and which were partly the consequences of offences to Democratic politicians, chief of whom was Senator Gorman. Mr. Cleveland lost the election of 1888, and the demoralization which was eventually to deprive the country of an opposition party that had given so much of promise may be said to have set in. It is not true that Mr. Cleveland was defeated solely on account of his tariff message, a claim which is flattering to the desires and interests of the Protectionists. He was defeated partly by the vote of Independents who gladly returned to him in 1892, and by the unostentatious disaffection of certain Democratic spoilsmen who would naturally be opposed to any President who would not distribute offices to needy henchmen.

The four years' interval between 1889 and 1893 were spent by Mr. Cleveland in New York City in the practice of his profession. In that interval Mr. Cleveland grew wonderfully in reputation with the people of the country. The Democratic rule had been dreaded by a good many people who are afflicted with the too common notion that all political opponents are wicked enemies of their country; but, under Mr. Cleveland's leadership, the party had done well for the country, and, what is of more importance, notwithstanding the display by some of its leaders of predatory instincts with respect to spoils — instincts which have not been wholly unknown among Republican politicians— the party had shown that the subject of its thoughts when it was placed in practical charge of the Government was for the country, and not for special selected interests in whose behalf the taxing power of the Government was employed. The Republicans had carried the House of Representatives and had retained the Senate. Mr. Thomas B. Reed was chosen Speaker. His administration was particularly signalized by the adoption of new

rules for the House of Representatives that eventually put an end to debate and deliberation in the popular branch of Congress. The principal results of the Republican control of the Government were disastrous to the country. Thus again had the Democratic party received benefit which would have been long enduring if the leaders in Congress had realized their great good fortune in possessing such leaders as Mr. Cleveland and his immediate party friends, and such a cause as that which he made the controlling issue in his message of 1887. This issue was already beginning to enable the Democrats to carry Congressional districts, which theretofore had been always Republican, in the States of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska and Iowa. The two acts of the Republican party which wrought disaster were the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 and the so-called Sherman Silver Act of the same year. The McKinley Tariff Act was based frankly on the assertion that the national Government should use its power to levy customs dues primarily for protection and incidentally for revenue. This, of course, was an act for the benefit of a favored class. The Silver Act directed the monthly purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver. The Senate had amended this act when it came from the House of Representatives with a free-coinage measure, but this amendment was thrown out by the House. Its bill, as adopted by the Conference Committee, largely the work of Mr. Sherman, was enacted. Senator Sherman had discredited Mr. Harrison by asserting that the purchasing measure was necessary because, if that much were not given to the silver people, including in this term the silver-mine owners, a free-coinage measure might be passed, and Mr. Harrison would sign such a bill. Another unpopular measure was Mr. Lodge's Force Bill. This was killed eventually in the Senate by the silver men, who made a bargain with Democratic Senators to this end.

The result of the conduct of the Republicans resulted in a sweeping Democratic victory in 1890. The Senate of the Fifty-second Congress, which began on March 4th, 1891, remained Republican; but the House became largely Democratic. There were in it 236 Democrats, 88 Republicans and 8 Independents. In this campaign the tariff was the main issue, and it is to this and to the issue created by the Force Bill, and to the contrast between Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, that the Democrats owed their great victory.

The Democrats nominated Mr. Cleveland for the third time in 1892, promising the repeal of the McKinley Tariff Act, and denouncing the Sherman Silver Act as a "cowardly makeshift." The platform further declared that "the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value." This was Mr. Cleveland's platform. He had refused to consent to be nominated until he had learned of the terms of the money plank. The silver question had come to the front by the enactment of the Sherman law and by the Senate's passage of a free-coinage bill. In view of Mr. Cleveland's attitude on the money question, evidenced in his Warner letter of 1885, the silver men were opposed to him. At that time these were divided between the two parties; but, as the South had adopted the cause of free coinage, the larger number of silver advocates in Congress were Democrats. The Republicans and Democrats of the West were for silver, and the two parties in the East were opposed to free coinage. There were other than silver Democrats opposed to Mr. Cleveland's third nomination. Mr. Gorman was against it, and so was Mr. David B. Hill, of New York. The latter called a party State convention, known as the "Snap Convention," early in the year, and it appointed a delegation favorable to his own candidacy. Thus it seemed that Mr. Cleveland's nomination was opposed by the Democrats of his own State. This was further emphasized by the action of Tammany Hall, and other dissatisfied Democrats, who, at the very Convention, declared in writing over their own signatures that Mr. Cleveland could not carry his own State at the election, if he were nominated. Contrary evidence was furnished by the "Anti-Snappers," who held a convention at Syracuse. They were led by Charles S. Fairchild, William R. Grace, Oswald Ottendorfer and a company of young men who had entered politics at the dawn of what promised to be a new era, and who were intent upon serving the country rather than their own interests. The Convention, answering the demand of the country, disregarded the opposition of Mr. Hill and Tammany Hall, and nominated Mr. Cleveland. The result of the election justified the nomination. Mr. Cleveland received 5,556,562 votes and Mr. Harrison, 5,162,874. The electoral vote was as follows: Cleveland, 277; Harrison, 145; Weaver, 22. Weaver's popular vote seemed to be significant. It was 1,055,424, but it was, in fact, the result of

a fusion in Republican States by means of which the candidates of the People's party received the support of the Democrats. Congress now became Democratic in both Houses. In the Senate there were 44 Democrats, 37 Republicans, 4 Independents and 3 vacancies. In the House there were 218 Democrats, 127 Republicans and 11 Populists.

When Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated, the Sherman silver law had furnished the needed impulse to push the country to the verge of the great panic which soon began. By custom, which had the force of law, the Treasury was keeping a gold reserve of $100,000,000. This reserve had been encroached upon in the Harrison administration, although the facts were not openly confessed. The first complete fiscal year during which the McKinley Tariff Bill was in operation, the customs receipts of the Government fell off from $220,000,000, the receipts of 1891, to $177,000,000, about $43,000,000. There was an increase to $203,000,000 in 1893, but a falling off in 1894 to $132,000,000, nearly $90,000,000 less than the receipts from customs duties for the fiscal year 1891.

Appropriations had increased, while revenue was decreasing. The last year for which a Democratic Congress made appropriations was the fiscal year 1892. The expenditures for that year, excluding post-office expenditures, amounted to $345,000,000: the first year of the return of the Republican party to Congress was 1891; the first year for which the Republican Congress appropriated was 1893. The expenditures for that year were $383,000,000. While the public finances were disarranged, the main reason for the disturbance was monetary. The fear that the country was in danger of going to a silver basis was world-wide. Gold was hoarded. The legal-tender notes were used for the purpose of extracting gold from the Treasury. Therefore gold left the Treasury. In the opinion of Mr. Harrison and his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Foster, the time had come when it was necessary to issue bonds for the purpose of obtaining the gold needed by the Government. The plates were made ready in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, but the 4th of March arrived before they had been used, and Mr. Harrison's administration escaped its own responsibility, and the responsibility of its party, which was most unjustly thrown upon Mr. Cleveland and his administration. His antagonists have not ceased to

blame him and the so-called Wilson Tariff Bill for the panic of 1893, notwithstanding the fact that it was primarily due to legislation for which both parties were responsible, although Republicans were its authors and main advocates, and notwithstanding the further fact that the so-called Wilson Bill did not go into effect for two years after the panic began. Then, too, for the fiscal year 1895, the first year during which the new law operated, the customs revenue increased by $21,000,000; in the second year of the law it increased $8,000,000 more; in the last year, $16,000,000 more was added to the revenues. This increase of revenue, however, is not to be credited to what the Republicans denominate a "free-trade" measure, for the bill, as changed in the Senate, was not the measure advocated by Mr. Wilson, approved by Mr. Cleveland, and passed by the House of Representatives.

I have anticipated the course of events for the purpose of completing, in its appropriate place, all that I shall say with reference to the untruthful assertions concerning the responsibility of Mr. Cleveland, and of the legislation of his administration, for the hard times then brought upon the country by the silver law of reckless and incompetent public men. It now became Mr. Cleveland's duty to repeal this legislation, to put an end to the menace which had created a currency famine, had nearly suspended business and had ruined thousands of men. Mr. Cleveland, in this work, had the able support of a strong Cabinet, but leaned especially on his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle. The other members of the Cabinet who were of special assistance were Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, and Mr. Lamont, Secretary of War. The President bent all his energies to relieving the country. He considered nothing but the public good. He was advised by friends in whom he trusted to recognize at once the necessity of issuing bonds. He declined to follow the advice, hoping that the need might be escaped. If he had been thinking merely of his personal and the party's welfare, he would have followed the advice, for, in that event, mendacious slanderers would not have been able to speak as if his subsequent issues of bonds were necessitated by occasions which he and not themselves had furnished. The distress of the country became so great that he called the Congress in special session on August 7th for the declared purpose of repealing the pur-

chasing clause of the Sherman act. For three months Washington was the scene of a great struggle, the centre of an interest which was due to the anxiety of the whole commercial and business world. Never had there been a firmer President, and never so obstinate a Secretary of the Treasury. These two were one in the stern resolve that there should be unconditional repeal.

In the House, under the lead of Mr. William L. Wilson, the repeal bill passed on the 28th of August. It was when it went to the Senate that the difficulty was encountered. The silver Senators rallied against it. From the very first it was clear that the bill would pass as it came from the House if a vote should be taken. The silver men, therefore, filibustered against a vote. They were both Republicans and Democrats. The Republicans made the dilatory motions, the Democratic silver Senators voting for them. The administration was hampered in the Senate by unfortunate and inescapable conditions. Senator Voorhees was chairman of the Finance Committee. He had agreed to support the repeal bill, and, as chairman, was consequently the leader, but he was half-hearted and not well informed. Some other Democrats were not loyal either to the President or to the cause in which they really and professedly believed. One of them, openly acting with the administration, in secret constantly encouraged the silver Senators to look for a compromise in favor of silver,—a compromise, to use the phrase of the day, which would "do something for silver." Every possible effort was made to break the administration lines. Correspondents for newspapers which were strong for absolute repeal were, more than once, told confidentially by so-called gold Democrats that the administration had agreed to a compromise. These men were contending for "party harmony." Finally, by a miserable trick, all gold Democrats but one were convinced that the President had assented to a compromise, and some of Mr. Carlisle's handwriting was fraudulently used for the purpose of deception. The one Democrat who suspected the ruse was Senator Vilas. Mr. Voorhees had promised to introduce the pretended compromise on the following Monday. On hearing of this conspiracy, Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Gresham set themselves to compass its defeat. They worked with Mr. Voorhees until he was brought to see the false pretence on which his promise had been obtained. On the Monday morning, Mr. Cleveland sent his carriage to the railroad

station for Senator McPherson, who had been at home in New Jersey, and brought him to the White House. He was thus obtained as an ally with Senator Vilas. A little later, the gold Democrats who had signed the compromise went to the White House to persuade the President that his assent was essential to the harmony of the party, and there learned from Mr. Cleveland, with an emphasis that shocked some of them, that he would not consent. They had heard of the administration's efforts to overcome the conspirators. When they went to the Capitol they found that Senator Teller and Senator Dubois, the Republican silver leaders, had also heard of the proceedings, and were deeply angered that the Democrats had come together to make a party measure and thus to heal a party breach. They denounced the silver Democrats and declared that they would filibuster no longer. The struggle was over, and, with a slight amendment, which was quickly agreed to by the House of Representatives, the Senate passed the unconditional repeal bill on the 30th of October.

Mr. Cleveland is said to have broken up his party by his persistence for unconditional repeal. This is said by critics some of whom confess that unconditional repeal was essential to the country. Therefore, in saying that Mr. Cleveland made a mistake in thus opposing a party harmony dependent upon the continuance of an evil which was injurious to the whole country, they say, in effect, that there are times when the country's welfare must be postponed to the party's exigencies. Mr. Cleveland did not agree with them. In securing the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act he rendered the country, and the whole commercial world, a service the like of which has not been rendered by any President since Lincoln gave his life to the cause of the Union.

The silver agitation was not ended by the repeal of this act, but it needed the impulse which it received from the defeat of the Democratic tariff policy to make it as dangerous to the country as it afterwards became. The leading feature of the Democratic platform of 1892 was the promise to repeal the McKinley bill, and to make a new tariff law by which the interests of the people would be considered. "Unless," said Mr. Wilson, prophetically as it turned out, in introducing the bill of 1894, "the Democracy takes up this great cause of tariff reform, to win or

lose with it, live or die for it, the Democratic party ought to go out of power, as it will." It is unnecessary to recapitulate the misfortunes of the Wilson Bill. The measure, as all tariff measures not drawn by their beneficiaries must be made, was drawn with the assistance of the Secretary of the Treasury. It was a fairly good measure, as good as could be passed. It was passed by the House of Representatives on the 1st of February, 1894. When the bill reached the Senate it was transformed into a high protection measure by Senators Gorman, Hill, Murphy, Smith and others acting with the Republicans led by Senator Aldrich. The Senate added more than six hundred amendments. Mr. Cleveland refused to sign the bill, and perhaps he made the great mistake of his public life in not vetoing it. In a letter to Mr. Wilson, which the latter read on the floor of the House, Mr. Cleveland denounced the bill as it then stood as an act of perfidy and party dishonor. The result of this was a still further breach between Mr. Cleveland and some of the leaders of his party. What is of more importance, however, is the fact that the party had lost its opportunity and had become utterly demoralized. Its Western and Southern leaders ceased to favor free coinage for mere party reasons, as Mr. McKinley and other Republican leaders had done, and became enamoured of the policy as a party issue. The protection Democrats in the Senate had once again demonstrated that the tariff beneficiaries were strong enough to prevent the party from keeping its tariff promises. All that Mr. Cleveland had stood for and all that the Democratic party had seemed to stand for in 1885, when it was gaining the confidence of the country and becoming a real party of opposition, was discarded. The party had ceased to be safe and sane; it had become a threat to prosperity and to monetary soundness, while it had broken its promise of tariff reform to the Western people, who had gone to it in 1892 and had made its victory overwhelming. These were ready now to take up any cause which would injure the East, for the East was the especial home of protection, and they were Eastern Democrats who had denied Mr. Cleveland's faith and the party promise. The party was ready to fulfil Mr. Wilson's prediction and "go out of power."

During this term the President was compelled, on several occasions, to issue bonds for the purpose of maintaining the

Treasury's gold reserve. The distress of the Treasury did not abate after the 4th of March, 1893. On the contrary, the Government was often very hard pressed for funds needed to meet its obligations, and had it not been for the skill and energy of a committee of the Treasury, selected by Mr. Carlisle, more than once the Government would have been forced, at one Sub-Treasury or another, to repudiate its checks. Finally, in January, 1894, the supply of gold at the Treasury was so low that Mr. Carlisle was obliged to sell bonds for $50,000,000. In the following November the sale of another $50,000,000 of bonds became necessary. As soon as the gold was in the Treasury, however, it began to disappear, and at the beginning of 1895 the reserve was down to about $50,000,000. Mr. Cleveland sent a special message to Congress in which he clearly pointed out the weaknesses of our money system, and urged the enactment of a law authorizing the issue of three-per-cent. bonds payable in gold. A bill to carry out this recommendation was defeated. Congress showed no disposition to take any steps for the protection of the gold reserve. By February 8th, 1895, the reserve had fallen to $42,000,000. The suspension of gold payments was imminent. The Sub-Treasurer in New York had notified the Treasury that his supply could hold out only one more day. Under these circumstances, Mr. Cleveland was compelled to secure gold where he could get it. He was criticised for not selling bonds by popular subscription, but there was no time to resort to that method. Subsequently bonds were thus sold. As it was, a contract was made with a syndicate of bankers, who agreed to furnish the Government with 3,500,000 ounces of gold (about $65,000,000), and to protect it, for four-per-cent. coin bonds at 104½. The bonds were issued under an old law. The President urged Congress to authorize the payment of the bonds in gold, informing it that, if that were done, the interest would be reduced to three per cent., and, in the thirty years during which the bonds were to run, the total saving of interest would be $16,000,000. Congress refused to grant Mr. Cleveland's request. It is well known to members on the floor that this result was brought about by a leading Republican to whom members of his own party applied for advice. He told them that they were under no obligation to help the Democratic administration out of its trouble—in other words, that they were not in duty bound to help a Demo-

cratic President render a service to the country. Subsequently, this Republican voted in favor of the Ways and Means Committee's resolution to make the bonds payable in gold, but only after the roll was called and it was known that the proposition was defeated.

Two important episodes happened in this term which have been the theme of much discussion. One of them, the intervention of Mr. Cleveland in the Chicago strike of 1894, has been the cause of a good deal of comment, and the incident has been frequently alluded to as an act of tyranny directed against organized labor. Mr. Olney, then Attorney-General, and Mr. Cleveland were the objects of the criticism and attack. As a matter of fact, no one was more solicitous for the rights of the laboring man than Mr. Cleveland, and no one more firmly believed in the right of labor to organize than Mr. Olney, as was shown by his subsequent intervention to prevent the discharge of members of an organization of railroad employees by the receiver of the Reading Railroad. The strikers in Chicago were, it is true, guilty of committing "domestic violence," and if that were all Governor Altgeld was right in insisting that their suppression was the task of the State, with which the Federal Government should not interfere except on the invitation of the State authorities. But Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney took the ground that the power of the Federal Government was attacked by the rioters; that they were interfering with interstate commerce and with the carrying of the mails. They were subsequently sustained by the Supreme Court in the Debs case. Mr. Cleveland vindicated the law and the nation's authority. Injunctions were obtained, under the direction of Mr. Olney, for the purpose of preventing interference with and injury to the property of the United States, and the property of others the protection of which, under the laws of the nation, was the duty of the general Government. The injunction was defied. The United States Marshal reported that the mob only jeered at him when he read it. The riotous interference with property, the derailing of cars to obstruct the mail trains and the through business of the roads, continued. The troops under General Miles were ordered out, Mr. Cleveland issuing a proclamation in which he described all persons "forcibly resisting and obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, or interfering with

the functions of the Government, or destroying or attempting to destroy the property belonging to the United States or under its protection," as "public enemies." Criminal proceedings were also begun in the courts. Debs and some others were arrested on the 10th of July, charged with obstructing the mails. On the 17th, Debs and the other officials of the Railway Union were again arrested charged with violation of the injunction. The Supreme Court, Justice Brewer delivering the opinion, decided that the President was within his Constitutional power in directly interfering to prevent forcible obstruction of the mails; and that the court had jurisdiction to issue the injunction. The episode was a notable exhibition of courage on the part of the elected President to uphold and to enforce the laws which he had sworn to execute. Here once more he displayed an absolute patriotism, for the temper of the time warned him and Mr. Olney plainly that they were risking their political futures by interfering with a mob of which the Democratic Governor of Illinois and the Democratic Mayor of Chicago were afraid. Ten years afterwards, when Mr. Cleveland's name was mentioned in all parts of the country as the possible candidate for President, he uttered and published an account of this strike, defending his own part in it with a courage and an indifference to the possible political consequences to himself the equal of which have been the happy possession of no other English-speaking politician of our day, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley. In concluding his account of the affair, Mr. Cleveland wrote: "As we gratefully turn its concluding page, those who were most nearly related by executive responsibility to the troublous days whose story is told may well especially congratulate themselves on the part which fell to them in marking out the way and clearing the path, now unchangeably established, which shall hereafter guide our nation safely and surely in the exercise of the important functions which represent the people's trust."

The second episode was that of the contest between Venezuela and Great Britain on the subject of the boundary line between the two. It had been in progress since 1814, and the United States had taken part in it in order to secure the arbitration of the dispute. Many Secretaries of State and Ministers to England had participated; Mr. Fish, Mr. Evarts, Mr. Blaine, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Bayard, Mr. Gresham, and, at last, Mr.

Olney. Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney brought the subject to a conclusion. The Monroe Doctrine was both asserted and strictly limited. The contention was made that this country had the right to assert the doctrine for its own protection, and that it meant that no European country should establish or extend political dominion on this hemisphere, directly or indirectly. The question confronting the United States was whether England was or was not insisting on acquiring territory by unsubstantial claims, depending upon her power and upon the weakness of Venezuela. Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney insisted on arbitration, and the President, under the authority of Congress, appointed a commission in order to ascertain the character and the rightfulness of England's demands. In his message to Congress, Mr. Cleveland alluded to the possibility of a breach between this country and Great Britain, and this caused great disturbance in the money market, but the country was with the President, and England yielded quickly to his demands. It was always asserted by Mr. Cleveland and his friends that he had prevented a war between the two countries and had not created the danger of one. At any rate, England became more friendly to this country than its governing classes had ever been before. This occurred in 1895, and immediately afterwards, under the auspices of Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Olney and Lord Pauncefote negotiated a general arbitration treaty for the settlement of all disputes between the two countries. In 1897, this treaty was so mutilated by the amendments of a hostile Senate that it was practically defeated.

Mr. Cleveland went out of the Presidency in March, 1897, and, therefore, out of public life. His work as a statesman, however, was not done, for, on more than one occasion, he became the adviser of his countrymen, with whom his fame grew larger as time went on, until he was long recognized as our first citizen. His party had broken to pieces. If this were chargeable to him, it is because he did his duty to the country instead of seeking to win the support of party leaders selfishly seeking other than the country's good. But it is clear in the light of subsequent events that, if the party had possessed the wisdom and the virtue to follow Mr. Cleveland, the country would now enjoy the benefit of a strong and patriotic second party without which good government in a republic is difficult, if not impossible.

HENRY LOOMIS NELSON.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION FROM A SOCIALISTIC POINT OF VIEW.

BY JEAN JAURÈS, LEADER OF THE SOCIALISTS IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

It will soon be a year since the Hague Conference closed its doors; and, though it must be confessed that the results are not very definite or important, even the most critical observer will have to admit that a most interesting problem was taken up and considered—viz., compulsory arbitration. The aim in view was that certain categories of conflicts and disputes should be handed over, as a matter of course, to the arbitration of the nations which took part in the Conference. It was not to be held necessary that the two Powers in contention would have to draw up a special treaty in order to bring about arbitration, nor would any other nation be expected to take the initiative in an effort to bring about arbitration. Arbitration would be required by the will of all of the nations represented at the Conference. A nation would have to arbitrate, whether or no.

Two very important consequences would spring from this decision. In the first place, this kind of arbitration would be the result of humanity's making its judicial appearance in the world, creating and promulgating laws applicable to all nations, not on account of any special arrangement of any sort between these nations, but simply by the fact that, forming a part of the Hague Conference, they had taken their place in organized Humanity.

Again, this new international law would make arbitration more honest and efficacious. When two nations are bound by special treaties or arbitration, there is ground for the suspicion that they are taking this position in order to present a stronger front to other nations. This "arbitration by couples" may be another form of defiance and strife. But when all civilized nations are

united by a general treaty of arbitration, a death blow is delivered to any idea of that kind. Then arbitration contains no shadows or dark corners. It is all done in the full light of day and a feeling of truth and peace is spread abroad through the peoples.

In the second place, this more elevated sort of arbitration will lead the way to the extension of the benign principle to more serious disputes and even to some which without it might lead to the most disastrous conflicts. Up to the present time, states have declined to submit to arbitration anything affecting their existence or their honor, which reservations, of course, greatly restrict the field of arbitration. So long as arbitration is regulated by treaties between nations acting two by two, it will be very difficult to brush aside these unfortunate reservations. Old struggles have left behind them deep-seated feelings of revenge and many unhealed wounds. A great nation like France, for instance, having been forced to see her territory ruthlessly dismembered, would doubtless hesitate to propose to Germany alone a general arbitration treaty which would embrace all possible future differences. By so doing, France would feel that she was admitting the justice of this robbery. But France could accept without hesitation a general arbitration scheme which would embrace all nations, Germany included, and all differences, including this spoliation of Alsace-Lorraine. In this way, France could, without weakening her moral position, give her adhesion to the formula of universal and total arbitration. By so doing, she would not sacrifice to another state a portion of her national rights, she would not bow to brute force and the power of conquest, but she would consent—in the interest of humanity and the new order of ideas, so superior to the old order—no longer to have recourse to arms for the settling of differences between peoples.

When this great question of obligatory arbitration was brought up at the Hague Conference, it was discussed academically, but no conclusion was reached. It was found impossible to obtain the unanimous support of the delegations to this grand idea. The majority, however, made a plea in its favor, but this plea, unfortunately, is not binding. An understanding could not be reached concerning the definition of the differences which would be classed under the head of "subjects for obligatory arbitration." Different nations took different views, though it was not exactly a case of *quot homines, tot sententiæ.*

Does this mean that the last Hague Conference was held in vain? Certainly not. So the head of the French mission, Senator Léon Bourgeois, was right when he took an optimistic view at a meeting of the friends of peace held in the Senate House a few months ago, and declared that the era of arbitration and concord was dawning. "It is an immense step in advance to secure this official support for the peace idea, which has been slowly developing in a hard soil. The victory is sure to come, if we do not lose courage in the struggle so well begun." Such were the excellent words of M. Bourgeois.

It would not appear, however, that the nations have labored much on these lines since the adjournment of the Conference last autumn. Has any advance been made concerning the category of differences which might eventually come under the head of obligatory arbitration? What about the regulations relative to the conduct of the international prize courts? What has diplomacy done, among the nations favoring arbitration, to advance this idea and to remove the objections thereto among the Governments which look askance at this reform? Are we planting seed that will produce a rich harvest when the next Hague Conference comes round? Yet a spirit of peace reigns among the peoples. This is certain. Thus, the present trouble over the Morocco business has not endangered the relations between Germany, on the one side, and France and England, on the other, as was the case in 1905. Those who, for a moment, alarmed all Europe with predictions about what they called "a war imminent between Japan and the United States," have been flatly contradicted by the Governments of those two peoples. The turmoil in the Balkans will probably be quieted without setting Europe by the ears.

Probably the most important outcome of the last Conference was the provision for its reassembling at regular intervals. This in itself will be a great preventive of war. Though some nations may be slow in accepting complete arbitration, these regularly recurring conferences will tend to keep the idea before them; and it will be harder and harder for Governments which have been meeting together in a friendly way to plunge suddenly into war. The contrast will eventually be regarded as so saddening, so inconsistent, such a veritable scandal, that rulers, peoples and Governments will hesitate before thus braving the condemnation

of the universal conscience. But, however great may be the good that has come in one way and another from the Hague meetings, this good will continue to be very limited and will fall far short of what it might become, unless a strong effort is made to go on enlightening men's minds on this great subject of international arbitration. The old and new friends of peace must not sit down, calmly fold their arms and wait for the coming of the millennium!

International Socialism is resolved to devote itself to this good work. At our recent Socialist Congress, which was sitting at Stuttgart at the same moment as the Peace Conference at The Hague, we passed a resolution which declared that it was the duty of the working classes of all countries to labor without a halt in favor of the cause of international arbitration, "which, so far, has been so lukewarmly supported by existing Governments." This Stuttgart gathering gave rise in the European press to such a violent and confused discussion; the different political parties of the upper classes so vied with one another in misstating our declarations (this was especially the case in France and Germany), particularly denouncing us as "enemies of all idea of country," that what we said concerning obligatory arbitration was passed over in silence. And yet our action was of considerable importance and a new departure in our International Socialistic world, though Socialism, *per se,* has always stood for peace and against strife between brother nations. For did not Saint Simon, the famous founder of Saint Simonianism, propose, in the early part of the last century, the establishment of "a European parliament which should decide disputes between nations"? And Saint Simon was one of the early stars of Socialism. The International Socialist Congresses held prior to the Franco-German war of 1870 pronounced strongly against armed strife. This was especially the case with the Congress which met at Brussels. In fact, at these gatherings the anti-war resolutions were much stronger than those passed recently at Stuttgart. And yet our enemies in the anti-Socialist press have been holding up their hands in holy horror at "the extravagance of our demands on this head" made at this last Congress. The truth is that, until recent years, Socialists did not believe that international arbitration was possible in the existing state of society. It seemed hopeless to expect any good thing to come

out of Nazareth. But since the Socialists have discovered the remarkable growth of their strength and the great influence which their doctrines can now exert on the affairs of the world, they perceive that there is a possibility of establishing a legal control over international disputes, even in the chaotic state of the present social system.

The external policy of modern Socialism is an evolution from its domestic policy. As Socialism has grown stronger at home, it has grown stronger in its foreign or international developments and policies. At the start, modern Socialism felt that its only aim should be the destruction of the existing régime; otherwise it could accomplish nothing; existing abuses were sure to paralyze every trial and effort of the Socialistic idea. The old formula was: Destroy first, and build up afterwards. Thus, for a long time, at least in Europe, Socialism looked askance at universal suffrage, which could add only political servitude to the existing economical servitude of the masses. The same thing is true of parliamentary action. During many years, Socialism had no faith in what legislatures were inclined to do for the amelioration of the working classes. They laughed at the so-called "reforms," which brought but a trivial relief to the suffering people, and tended simply to calm the spirit of revolt, which demanded complete regeneration. This disdain was bestowed even on trade unions and co-operative organizations of all kinds, which were considered a means of weakening the unity of action of the working-man, destroying his individuality and making him "a dumb part of a mercantile combination." Perhaps this period of "a rough and unyielding exclusiveness" was necessary for the upbuilding of a vigorous and healthy ideal, just as fresh buds are often protected by a hard external covering, which preserves them for a while from the cold of a late spring and the attack of harmful insects. But this state of things could not last.

Socialism eventually perceived that, as it grew in strength, it could no longer separate itself from the real world, from the living life of men, so that the forces which it at first disdained to make use of, it finally decided to utilize and shape to its own purposes. Consequently, we find to-day Socialism bringing universal suffrage to its aid, taking part in legislative debates and actively associated in all the trade unions and co-operative under-

takings. This new departure gave fresh force and success to Socialism the world over. The upper classes now see that it "has come to stay."

The international problem being the most complicated one to solve, was taken up last by modern Socialism. War, peace, arbitration became forthwith topics of first-class importance in the eyes of thoughtful Socialists. Then it was that the attack on Capitalism was waged more earnestly than ever, for we felt that it was a cause of disorder, so fierce, so hard to cope with, that the only way of abolishing or of limiting the evil effects of war was to destroy Capitalism itself. We perceived clearly that peace would spring from the social revolution and from the social revolution alone. What is the use, we asked, of sowing the good seeds of arbitration in a field where grow the poisonous weeds of competition and all the hates associated therewith? Let us first uproot the privilege of property from which war is sure to spring. Let us rid all the fields of this deadly herb, and then peace will bloom of itself like a cornflower in the midst of the wheat. Hence it was that the leaders of Socialism were at first divided as to how this cause of peace and arbitration should be treated. We wished to help the good cause, but we did not want to be duped and to run after will-o'-the-wisps.

As the political influence of Socialism began to grow in France, and as we saw more clearly how useful to the cause, in every country, was the development of the peace idea, then we became convinced of the vast importance of international arbitration. We said to ourselves that we must henceforth, therefore, propagate this idea, strengthen it in every way possible, permit it to act in every reasonable way and extend its beneficent influence to every sort of conflict. This should be one of the immediate aims of all our international action. In fact, this is the very idea that the Stuttgart Congress promulgated, and the advancement of this idea is to be for the future one of the characteristic features of the international policy of modern Socialism.

It becomes interesting, therefore, to consider how Socialism can help to bring about the triumph of arbitration. We know that this is to be an immensely difficult task. We are not so simple-minded as to imagine that good words and Congress resolutions are going to put an end to the evils of passion and greed. Though the ever-growing strength of Socialism gives us con-

fidence, we know that we have a hard fight before us with the powers of war and hate. But we perceive that the world of Capitalism is divided against itself. If this division, this anarchy, is a constant cause of conflict, it also lends itself to the promotion of the interests of peace. It rarely happens that all interests, industrial, commercial and financial, are agreed at a given moment in all nations, or even in one nation, in the matter of either war or peace. Though capital throughout the world is of one mind in the fight against the working classes and in the determination to prolong the privileges of the well-to-do classes, these last are often at loggerheads over the exploitation of these privileges. Thus, a certain group, at a certain moment, finds it advantageous to precipitate a war, which will bring them fresh business, open new markets and create other monopolies; whereas other groups, influenced by bond-holdings or other interests, are opposed to such a conflict, seeing in it a check to their business transactions, a financial panic and the weakening of the money-market. So, the more international financial and industrial affairs become, the stock-exchange of one country being interested in the bonds, etc., of many of the other countries, the more complex this universal confusion becomes, and we find in this circle of financiers, some favoring war, while another group is as earnestly supporting pacific measures. Hence it is that International Socialism, with a concentrated, homogeneous and uniform action entirely directed towards peace, in opposition to the incoherent and contradictory course of Capitalism, will exert a much more powerful influence than is indicated by the very different struggle going on between Socialism and Capitalism.

The Hague is, as I have already said, a most useful auxiliary and a strong foundation on which to build work for peace. The Governments themselves, both monarchies and Capitalist republics, stand sponsors to the good cause. Whether they be acting from a generous and humane desire to lessen the chances of war, or because they are frightened by the terrible tension which great standing armies cause in all the budgets, or because they have little or no money for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, which some think would check the rising wave of Socialism, or because they are anxious over the unknown complications which may spring from an

armed conflict under the present military conditions,—in a word, whatever may be the reason, it cannot be denied that these Governments have proclaimed of their own accord, as the world has witnessed at two Hague Conferences, that it is necessary to substitute, in so far as possible, law for armed force in settling international differences. Yet, at the same time, they are frightened at the radical innovation which they have proposed, and are timidly trying to escape from its complete application, though the grand fact remains that this appeal for concord comes from the ruling classes of a system where the conflict of selfish interests is a solid and permanent law. International Socialism, while perseveringly advocating this reform and pressing it unceasingly on the attention of the powers-that-be and on the long-suffering people, has not been forced to create the machinery for effecting the realization of this great panacea, for, in the midst of the sea of troubles that is modern society, "the happy island" is clearly seen rising on the not-distant horizon.

It is now the custom for all our national and international Socialist Congresses to remind the nations of the necessity of arbitration. Whenever treaties for the regulation of international questions come up for discussion in parliaments, it is now habitual for the Socialists in the bodies where they are members to urge that an arbitration clause be inserted, and that this clause be far more comprehensive than the cases covered by the Governments' projects, generally.

But all these efforts would be vain and we would accomplish but useless things, if we limited our arbitration ideas to some preconceived system. What good would be attained if nations that had agreed to submit to arbitration all their disputes—even the most vital ones—had not also agreed to accept certain rules and principles of law laid down by all the nations? He who honestly accepts the idea of arbitration also accepts its application to special cases recognized by all arbitrators and by the parties to the dispute. Unless this common conscience exists and some sort of arbitration code be drawn up on these lines, there is very little in the reform; most of the disputes to be arbitrated would be settled really before being submitted to the arbitrators.

The good that can be drawn from arbitration would also be curtailed if any limit were put on the need of economical ex-

pansion, which is a vital question with vigorous nations. But, little by little, through the unceasing action of Socialism on all the internal conflicts of the nations, rules are being elaborated which can be applied to all disputes and conciliate the differences between nations without mutilating or unduly restricting the ambition of these nations. The future code of international arbitration is thus beginning to be outlined.

Here, it seems to me, are the principal rules which should characterize this arbitration code. In the first place, the new judges should not be called upon to settle any of our Old World troubles concerning territory torn from one country or another by the brutal spirit of force. There should be no attempt at "a revision of the map of Europe." The last traces of conquest in Poland, Ireland, Alsace-Lorraine and the Balkans should disappear under the benign influence of more generous home politics. International arbitration cannot well take in hand the righting of these great wrongs of the past. But, in a world appeased by the blessings of arbitration, liberty and autonomy would probably be given little by little to these historic groups and they would gradually secure a place in the family of nations without wholly breaking up the present territorial arrangements and bringing to the fore too irritating questions. We see something of this kind now going on in England, where the English working party upholds the Irish autonomists, who do not ask for a complete separation from Great Britain, but only for more freedom in the great English-speaking family. It is the same idea that governs the actions of the French Socialists in opposing the desire for "revenge" in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, and which prevails among the German Socialists in advocating a larger administrative, intellectual and moral liberty for both Alsace-Lorraine and Prussian Poland.

In the second place, it is not only from the brutalities of the past that we must find a way of escape. There must be a just and wise regulation of the economical warfare between nations. We Socialists can aid in this good cause by teaching that the bettering of the condition of the working classes should be placed before the desire for greater productive activity. This idea should be inculcated among all nations. There are in all countries deep layers of misery—thousands of men and women workers, who, if they were living under more humane conditions

and drew higher wages, would be larger buyers and thus would render home industries and the home markets stronger than the distant foreign markets against which the Capitalists of the various nations carry on such a fierce and constant war. This would be the severest blow that could be dealt to aggressive Imperialism. Consequently, the second law of international arbitration would be that the nations put an end to every monopoly and exclusive rights in any region not yet taken possession of by European nations, and where these nations are striving to develop their "influence."

This is the rule which was laid down by the Algeciras Conference in respect to Morocco; and if we French Socialists have been so firmly fighting against the recent French expedition to Morocco, it is not only because this expedition, in our eyes, was a violation of right, but especially because we saw in it the ruin, in an indirect way, of an international convention which had established for the nations an excellent rule for economic expansion. Algeciras had set a precedent. It proclaimed the principle of "no favors, no monopolies," "the open door for all" and "untrammelled competition for private enterprises and an honest adjudication of public improvements and governmental concessions." No nation could complain. No factitious advantage would change the natural conditions of its economic expansion. Each nation would conduct its trade in its own way and with vigor or lack of vigor, depending on its geographical position. None could feel that it was being checked in its vital energies by any other nation. Algeciras was, I repeat, a very happy precedent in the development of international law, and, in order to grasp its whole meaning, let us glance for a moment at a system of economic expansion conducted on the old and bad plan.

The Russian-Japanese war was not only most cruel and bloody, but it was foolish and unnecessary. There was room in Korea and Manchuria for the trading activity of both peoples, for both Russians and Japanese. But the grasping and selfish policy pursued by both Governments during a long period of years perverted the whole problem and precipitated a senseless conflict in the Far East. Outside nations could have made peaceful and advantageous arrangements with China and Korea by which all international jealousies and monopolies would have been avoided, and Russia and Japan would have reaped the benefit therefrom

and a terrible war prevented. The Algeciras Conference showed the world how the principle of international arbitration can arrange trade matters and throw open new markets to all nations, while putting a check on grasping methods and ruinous competition among so-called civilized nations.

The third rule of the future code of international arbitration which we Socialists and the working classes can establish concerns the difficulties caused by emigration. There, of course, should be no exclusion of any kind. Capitalists who bring in foreign workmen should be bound to pay them according to fixed rates agreed upon by representatives of the workmen and representatives of the Capitalists. This subject was carefully gone into by the Stuttgart Congress, and the rules there laid down fit in nicely with the ideas on international arbitration.

And, finally, there must be a fourth rule concerning the exploiting of the inferior races by our "civilized" peoples, such as the abominable treatment now being meted out to the poor negroes of the Congo, and against which iniquity England and the United States have protested with so much force and success. The future code must protect these latest members of the coming family of nations. In fact, this humane reform is, I think, on the point of being accomplished.

It will be seen from what has just been said that arbitration is destined to be not an empty word, not a vain hope. The basis of the new law is now in process of formation. The essential elements of an arbitration code are being slowly but surely elaborated. There will be a territorial *status quo,* as far as Europe is concerned; larger liberties to peoples who are the victims of old-time conquests; internationalization of the world's new markets, and greater protection for inferior races. These blessings do not spring from the mind of plutocrats, but are born of the heart and wisdom of humanity under the still uncertain development of Socialism. But the good work will go on and become more precise and more systematic, until the world perceives the whole grandeur of international arbitration as conceived and worked out by modern Socialism.

JEAN JAURES.

EGYPTIAN CALM.

BY SIR MARTIN CONWAY.

THE popular impression of the style of the arts of Ancient Egypt is that it was a changeless style; that, from beginning to end, Egyptian art obeyed a single canon and conformed to changeless laws. We shall find that this was not the case. The style of Egyptian art had its stages of nascence, culmination, decline and renascence, like the arts of other countries, races and periods. Yet it is true that all the art productions of Ancient Egypt, from the First Dynasty to the coming of Christianity, possess a certain quality so obvious as to be instantly recognizable by any one who has ever seen a few Egyptian antiquities and been told what they were. The average child at a Board School, if shown a photograph of a Fourth Dynasty pyramid, or a Nineteenth Dynasty bas-relief, or a Twenty-sixth Dynasty statue, or the latest Ptolemaic temple at Philæ, would instantly recognize each of them as Egyptian. Only about the earliest works, made when the style was in process of formation, would any doubt arise, in the mind of an ordinary educated person, as to whether it was Egyptian or not. It would be easy to cite individual works of art, and fine works, too, which even a cultivated amateur would hesitate to ascribe to a particular country or school. No such doubt arises about things Egyptian. Of whatever period (except the very earliest), and of whatever kind (architecture, sculpture, painting, goldsmithy, manuscript), they are distinguishable from the works of other schools; all alike exhibit the Egyptian style. Obviously, then, our first work must be to distinguish the characteristics of this style, the qualities by possession of which it consists, the qualities it lacks which later styles possessed.

If, for example, we were to set up side by side for comparison

a sculptured figure from an Egyptian tomb and a terra-cotta statuette from Greece, any one could see at a glance that they belong to different categories of art. A world-epoch separates them. What is the fundamental quality absent from the Egyptian figure and present in the Greek? Is it not Grace? The Egyptian figure possesses merit, is good of its kind, monumental, simple, lucid, skilfully made—portraitlike, even, to a limited degree—but it is not graceful. The Greek terra-cotta possesses many defects, but in spite of them all it charms; and the quality by means of which it charms is its grace. Now, grace in a figure is a quality of motion and proportion. A graceful pose is one arrived at by graceful motion and, still suggesting the motion that led to it, suggests also sometimes motion to come. These suggestions of motion are most obviously perceptible in drapery, but they can likewise be plainly traced in the modelling of the surface of a body, even in the modelling of a face. In every work of Greek art, after the archaic period, evidence will be found of at least an effort on the part of the artist to express this ideal of grace. No such effort can be traced in Egyptian works. Egyptian artists rarely availed to represent motion, never graceful motion. As a rule, even their moving figures are as still as snap-shot photographs, the most motionless representations of moving figures produced in modern days. Look at the many pictures of wrestlers at Beni-Hasan, the ball-players in various tombs of the Middle Empire, the peasants driving cattle in tombs of the Ancient Empire,—it is the rarest thing for one of these images actually to suggest motion. Occasionally in a hunting scene there may be found a faint suggestion of the flight of a bird, or the movement of a beast, but never of that rushing torrent of motion relatively common with artists of the Pelasgian schools; and with them, though there is motion, there is never intentional grace of movement.

We know that the Egyptians were fond of looking on at exhibitions of dancing, but dancing among primitive peoples does not necessarily imply grace. I have seen dances performed by a number of different groups of semi-civilized natives in various parts of the world; but I can only remember one that was graceful, and I am sure that the grace was intended. As a rule, what the native onlookers applauded was vigor of dramatic action in the dancers. That probably was what the Egyptians expected. A

single bas-relief of the time of the New Empire, found at Gizeh, may perhaps be quoted as an exception; but, however graceful in actual fact may have been the movements of the dancing girls with their tambourines therein depicted, the grace escapes the sculptor. You have only to compare the Egyptian bas-relief with one of the well-known Greek Bacchantes to be assured of that.

If from sculpture we transfer our attention to architecture, a comparison of corresponding works enforces the same conclusion. Examine in succession pictures of one of the temples at Pæstum and the best part of the great temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak, the Hall of Columns. The Theban temple is far from being one of the finest Egyptian temples, though it is perhaps the most famous. It owes its fame to its monumental dignity, to the great boldness of the architect's—or perhaps the patron's—design; partly, also, to its mere antiquity. The fame of Pæstum is due to the beauty of the architecture and to nothing else. The main element of that beauty is perfection of proportions, likewise an element of grace. But architectural grace depends upon other qualities besides proportion, though it is not easy to set them down in words. Here, of course, motion has no part. A building might conceivably be designed in absolute perfection of geometrical proportions in all its parts, and yet might lack grace; for its last perfection seems to reside in those slight variations from absolute sameness of repetition, those individual touches, those small departures from machinelike accuracy, which imaginative architects have always permitted themselves to decree, thereby endowing with life and pleasant variety—with a kind of motion or play of form—what would otherwise have been a cold and rigid rendering in visible materials of a mathematical formula. The moving eye of the spectator ranging over a row of columns not absolutely one like another in every smallest detail, though all apparently alike, derives from them an impression not dissimilar to that derived from graceful motion, when the divergences from absolute identity of form and accuracy of equal spacing have been intentionally ordered by a creative mind.

In no ancient Egyptian building is found architectural grace of this kind. Sometimes good proportions are found, though at Karnak and Luxor even those are lacking. Egyptian architects of the New Empire, whose buildings alone survive, never sought

after grace, never felt the lack of it. They were striving to attain other perfections, to embody an ideal into which grace did not enter. Even in the days of the Ptolemies and Roman Emperors, though the influence of Greece was not unfelt in Egypt, Egyptian artists remained insensitive (and it is well that they so remained) to the new qualities which Greece had introduced into the artistic ideals of mankind. Ptolemaic temples are as purely Egyptian in all the qualities that make them architectural as the very pyramids themselves.

What is true of the sculptors and architects of Egypt is true of all her artists of every kind. Just as surely as Christianity brought Love into Religion, Greece brought Grace into Art. The arts of Egypt—and, for that matter, all the arts of all the pre-Hellenic schools, Chaldean, Assyrian, Minoan, Hittite—lack the quality that Greece gave to the world, and that has generally been regarded since as almost essential to a work of art. Yet absolutely essential Grace is not. Without it works of art, and great works, too, were made in Egypt; and their greatness depended upon other meritorious qualities never more grandly embodied in material form than by the ancient artists of the Valley of the Nile.

If we compare characteristic Assyrian and Egyptian works, we shall find ourselves enabled still further to define the boundaries of the Egyptian ideal. Take, for example, a battle scene from the bas-reliefs that once adorned the Palace of Sennacherib, and compare it with the representation of Rameses II fighting the Hittites; or set a hunting incident from the Palace of Sargon side by side with one from a tomb of the Ancient or Middle Egyptian Empire; or, perhaps best of all, compare the lion from the Palace gate of Assurnazirpal with the Egyptian lion now preserved near it in the British Museum—these, and many another similar comparison that might be made, prove at a glance that, while the technical skill of the artists of Egypt and Assyria is approximately on the same plane, and whilst both are approximately at the same stage of artistic development, the ideals of the two national schools are different. The ideal of the Assyrian artist may be described as an ideal of rage, of might, of physical power or force in action—qualities that are absent, and in the case of the Egyptian battle scenes lamentably absent, from the work of Egyptian artists. The Assyrian lion roars, and threatens

the oncomer with teeth displayed. If the posture of his body (with its five legs) is purely conventional, the spirit of the beast is plainly enough expressed, and we readily admit that he is about to leap on his prey and tear it limb from limb. The Egyptian lion is no such tremendous beast. There is no rage in his expression, no threat in his pose. He is dignified, even benignant, in aspect. He suggests not war, but peace. The Assyrian beast is for driving the enemy from the gate or rending him with sudden destruction. The Egyptian lion does not dream that an enemy exists within mighty Pharaoh's range. He is not at hand to protect his master, but to accompany him with dignity and express his resistless might.

By continuing this process of comparisons and contrasts, we might make yet more plain, what is perhaps already evident enough, that the great virtue, the distinguishing quality, of the Egyptian ideal is the quality of Monumental Calm. This ideal of calm resulted from the concurrence of a number of circumstances, racial, geographical and temporal, at which we must briefly glance.

Egypt, as Herodotus said, is the gift of the Nile. The Egypt of the Ancient Empire and the prehistoric times that preceded it was the banks of the Nile, the narrow strip annually covered by the inundation, lying between the First Cataract and the apex of the Delta. In prehistoric times the banks of the river consisted of swamps and patches of jungle. The fertile, irrigated fields that have replaced both are the result of long-continued human labor. Irrigation and the canals necessary for it seem to have been a prehistoric invention, increased in historic times, and still in process of development under British direction. Irrigation implies government. Wherever water has to be distributed over a large area of cultivable land, law and administration are necessary and the people become disciplined. Thus in the remote valley of Hunza, in the Karakoran Mountains of Central Asia, the whole area of land upon which the Hunzakuts dwell is rendered fertile by the distribution over it of water diverted by a single bold canal from a glacier torrent. The Thum of Hunza controlled this canal, which passed immediately below his castle, and he thereby held the people in the hollow of his hand. The result was that the men of Hunza formed a better organized, better disciplined, body than any of the neighboring tribes.

Hunza thus became a terror to its neighbors, notwithstanding the paucity of its possible population when every inch of cultivable ground was worked. It was the same with many of the tribes controlled by the Incas. They lived upon land that had to be artificially irrigated. The consequent organization of the folk led them to attain a higher civilization than was elsewhere reached in pre-Colombian South America.

Irrigation welded the mixed population of the Nile Valley into a state and gave them into the hands, first, of a series of local chiefs and, presently, of a King. Government in Egypt, except during recurring periods of political disease, was always strong. One dynasty of commanding monarchs succeeded another. Sometimes the Pharaoh was the local chieftain of one centre, sometimes of another, who raised himself to supreme power. Seldom for long together was the country divided between two or more rulers. Physical conditions forbade. The Nile made all Egypt one kingdom and gave despotic power to a single monarch. Thus the Egyptians were taught by nature to obey a ruler. They became the most submissive race of antiquity.

Nature also taught them the idea of law. Nowhere are the sequences of natural phenomena more orderly than in Egypt. The sky is seldom even flecked with clouds. Day by day the sun rises and sets in unveiled splendor. Night after night the countless glittering squadrons of the heavens march from horizon to horizon in unwavering procession. The seasons of the year begin and end with regularity. The rise and fall of the Nile, mysterious, wonderful, unfailingly recurs. Great must have been the effect of this visible orderliness of Nature upon a simple people. Naturally, invisible powers were conceived of by them as determining such regularity. The gods were very near them, irresistible divinities before whom they must needs bow down.

Again, the landscape of Egypt is essentially reposeful. It is so simple—the flat-topped edge of the desert plateau at a greater or less distance on either side of the Nile, cliff-fronted, delicate in tone; the broad stretch of almost flat land beneath; the silent, even-flowing river; the clear sky; the sparkling atmosphere; the broad, simple sweeps of color at sunrise and sunset. Beyond the habitable land—sheer desert; trackless; swallowed up in the blaze of daylight almost as completely as in the darkness of night; a burning, waterless, miserable land, irreclaimable, hopeless.

Finally, the climate of Egypt tended to impress the Egyptian with the same sentiment of calm. Building, as he naturally did, at the edge of the cultivable area, what he built, were it but fashioned of wood or sun-dried mud, lasted almost indefinitely. Nature conserves human handiwork in Egypt. Almost everywhere else Nature seems hastening to destroy it. Even the bodies of the dead, buried in the sand with little preparation, dried up rather than rotted away.

Thus the Egyptian expected regularity rather than change, expected the future to be like the past. His surroundings tended to make him obedient, contented, or at least resigned. Small wonder that, when Egypt produced artists, the ideal they devoted themselves to express was this national spirit of resignation and calm.

Fully as potent as these external forces and local circumstances upon the minds of the artists of Egypt was the Egyptian belief in a future life—itself, no doubt, the result of forces and circumstances still buried in the night of time. Amongst ancient peoples, the Egyptians had the reputation of being the most religious. We judge that they merited it. They were never a warlike folk. They were industrious and religious. Their faith included a multitude of factors still very obscure to us, but the largest factor, even at an early date, was obviously their belief in a future life. They held to that so strongly as to devote no inconsiderable part of the present life to making material preparations for the next. No proof of the genuineness of that part of their faith could be more convincing. Their art was powerfully influenced by this belief. It was to a large extent an art of the tomb, pervaded, therefore, by the serenity of death.

It is not to be supposed that we possess an accurate knowledge of what Egyptian religious ideas were. We can observe that they developed from age to age. Doubtless, they were never clearly defined. All such ideas are vague at any time and with any people. The following statement makes no claim to be complete or accurate. It only attempts to suggest in a general way the kind of notion which the average educated Egyptian held as to the constitution of his personality and the possibilities of his fate. In common with other folks at an early stage of intellectual development, the Egyptians believed that a human being consisted of at least two parts,—a body and a ghost, shadow or double. It

was observed that in dreams persons were beheld whose bodies were not materially present. When a man fainted or slept, something seemed to go out of him; when he came to, or waked, that something came back. This was the double, the ghost—the "Ka," as they called it. The Ka was an impalpable thing, shaped like the body and behaving like it. Death was the separation of the Ka from the body. The Ka was conceived of as depending for its existence upon the body just as a shadow depends on the form that casts it. Annihilate the material form and you annihilate the shadow. Thus, if the Ka was to be kept in existence after death, the body, or at least the material shape of the body, must be kept in existence. This seems to have been the rudiment of the Egyptian idea of a future life. It was developed into a complex belief about which all sorts of legends were grouped. The Ka was to remain separated from the body for 10,000 years, during which time it was to pass a varied existence in the mysterious regions whither the sun voyaged in the night. After 10,000 years, Ka and body were to be reunited and a new earth-life was to begin. Thus the body, or its material shape, had to be preserved for 10,000 years. Hence came mummification, all the elaborations of the Egyptian tomb, and, most important, the invention of portrait sculpture—the purpose of the sculptured figure being to serve as a physical basis for the Ka in the event of the actual body being utterly destroyed.

It was not enough merely to keep the Ka in existence; it had likewise to be provided with comforts, occupations and possessions. If the double of a stone statue could be the double of a once living man, it was not difficult to conclude that the double of a stone loaf of bread might be equivalent to the double of a real loaf of bread. Now, a human Ka was believed to feed on the ghost of food, to be served by the ghosts of slaves and servants, to live in the ghost of a house, to own the ghost of an estate, to cultivate the ghost of ground, and generally to stand in need in the ghostly world of the ghosts of all the persons and things that a human being needs or enjoys in this world. The imagination only needed to be stretched a trifle further to satisfy itself that pictured images of all these things were as good foundations for their ghosts as sculptured images, at all events with the help of magic formulæ duly recited at propitious times by the descendants of the dead, or by priests, or even by pious persons.

Thus the tomb became the house of the dead man's Ka, and its walls were covered with images of whatever he would need: a house, fields and their cultivators, servants engaged in all manner of industries—in fact, an entire epitome of contemporary Egyptian life. The whole strange development was logical enough once a few simple assumptions were made. The scheme was not peculiar to Ancient Egypt. We find traces of it from China to the Bay of Biscay. It lies at the root of the veneration of saints, the preservation of relics and the dedication of a church to this or the other saint whose relic is supposed to be preserved within it. The point specially noteworthy about Ancient Egypt is the logical manner in which the idea was worked out. The Egyptians were a peculiarly logical people, and their art was a logical art. They never went further with art than logic took them. There is no sign in any work of theirs of a leap of imagination. No divine revelation ever carried them off their feet or raised them into an ideal realm of pictured beauty. They remained always solidly planted with both feet on the soil of the Egypt that they knew.

Let me give a single instance of their logical procedure. If the ghost world was to be like their own Egypt, a Ka would be liable to be called upon to do forced labor on irrigation canals, perhaps, or in the fields of a King. Fancy some high priest of Amen-Ra or Royal Friend or other great personage's double thus distressed! How should the danger be avoided? A plan was duly evolved, and one of utmost simplicity. With the mummy were buried a number, sometimes hundreds, of little mummy figures made in clay, porcelain, wood or stone, each provided with a hoe or mattock. On each was written an inscription to this effect: "When you hear the name of such an one [the dead man] called, say, 'I am here.'" These figures were, therefore, called "respondents." It is no exaggeration to say that they have been found by hundreds of thousands in the excavated tombs of ancient Egypt.

It will now be evident enough how it came to pass that the art of Egypt, as we know it, was so largely affected by the idea of a future life. It was the great agency by which a future life was to be secured for the dead. Most well-to-do people saw to their own future comfort for themselves while they were alive, and even made provision for the performance at their tombs forever of

anniversary ceremonies for the comfort and sustenance of their own ghosts. No man is likely to feel particularly sad about his own ghost, or to waste much sentiment upon it. If he thinks it is going to have a good time, he will probably regard it with complacency. Hence the art of the Egyptian tomb is not at all sad. On the contrary, it is particularly cheerful. The painted and sculptured subjects represent every-day occupations, and the words put into the laborers' mouths are the ordinary remarks of peasants, not lamentations or prayers. It follows that we need not look for the expression of deep emotion, or for elevation of sentiment, or even for resignation, but for the matter-of-fact attitude of mind of a man overseeing his household and ordering his dinner. There is no trace of any idea of sin or evil, of repentance, redemption, expiation, or any such ideas. Only in later days, when the priestly caste had obtained an unhealthy predominance in the country, do we find the walls of tombs (almost always royal tombs) encumbered with pictured allegories of the muddy theology of an overgrown and overfed body of priests. These things are not art and do not call for our attention. They need only be mentioned to be dismissed.

If, then, the emotions which death engenders in the living, the sense of loss, the pity, sorrow and resignation which survivors experience, are all absent from the Egyptian tomb, wherein, it may be asked, did the idea of a future life affect Egyptian art?

I reply that all the works of art buried in an Egyptian tomb were intended to last 10,000 years. That intention governed the artists and reacted upon the style of the Art of Egypt. It is a most important fact—perhaps the most important and fundamental fact that the student of Egyptian art has to remember. There was no place for passion in such an art; none for grace; none even for charm. Each figure had merely to be made lucid—plainly occupied about its business or visibly shaped in the form required, and that was all. The art of the Egyptian tomb was to serve a useful purpose, not to please. The arts of the temple and the palace might be required to please; not so the arts of the tomb. Had there been no temples, no palaces and no growth of art in them, the tombs, for all the figures and drawings they contained, would never have produced anything that should properly be called art at all. For art exists to please and has no other reason for existing. Things made merely for use are not

works of art. Egyptian art, therefore, did not arise in the tomb. It arose aboveground and had its life there; but it was applied, and so voluminously applied, to the tomb as to be greatly affected and severely injured by that application. It was injured by the fact that so large a part of the energies of Egyptian artists were employed upon the production of works intended to be buried as soon as made. It was affected not wholly unfavorably by the conservatism of form thus encouraged and by the simplicity, directness and veracity proper to figures and paintings intended to be the doubles of actual every-day life.

Buried figures made in limestone, wood or even clay might endure forever in Egypt, but those exposed to the gaze of men would not so endure unless their substance was of unusual strength or their size colossal. The Egyptian habit of mind, trained by contemplation of that long future of ten thousand years, demanded above all things endurance. It chanced, or was decreed by the same evolution that produced the Egyptians themselves, that they dwelt in a land which provided them with the hardest rock suitable for sculpture and with great masses of rock capable of being carved *in situ* into such images as their ideal demanded. Thus nature and man were in harmony. The obedient Egyptians, governed by a mighty Pharaoh, living their lives in a land where the irresistible forces of Nature visibly operated with recurrent regularity; believing, too, in a future life the duplicate of the present; not looking for change, nor turning their attention to lands beyond the isolated valley in which they lived cut off from the rest of the world—developed an ideal of majestic, calm, enduring power, and learned how to express it in great sculptured figures, wide-extended ponderous buildings, colossal pyramids and vast rock-cut interiors. They learned to fashion the hardest rocks into the simple forms their art demanded. They learned finally to give to small objects the dignity they had devised in the handling of great masses, and even to design on their flimsiest papyrus manuscripts decorations as majestic as those which covered the walls of their temples, and which still produce upon modern visitors an impression of monumental majesty and everlasting calm such as no other artists of the world have ever equalled, still less surpassed.

Later races have produced nobler and far more comprehensive works of art. Egyptian art responds to but a small group of

human emotions. It selects very little out of the infinite complexity of nature. It awakens only a small area of our sympathies. But what it attempted to do, it succeeded in doing with a success that is absolute. You may go beyond the ideal of Egypt in every direction, but within the limits of that ideal you cannot surpass it. The Egyptian Sphinx, for example, is a perfect type. Modern artists sometimes try to improve it—with what failure let the modern Sphinxes at the base of Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment bear witness. No one has ever succeeded in making a better figure in the Egyptian style than Egyptian artists made. The best colossal statues in the world still erect are those called of Memnon at Thebes, wrecked though they be; the best rock-hewn statues those of Rameses at Abu Simbel. To make such works, a people in the ancient Egyptian stage of development, animated by a simple majestic idea, were requisite. It was likewise requisite that they should not only live when, but in the very kind of country where, the Egyptians actually lived. Providence brought the race, the ideal and the necessary material surroundings together, and Egyptian art was the result. We may enjoy it, learn from it, preserve or destroy it, but we cannot imitate it.

Thus it is with all the ideals that have ever obtained complete artistic expression. They have attained it at some definite time and in some definite place at the hands of a people in a definite stage of development. The works in which it is enshrined are inimitable, for the circumstances of their production cannot recur. The art of Egypt, however, is remarkable, not only for the ideal it enshrines, but for the perfect clearness with which that ideal is expressed. Other ideals have reigned for a short period—a century, perhaps two or even three centuries; the Egyptian ideal was patiently elaborated and contentedly expressed during some 4,000 years, not without developments of detail, but without fundamental change. The reward of this patience and persistence was the utter clearness and approximate perfection which the artists attained in the expression of their ideal, not in one or two arts only, but in all the arts simultaneously. Other schools of art have been greater in one art than in another, have adapted their ideal to painting, or sculpture, or architecture, as the case may be. The Egyptians attained an equal success in all the arts as far as they carried them. Their painting, sculpture,

decoration, architecture and all the so-called minor arts are alike excellent in their several kinds and absolutely harmonize one with another. It is not possible to say that one is subordinated to another. Never was a single style more completely carried through the whole fabric of a national life than the Egyptian. Even Greece was inferior to Egypt in this respect. Egypt alone could afford the time for the complete development of her simple style, and the complete expression of her simple ideal, in her national life and art. For this reason, if for no other, the works of art which have been so miraculously preserved to us in the land of the Nile are worthy of patient study and pious preservation. Perfection is not attainable by man, even when raised to the rank of artist. The greatest artists are often greatly imperfect. Witness Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo. Great schools of art in the days of their culminating power may only succeed in suggesting faintly, by comparison with what might have been, the glory that their ideal would have manifested if it could have attained complete expression. Of the ideal of Egypt we may say that it was adequately, indeed completely, expressed. All that it had to yield was drawn from it. Further in that direction man could not proceed. That is the title to glory of the ancient Egyptians, and for that they will be honored so long as the history of art remains a subject in which men take interest.

MARTIN CONWAY.

THE ALDRICH-VREELAND BILL, AND ITS PLACE.

BY THEODORE GILMAN.

Now that the method of issuing bank currency through voluntary corporations composed of associated national banks has been made part of the banking laws of the United States, by the enactment of the Aldrich-Vreeland bill, with the object of preventing monetary panics, it devolves upon those who approve of the principle of the measure to show its place in republican banking legislation, and to establish its claim to be wise, safe and efficient. This law is without precedent, because never before in the history of the financial world has there been an attempt to construct a banking system of, by and for the people. A departure from precedents, especially in banking methods, is so unusual as to constitute an era in banking; and it is well to pause at the threshold of the subject to inquire into the reasons for this radical change. Does it stand the test of the principles laid down by the authorities? Is it in the nature of an experiment and above all can it be justified by experience?

1. The currency question is a practical one. That is, its solution must be arrived at by experience, and not by theories. After two hundred years of experience, the nature of credit is as well understood as the properties of steam, gravitation, electricity or any other power. The necessity for safety valves, buffers and insulators is the same now as when steam, gravity and electricity were first harnessed. The necessity for reserves is the same now as when, in 1697, the Bank of England suspended cash payments because it was attempting to do business on a cash reserve of less than three per cent. of its demand liabilities. The rule of probabilities, on which the credit system is based, works approximately the same now as it has worked at any

time during the last two hundred years. It is true now as it always has been that there are probabilities which govern ordinary and extraordinary circumstances. These aspects of the currency question have been discussed for centuries by practical business men, lawmakers and economists of the greatest ability and clearness of perception; and it must not be thought that anything new can be said on the subject which has not been said before. Nor should it be expected that any new plan, or device, or experiment can be suggested which has not been tried or elaborated or proposed at some time in the past. The currency question is all of one piece, from the time the credit system was established in 1694 by the founding of the Bank of England, down to the present time. The laws of credit cannot be violated now with less chance of punishment than at any previous time.

The situation of our currency discussion, in and out of Congress, has been called a chaos, and it is so only because every scheme, meritorious or worthless, which has been promulgated during the past two centuries, has had an advocate now and all these voices have joined in the general hubbub. The practical method of testing by experience will make short work with many of these plans. There is the history of the French assignats, of the South Sea Bubble, of government fiat money in England and the United States, of uncontrolled bank-note currency which produced the panic of 1837, of the English panics of 1847, 1857, 1866 and 1890, and our own of 1873, 1893 and 1907, all giving a fund of experience by which to rectify past mistakes and guide future action. There are also, to be used as warnings, the instances where false theories have been incorporated into a country's banking system, like those in the English bank charter of 1844 and like our own bond-secured currency of 1861, which can with difficulty be got rid of even after their falsity has been exposed and acknowledged for decades. There is no lack of painful experience which has burned its evil effects into men's minds by untold disasters. There have also been favorable experiences of good systems of banking, which have been of the greatest benefit to the countries served by them, of which the chief example is the French. There have been important principles established by the long currency discussions in our country, which must be preserved as absolutely essential under a free republican form of government. The practical method in considering these cases

affords the surest and best guide by which to arrive at sound and correct conclusions, for that will lead us to take the course which has been proved by experience to be productive of good results and to shun the path which has brought us or any other country to trouble.

2. As the settlement of our currency question is a practical matter, we must look for the reasons why our banking system has worked badly. The times when it works well are not under consideration. The question should not be what was the cause of any particular one of the panics which have swept over our country, but, was there not a cause which was common to them all? There has been no change in our national banking system since 1861, and therefore the inquiry may be properly limited to that period. It is pertinent, then, to ask why our system has not carried us over those years from 1861 to the present time without monetary disorder. During those forty-seven years, France has had no money panic, though it has experienced severe commercial convulsions. Its capital, even, was occupied by a foreign army, and it paid an enormous indemnity to free itself from the presence of the enemy. The business troubles of France have been as great as ours, or even greater—to wit, the collapse of the copper syndicate in 1880, and the failure of the Panama Canal Company. New York has not been occupied by a foreign army in that time, and we cannot claim that our circumstances are exceptional and afford a satisfactory explanation for our many breakdowns. The fact remains that the French system protected that country from money troubles, while our system has not protected us.

We cannot ascribe our money panics, therefore, to anything outside of our banking system. It is the kind of system we are working under, and not the kind of business we are doing, which is the cause of our panics. The defect in our system is simple and the mode of relief is simple. The defect was pointed out at the time the New York law of 1838 was enacted, after which our National Bank Act was modelled in 1861. It is no new thing. The defect is, perhaps, described best in the edition of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" of that time. It is that, when a demand for money arises, it must be met from reserves of lawful money, because a bond-secured currency does not respond to the demands of business. Each draft on the reserves entails a reduction of

about three times as much credit. The process is like taking away the foundations of a house. When enough of it is taken away, the superstructure must collapse. The only way to protect reserves under our present system is by calling in loans and refusing to renew accommodations. This puts a pressure on borrowers, who thereupon seek loans in the open market at rising rates of interest. The money to grant these loans is withdrawn by private lenders from the banks, which withdrawals still further reduce their reserves and compel them to increase their demands on borrowers. If at the same time alarming events occur, the public become excited and distrustful and begin to hoard currency, knowing that reserves are inadequate and a suspension of cash payments is inevitable. The National Bank Act gives no relief, for under it the banks can protect their reserves only by forcing liquidations, and the process must go on, unless the banks can get outside relief, until the demand for money is lessened by the prostration of business. So it is evident that the legal way under our present system to protect the banks is by methods which cause panics.

This is the so-called restrictive system and is in vogue in England and the United States. Under this system a panic is ended by the exhaustion of borrowers and the stoppage of business, or by methods outside of the law. The restrictive system is incorporated, and it may be said concealed, in the 95th section of the National Bank Act, where it is prescribed that, when the reserves of a bank are impaired, it must not increase its loans, and if the reserves are not restored in thirty days, a receiver for the bank may be appointed. To restore reserves, a bank must decrease its loans. The correct name for such a system of banking is the "Panic System," and certainly our national act has earned that title in the past forty-seven years, for in that time we have had lesser panics almost every year and full-blown panics at regular intervals.

3. It is very evident that the simple remedy for this defect is to create some source to issue a credit currency to meet these temporary demands on the banks, so that they may retain their reserves undiminished and not be compelled to call loans and afflict borrowers. This is called the "Expansive System." It is no new suggestion, for it was made by Sir Francis Baring in 1797, by the Bullion Report in 1810, by Robert Hare in 1837,

by Henry Dunning McLeod in 1893 and by many others. The history of finance in this country and elsewhere shows that money panics have all been caused by the operation of the restrictive system, and they have been cured, from the first recorded modern panic of 1793 to the present day, by the expansive system. The principle of the expansive system was successfully incorporated into French banking by the short and easy method of conferring a monopoly of issue on the Bank of France. But a monopoly is odious in the eyes of Anglo-Saxons, and the attempt to adopt the expansive system in our country by the establishment of a United States Bank met its Waterloo in the conflict with our principles of popular government and individual initiative. The United States Bank was not destroyed because it was inefficient and failed of its object, but because it was not in harmony with our free institutions, and one or the other had to go.

The next step in our banking history was a fatal one. The power of issue was allowed to independent State banks with no central bank to which they might appeal for aid. This was an unconscious abandonment of the expansive for the restrictive system. The lawmakers of that time did not know what a dangerous step they were taking or what frightful consequences would result therefrom. Business was prosperous for a while; but, when distrust came, there was no way by which the banks could protect themselves except by the restrictive method of forcing liquidations. The outcome was the severest example of the results of the restrictive system the world ever saw. The losses were estimated at six thousand millions of dollars. The losses on banking capital were stated by the United States Almanac for 1843 to have been $248,000,000, and on bank circulation and deposits $54,000,000. The annihilation of values was almost inconceivable. At sheriff's sale in Ohio, horses were sold at two dollars each, cows at one dollar each, and in Missouri sheep at thirteen and a half cents each, a large ox at twelve and a half cents, twenty-four hogs at twenty-five cents for the lot, stacks of hay at twenty-five cents each, and so on. As a result of forced liquidations of all kinds of property and consequent prostration of business, much of the bank currency was paid, after considerable delay, at par. It was made good at the expense of a holocaust of credit and values.

It must not be supposed that these troubles came upon this country because of prevailing ignorance of the subject of credit, and for lack of sound opinions and good advice. It is sufficient to cite the suggestion of one financial writer. When the supporting power of the Bank of the United States was taken away by President Andrew Jackson, and the power of issue was given to many independent banks, Robert Hare* published in Philadelphia a pamphlet, dated 1837, inscribed to Mahlon Dickerson, Secretary of the Navy, in which he showed the necessity of some scheme to support the banks in an emergency. He wrote as follows:

"I would have the existing banks, or as many as would concur, to resolve themselves in their individual capacity into offices of deposit and discount, and in their joint capacity into a general loan office, under the authority of the national Government. In one capacity, they are to relinquish all right to issue loans on personal security or to receive deposits subject to order; in their separate capacity, they are to relinquish all right to issue bank notes or bills of credit payable to bearer or any form of bank notes or paper credit which enter into circulation so as to act as money without endorsement. Thus the branch offices will become the progenitors of the general office, instead of the general office being the parent of the branch offices. No member of the association can issue notes for which he does not previously give security. The national circulation would not be under the control of one corporation, a predicament so objectionable to many, but under the control of trustees appointed by the confederated banks, and the duties of these trustees defined both by the deed of trust and the laws under which it should be executed."

If this simple plan had been carried into effect, we would have had an expansive system of banking which would have protected this country from the panics which have occurred in the past seventy years. The combination would have been like the Hanseatic League of the twelfth century, which is said to have protected the commerce of the Hanse towns without a failure for two centuries. But the times were not ripe for such a scheme, for banks were not then accustomed to associate themselves in clearing-houses, and the lawmakers of that time in Congress made banking a football for politics, instead of a practical business proposition.

* Robert Hare, 1781–1858. An American writer on scientific, financial and other topics. He was a friend of Priestley, Seybert and Woodhouse. The American Academy of Boston awarded him the first Rumford medal for his inventions. Yale College gave him an honorary degree. He was a man of marked ability and influence.

4. After both the central bank and the independent bank schemes had been discredited, there came a revulsion of sentiment against all banking, and banking was prohibited in some States. It seemed that barter and bullion afforded the only satisfactory way of conducting business. But the demands of modern life asserted themselves, and a forward effort was made to bring banking into conformity with the spirit of freedom which animated and controlled all hearts. Then was done pioneer work in the untried field of republican banking legislation. The two principles which were established by the discussions which followed 1837 were, first, that special bank charters should cease and that banking thereafter should be done under a general law; and, second, as a necessary consequence of the creation of many independent banks, that the power of issue should be separated from the ordinary functions of banking and that banks must deposit security with an officer of the State for all currency issued by them. Legislators saw that in no other way could a general law safely be framed that was to be free and open to all. The temptation to an unwise use of the power of issue was one which even the directors of the Bank of England could not resist, much less the directors of hundreds of small banks in the United States. The act of the legislature of New York in 1838 embodying these principles was hailed at the time as a new declaration of independence.

Thus free banking and the securing of bank currency with property in the hands of a trustee, were established as the cornerstones of republican banking. It is to be noticed that these two principles were not intended to abrogate the principle of expansion as the true means of meeting and controlling monetary troubles. They were rather the necessary steps in the growth and development of republican legislation on the subject. At the time it was expected that the secured currency would expand and contract to meet the wants of business; but the object chiefly aimed at then was to make the currency safe by a pledge of collateral. The defect of inelasticity, as has been said, was seen and commented on immediately on the passage of the New York law of 1838.

When the National Bank Act was framed in 1861, it of necessity followed the New York law of 1838 on the two points named. It was a general law which provided a secured cur-

rency. Congress would have stultified itself if it had followed any other model. The security, however, was changed from municipal bonds and real-estate mortgages to bonds of the United States. That the two principles are good is shown by the successful operation of the national banks, and that there has never been any question as to the goodness of the national bank currency. The only criticism is the old one, that the currency does not respond to the demands of business and that those demands must be responded to by squeezing borrowers.

5. Basing their objections on this one defect of inelasticity, there are those now who would wish to see the expansive system re-established by abandoning both the cardinal republican principles of a general law and a secured currency. They would give up the general law and go back to the branch banking system, or to a central bank with a special charter. They have proposed a "frank abandonment" of security for currency, and in some way or other to allow banks to issue currency on their own responsibility. These proposals have been advocated with a tenacity of purpose and a wealth of resource which proves that those who support them are terribly in earnest. There is only one reason why these efforts, on which so much time and money have been lavished, have not been successful. That is that, deep down in the heart of the American people, there is an ideal of the basis of our government; and the people recognize, and their representatives recognize, that a central bank, or a branch banking system, or a currency issued on the responsibility of individual banks, does not conform to that ideal.

In a republic, the people govern, and all authority delegated by them is delegated for a set period, at the end of which it must be returned and surrendered to them. The Government is the servant and creature of the people, not their master. If that principle does not enter into the fundamental law of a land, its Government is not republican. A banking system in a republic must partake of the same political character as the Government. Our people approved of separate individual banks because they were free and independent. To any proposal which would take away that independence, the country simply answered "No." But when Congress, out of the many plans before it, selected the one creating associations of banks, which associations were the creatures and servants of the banks composing

them, whose officers held only delegated authority, which was after short periods to be returned to the associated banks, then the country saw that this was the republican idea carried into banking. Such associations are diametrically opposite in principle to a central bank, and this explains why the Republican party voted nearly unanimously in favor of the Aldrich-Vreeland bill.

The main provision of this bill is that only associations representing groups of banks shall issue bank currency. It is evident that the sovereign power to create money or currency should not be delegated by Congress without the most perfect guarantees that it will not be abused. The only method thus far devised in any civilized country to secure such guarantees is to separate the functions of issue from those of deposit and discount. That is the principle established by the New York law of 1838, by the National Bank Act of 1861, and it is now perpetuated in the Aldrich-Vreeland bill of 1908. In France, there are thousands of popular banks, many with large capital; but only one institution has the power to issue—the Bank of France. If a local bank in France, like the Credit Lyonnais, which has a capital of $40,000,000, should need currency on account of a local financial disturbance, or from any other cause, it must send to the Bank of France acceptable securities in the shape of bills receivable or convertible bonds and stocks, and ask a discount. If the collaterals are approved, the Bank of France would immediately forward its notes for the proceeds of the discount. The separation of the two functions in France, as far as the popular banks are concerned, is thus complete. In Germany, there are also thousands of popular banks, but only half a dozen with the power of issue. It is expected that the power of issue of these half dozen will in time be absorbed by the Imperial Bank. Thus in Germany, also, the separation of the two functions is complete. These two nations have not enforced this separation without reason or a struggle. The *reason* is that directors of local, popular banks cannot be restrained within conservative limits in the exercise of the power of issue. The temptation of profit has beclouded, and always will overcome and becloud, judgment. The *struggle* was to force the popular banks to relinquish the right of issue, which was accomplished by drastic governmental measures. The history of banking in every civ-

ilized country, during the past century, shows a succession of acts limiting the power to issue bank currency within increasingly narrow limits. Separation of the function of issue from those of deposit and discount induces caution and conservative action. The popular bank must submit its collateral securities to the inspection of the association, which is the bank of issue. The latter takes the risk of the loan and will require the best the popular bank can give. The security has first been approved by the popular bank and then is reviewed by the bank of issue. There is no safer use of money than in such loans; and, consequently, the Government can safely delegate to an association of banks the power to create currency for popular use, when the loans on which it is based are made in this careful and conservative manner.

6. It has been said above that the remedy for our currency troubles is simple. The Aldrich-Vreeland bill shows how simple the method is. The National Currency Associations provided in that bill would occupy towards all national banks the position of the Bank of France towards the local banks of that country. The position would be even a better one; for the Bank of France, through its branches, competes with all French banks for local and national business, while currency associations would not do a general banking business. The evils of centralization, under which the provinces groan, would be avoided. In discussing the Aldrich-Vreeland bill, we must assume that Congress will abolish the almost prohibitive and unnecessary tax on circulation of from five to ten per cent. Congress constructed a fine machine with all necessary safeguards, and then clogged the wheels. If only Congress will take off the clogs, the country can then see how the machine will work. Assuming that the five to ten per cent. tax is removed, it is evident that, when the time of year comes for moving crops, interior banks in the crop sections would apply to their National Currency Associations for loans of currency. In anticipation of these demands, the associations would have on hand a supply of currency ready for issue. Immediately on approval of the securities offered, the notes would be forwarded to the interior banks asking the loans. Thus, without any pressure on the commercial communities in Eastern cities, and without causing any rise in the rate for money, the enormous crops of our country would be moved to market and the initial

business operation of the year would be completed. Banks in the East would not be called on for currency, as it would be supplied where the demand originated. Thus one trip across the country would be saved. All that is required of Eastern banks by the bill is to accept the currency at par, when it would be charged up to some account or redeemed at Washington, and on the trip back it would be a cancelled voucher. The present cumbersome method of sending the currency on a trip of from one to three thousand miles would be avoided. The issues by banks in central cities would thus be small.

The principle of the bill is co-operation. Ex-Secretary Shaw said, in his last report to Congress, that he was repeatedly informed that co-operation was impossible. Who made that remark, the Honorable Secretary did not state. It would be well if the country knew. It is evident that co-operation was impossible before this bill was enacted. The restrictive system is one of internecine strife or civil war. Every man's hand is against his neighbor. Banks are in the business to make money under the system which the lawmaking power has constructed, whatever it is. They have and feel no responsibility for the effects on the public which their legal acts may entail. That responsibility they rightly place on the lawmakers. This is shown by their operations under the National Bank Act. When banks in New York were remonstrated with for calling loans on a stringent money-market, thereby aggravating an already demoralized situation, the brutally frank reply was given, "Call loans were made to call." It is considered good banking to keep as near the twenty-five per cent. reserve limit as possible, and rely on squeezing the public to restore delinquent reserves. This is conformity to the law under the restrictive system. The banks are in the saddle. They say in effect, "Let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung." Co-operation is a new idea for the banks. Yet it is only reasonable that since the banks owe their lives, that is their charters, to the public will, it is their duty to reciprocate by doing whatever the welfare of the country demands of them. They should be willing to co-operate heartily in any plan that is for the good of the people. It must be remembered that in the history of banking, no reform was ever made at the suggestion of the banks. The strong arm of the Government was needed to carry through the Aldrich-Vree-

land bill, for it was not favored by the banks; to them it was a heart-breaking disappointment. It was freely predicted that the idea of associated banks could never be reported by a Congressional Committee, for who, they said, is behind it? All moneyed interests were opposed to it, and yet it has prevailed only because it is the republican way of solving the currency question.

7. The most important point to be guarded in any expansive system is the contraction needed to restore the power for another expansion. Until the bent bow straightens itself, it cannot shoot another arrow. The capital which moves this year's crops must be returned in time to move the next. Therefore, redemption funds and agencies should be ample. But, more important still, the basis of bank currency should be commercial paper having but a short time to run. The movement of crops and goods to the market is represented by such paper. These are operations which are completed in a few months and are connected with the active business life of the country. Currency is designed to facilitate such business.

It is very evident also, and has been proved often by the experience of our clearing-houses, that, if currency is supplied by associated banks, there is a firm but gentle pressure on the borrowing bank to take up its loan, and repay their advances at the earliest practicable moment. The National Currency Association, which represents the associated banks, is responsible for the payment of the advances, and it desires to end that responsibility as soon as is possible. The movement of the crops takes place in a few months. The money derived from the sale of the crops is then in hand to redeem the notes; and, though redemption may come naturally at the end of the operation, because the currency has done its work, the pressure from the associated banks is needed to enforce redemption, so that an effectual contraction shall take place to restore the power to expand when the next season arrives. The expansive system is safe only if the currency is based chiefly on short-date commercial paper. The restrictive and expansive systems both supply money to move the crops. One does it at the expense of the commercial community, the other at the expense of a little inconvenience to the banks, which, instead of calling loans, will have to go to the National Currency Associations to get whatever their customers need.

A loan from a currency association is not a perquisite which a bank may demand as a right. It is a lawful loan, made subject to the approval of a committee composed of experienced bankers, who have a contingent interest in any loss which may result therefrom. This committee is one remove from the importunity of borrowers, which separation insures calm, deliberate and conservative action. A committee selected from the directors of different banks will, presumably, have acquaintance with the commercial houses of their States, and would be desirous of promoting and developing all legitimate local business interests. Centralization would thereby be avoided. From the above it is concluded that the five to ten per cent. Government tax is unnecessary.

8. The Aldrich-Vreeland bill contains its own confession that it is not a finality. It is like the Constitution of the United States, which, as ratified and made operative, contained the essential principles of our Government. But ten necessary Amendments were added within a few years. So now the framers of this bill have already begun the work of its development into a permanent system. Besides the removal of the oppressive and obstructive tax of five to ten per cent. it would be an improvement to make the system more inclusive. While the national banks should be made pre-eminent and predominant, as they are in the bill, State banks should not be excluded from currency associations, if they conform to the requirements of the National Bank Act as to reserves and in other respects. They might, at least, be made associate members, without the right to vote or hold office.

There is an objection also to corporations which are only to do business occasionally, or perhaps once a year. When they start up, they are apt to be rusty. It would be far better to incorporate our clearing-houses, which are in continuous operation, and with which banks are brought into constant contact. There might be competition or conflict between National Currency Associations and the present clearing-houses. This possibility would be obviated by the inclusion of clearing-houses. In addition to these considerations, it would be well for the business public to have all banking functions brought into one system. Arbitrary and oppressive action by these unincorporated bodies would thereby be prevented.

9. The Aldrich-Vreeland bill for the first time places the expansive system on our statute books. The union of national banks in National Currency Associations follows closely the plan proposed by Robert Hare in 1837. It is also in accord with the dictum on which Henry Dunning McLeod bases his Theory of Credit, and which he states in the following words:

"In the modern system of credit it is indispensably necessary that there should be some source to create and issue solid credit to sustain solvent houses in a monetary panic."

Whatever the defects of this bill, it should be a matter of national rejoicing that this principle has at last been embodied in our banking laws. Defects may be cured by subsequent legislation; but, in spite of them, this law has sufficient power to protect the country against monetary panics in the future. The enactment of the expansive principle in this bill marks an epoch in the history of banking in our country.

The first general banking law the world ever saw was enacted by the legislature of New York in 1838, when the Whig party was in control. The first national banking system was created by Congress in 1861 with the Republican party in control; and now the same party is bringing the work of republican banking legislation to its final and perfect form and logical conclusion.

THEODORE GILMAN.

THE MORALS OF THE MODERN HEROINE.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

FUNDAMENTAL morals alter but little from age to age, some general law of behavior being required to make feasible the life in common. Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal, nor lie, nor covet thy neighbor's wife, are the four cornerstones of society. But while these basic laws have been what a young Japanese poet—in a moment of lyric ardor—has called "the social glue," there is no one thing more subject to the vagaries of fashion than the smaller morals, so to speak; those refinements of thought and behavior which form the morals of the non-criminal classes—such folk as ourselves, who have daily to beg that we may not be led into temptation, but who rarely even contemplate any real egregiousness of conduct.

Can one imagine, for example, any two standards farther apart —more separated by the whole diameter of thought—than those of a wealthy young New-Yorker who interests himself in reform work in the East Side slums, and those of a young Roman patrician of the time of the great Julius? And yet both of these men would give adherence to the simpler code, that murder, theft, lying and cowardice were unthinkable temptations. The Roman would look upon the modern sociologist as a fantastic fool, and the earnest young reformer would consider the Italian as no better than a gross and selfish pagan, and yet both would be gentlemen, with a lofty sense of duty.

Of course, these fashions in ethics profoundly affect literature, that mirror of the human mind in which we see reflected not only our own faces, but also the faces of all our ancestors; in which we see depicted our physical and moral lineaments; in which we find the semblance of our ideals and the ideals of those who have created us and our aspirations. When we wish

to study the constantly mutable fashion in morals, we must turn to the library shelves and contemplate the records there made of the hopes and beliefs of each generation.

In our European civilization there has always been a deliciously contradictory attitude in the mind of the male—until recently the general maker of our literature—toward his female. While never willing to admit her equality with himself, either mental or moral, he has yet constantly required of her, has constantly urged upon her, a certain sublimation of behavior which he was amiably reluctant to demand of himself or of his fellows. The *ewigeweibliche*—the eternal feminine—of his dream has seesawed between the passionless goddess and the greedy child. Gray-eyed Athene—pure wisdom and justice—"stern daughter of the voice of God," and that naughty blooming lady who came glowing from the sea to set all men by the ears, were equally his ideal of our unlucky sex. Naturally, it has kept us busy trying to assume both parts satisfactorily; and, considering how earnestly we have endeavored to meet these conflicting demands upon our moral talents, it does seem hard that we have earned only a general and invidious reputation for capriciousness and incomprehensibility. "*Souvent femme varie?*" One would think so, indeed, under such stress for versatility!

In the early literatures one finds the heroine, the ideal woman, varying from Antigone to Medea; from Phædra to Penelope; and, tucked in between these extremes of virtues and vices on the heroic scale, there has been an endless chain of rosy, laughing, comfortable young persons with the morals of rabbits and the mentality of butterflies. From the relish with which the classic authors lingered over the charms of these ladies' persons, and the piquancy of their daring improprieties, one rather suspects that, on the whole, these latter were the ones they found most to their taste, though in their loftier moments they imagined their heroines in nobler mould.

The coming of Christianity swept both types into the Index Expurgatorius, and substituted the hysteric saint of visions and macerations. Here was a brand-new character for the overworked female to enact; yet, in her facile good-nature, she threw herself into the required attitude with the old enthusiasm. The very quaintest heroine of all fiction is to be found in the Lives of the Saints, while the Early Fathers were calling her by the most

opprobrious names—damning her up and down, and she patiently going into ecstasies and never answering back! No wonder the male of our kind has said we were incomprehensible!

In the golden dawn of the Renaissance the mystic and the saint paled and vanished; and, instead, came "the white feet of Nicolette," stepping shyly to meet "that sweet knight Aucassin," followed by golden-headed Guinevere, Beatrice, Iseult of the silver hands and the lily maid of Astolat. Personally, I must say, these are my favorites of all *les belles dames de temps jadis,* with their braided locks and folded hands, their meek lashes and fine pale brows—ladies all fire and dew; all passion and tender grace.

As the classic revival rose to its zenith, these, too, passed, and the frisky young person reappeared, and with her the severe and lofty heroine, sharing the homage of the man in love with the shadow of antiquity.

It was a sort of a hybrid cross between the two who stalked and strutted through the interminable pages of Mlle. de Scudéry's romances and the verbose volumes of Richardson. Bernard Shaw says that the men of the eighteenth century did not regard woman as an individual, but as an institution, and the heroine of the eighteenth-century romance, "the delicate female," was merely the reflection, the feminine shadow, of the Man of Feeling—that intolerable prig, "whose mild eye," the poet tells us, "beamed with benevolence," and in whose bosom pulsed,

> "That ecstatic and exulting throb
> Which virtue's votary feels when he sums up
> The thoughts and actions of a well-spent day."

Fancy the pompous self-consciousness of a person who experienced ecstatic and exulting throbs because he had behaved himself for twenty-four hours! Naturally, the heroines had to be of a very superior quality of institution to live up to this sort of thing.

But of a virtue! . . . Witness Clarissa of the iron-bound impeccability, and of a meekness and propriety! . . . of which the heroine of "Sir Charles Grandison" is an example raised to the *n*th power. Poor dear Miss Byron waits patiently through five quarto volumes for her magnificent young man to commit himself—"Sir Charles conducted me to the cedar parlor, where were already my aunt and my grandmamma. He sat down, and,

with a manly yet respectful air, his voice gaining strength as he proceeded, thus delivered himself" . . . of six pages before he has done with it, and the ever-admirable Miss Byron had a chance to get in a word edgeways and accept him before he could draw breath to go on!

By the time the early Victorian period was reached, virtue and propriety and colorlessness reigned supreme. The naughty charmer was in exile; but in the mean while, for the first time in the history of literature, women had begun to write about themselves. Miss Burney's Evelina was barely distinguishable from her man-made congeners, but with Miss Austen one began to catch a glimpse of what women thought of themselves and of other members of their sex. It is the quality of genius to be of no period, and Miss Austen's women are as modern and as ancient as are the lovely creations of Shakespeare. Elizabeth Bennet and Miss Emma Woodhouse are the sort of women whom we play bridge with, serve on charitable committees with, and whom our brothers marry—just those good, kind, friendly creatures whom we ask to dinner, and whose discipline of their children we enjoy criticising. So one is hardly justified in judging the woman's heroine in literature by the work of that rare feminine bird, a genius.

George Eliot in her turn broke away from the conventions in "Janet's Repentance," and when she conceived that very modern mid-Victorian young lady, Gwendolen Harleth. Gwendolen was somewhat of a portent, and was so regarded, I remember, when she loomed upon my childish horizon. I remember seeing my elders shake their heads over her vanity and recklessness, her insubordination and her spiritual aspirations—though I think they hardly realized what a prolific parent she was to become of restless, yearning young persons, much concerned as to the state of their souls, and making all their relations desperately uncomfortable with their unbalanced antics. She came upon us at a time which I have since learned to call "the blue-bow period." That is to say that the woman who then reigned in our hearts, and who adorned the short story of our periodical literature, used to straighten out the tangles of her existence by the simple expedient of putting a blue bow into her adorably curling hair. If she found another woman stealing her husband's affections, she calmly checkmated the deadly wiles of the wicked

rival by pinning on a blue bow, the effect of this proving so hypnotic that the fascinated male returned at once and permanently to his domestic allegiance. It would cure a husband of drinking habits; it lightened the gloom of financial misfortunes; it even atoned for any little stepping aside from the path of strict wifely duty on her own part. In any stress of circumstance the purchase of a yard of ribbon proved a sort of silken and powerful "God Bless Our Home."

How deliciously simple it would seem if we might straighten out our twentieth-century marital complications by a mere moment at the bargain-counter!

The goddess and the pretty, immoral little hussy were not all forgotten by their male literary adorers; but the "mob of gentlewomen, who wrote with ease," which sprang up, a thick, lettered crop, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, declined to be narrowed down to two sharply contrasting types of the sex, and one began at last to get what Meredith calls "the fine shades" of feminine self-revelation. Some very remarkable shades one has got, it must be confessed. We have had some tingling shocks to our old comfortable prepossessions in the last half-century. As early as the days of the Brontë sisters, the ugly woman had issued a startling declaration of the right of the ill-featured female to emotion and romance. Up to that day none but the beautiful were supposed to move in the enchanted *pays du tendre.* Research fails to show, in all the literature of the male, one really plain heroine. She must be fair or she could not hope to be considered as an applicant for the place. So it was considered immensely piquant when the ugly, passionate little governess from Yorkshire actually pictured another ugly little governess inspiring a passion and posing as a romantic figure. Since then has occurred another revolution made in favor of the *Femme de Trente Ans.* A heroine used to be, in the old days of masculine literary rule, not only beautiful, but, as a necessary concomitant, deliciously young. The blooming chits had it all their own way. The woman of thirty had by that age either made her romantic market or else retired sombrely into the innocuous desuetude of old maidenhood, and served literary needs only as a ridiculous and jealous foil, as a duenna, or as an assistant of the emotional stresses of her younger sister. She passed secret *billets-doux,* or waited to warn while one trembled at a rendezvous by an aged

oak under the midnight moon. Mrs. Craik, better known to her large clientele as Miss Mulock, was the first to have the courage to suggest that a woman might suffer from romantic emotions after twenty-five without being wholly abnormal, and so far have we progressed beyond the mid-Victorian ideals that that erstwhile youthful dweller in the limelight is now supposed to be meekly at school and not troubling her pigtailed juvenile head about matters fit only for her elders. Even women of forty are allowed to have affairs, and that charming romance known as "The Baby's Grandmother" was received without derision;—it even inspired sympathy.

We are now in the period of the full emancipation of the heroine—an emancipation which she owes largely to her own sex. We have at last a copious body of documents setting forth women's impressions as to woman's real nature, and it would be extremely interesting to take up these documents for careful comparison and examination, and submit them to learned bodies for discussion; to analyze, generalize, philosophize upon them and discover what has been contributed by them to the sum of human truth. Do their self-revelations cast any real light upon the complexities of the soul of that half of the race which men have declared to be capricious and incomprehensible, which they confess in their famous toast to be the unsolvable conundrum—"Woman! We can't make her out, but we'll never give her up."

Two men have written of woman from this modern aspect, but it is safe to say that Hedda Gabler and Candida would never have existed if the Brontës and George Eliot had not broken the ground on which they stand; and yet in the conceptions of both men can be discerned, in new guise, traces of the old alternating male dreams of the female. Hedda Gabler, Nora and the rest are but the old, dominating goddess type subtly modernized and masquerading as contemporary Norwegians, while Candida and her sisters are suspiciously like the present-day versions of the supple, unscrupulous Jade of classic letters.

We must read women's books if we would get new light upon the woman question, if we would study the moral aspect of the matter and consider the soul of the sex from a really new angle of vision. And reading these women's books by the light of our old prejudices, we certainly have the startled sensation that we have heretofore been moving about in a feminine world unreal-

ized; that either those mild brows have been concealing the most astonishing things, or else the woman of our epoch has suffered a sudden change into something new and strange, and that there is no tie of heredity between the mother of yesterday and the daughter of to-day.

Patient Griselda was long held up to us in the era of the masculine domination of letters as a most admirable and to-be-duly-copied person. She was a proof that persistent meek acceptance could overcome at last the tyrannical spirit of her master, but not even one lady of letters urges meekness upon her sisters as a desirable virtue. Quite the contrary. What Henry Arthur Jones calls "that rabble of petticoats" which moves through modern fiction is made up of ladies who have a vivid idea of their own value, and an equally vivid idea of having their own way. If Petruchio were to throw plates about in our time with any idea of subduing the modern Katherine, he would probably find himself promptly ducking to avoid their swift return, or would be haled into court to show cause why he shouldn't pay persistent alimony to salve the wound made upon his better half's feelings by what the divorce-court terms "intolerable cruelty." No; meekness under oppression is not a virtue of the modern heroine.

Unquestioning loyalty to her male was another belauded virtue of the heroine of the past. She followed her male cheerfully to the battlefield, the debtor's prison, or even the scaffold. When a gentleman cheated at cards, drank more than was good for him, flung away his substance in riotous living, or otherwise made things uncomfortable, the virtuous heroine of the past immediately took in plain sewing (she never appeared to be capable of any other kind), changed her residence to a garret, and lived shiveringly on what was known as "crusts"; but she spoke no word of reproach and did the uncomplaining-martyr act in its extremest form of aggravating high-mindedness. The path of the moral transgressor is not smoothed in this fashion in our day. He has domesticated the Recording Angel, and the Critic on the Hearth will condone no moral laxities. Not only must his private conduct square with the rigidest rules of morality, but even in his finances and his politics he must exhibit a standard so lofty as must prove exhausting to even a hero. In a dozen recent tales the hero is called upon to resist the most enticing political and financial temptations at the peril of punishment at the hands of

the heroine, who, whether she be his wife or his sweetheart, demands of her hero a meticulous and subtly perfect conscientiousness; and if he fails to measure up to her exacting level he gets his punishment, infallibly. The famous Nora demands even more, of course. Poor Thorvald has not only to be honest himself, but must be sufficiently high-minded to understand why she shouldn't be; and Candida's husband must be so pure of heart as to condone a flirtation in which he himself would not for one instant be permitted to indulge. It would almost seem as if the old rôles were completely reversed, and it is now the hero who is under obligation to readjust his loyalty to any and all demands made by his exacting heroine. And he gets small sympathy for his efforts. It never occurs to any one to be sentimental over Thorvald, or shed tears of sympathy for Mr. Candida. They are not buoyed up by any comforting sense that the pathetic nature of their sufferings will "make Celia's tender eyes complain," or rouse indignation against the trenchant ladies who have brought their proud masculinity so low. Sweet sixteen will not weep over them, nor chivalrous boyhood burn with indignation at their wrongs.

In a very recent and popular book by a lady novelist, "The Fruit of the Tree," the heroine, a trained nurse, uses her hypodermic needle to shorten the sufferings of a young married woman hurt in an accident, and after the widower marries her he discovers that she shortened the life of his first wife. The nurse feels no compunction for her act, and in fact resents her new husband's qualms about it, and we are made to feel that he is rather a cad to be squeamish over so small a matter, and before long he sees it that way himself, begs pardon and is restored to favor.

It was both interesting and curious to observe the public—particularly the feminine public—attitude at the playing of Maeterlinck's "Monna Vanna," some two years ago. It was the story of the Biblical Judith transformed to a semi-mediæval, semi-modern setting. Monna Vanna was called upon to sacrifice her virtue to save her people; and her husband, very properly it seems to me, objected. He was entirely willing to give his own life, but he was most unwilling to purchase his own or his subjects' lives at a price he held dearer than theirs or his. When she returned from the conqueror's tent, to which she had gone without her husband's knowledge or consent, and announced that

the suddenly generous ruffian had spared her, neither she nor the women in the audience seemed to experience any emotion other than contempt and disgust for the poor maddened husband, who refused to accept her account of the meeting, and no one seemed to feel that his wrongs were in the fact that she had been trying to save him through his own dishonor—that she had not dishonored him being merely an accident, and not through her intention. The general attitude seemed to be that he was making a great fuss about nothing, and behaving in the most tiresome and ridiculous manner.

To come to a still more serious matter, the very keystone of the arch—fidelity of the person and the affections—we find that in this respect also the modern heroine has brought about a complete *bouleversement* of the old order. It used to be conceded that different codes of honor existed for the two sexes. Chastity was the cornerstone of feminine morals; once it was removed the whole fabric fell in ruins. That sound, the building might be flawed, but it was respected. Fibs were but foibles; carelessness in money matters venial. Backbiting, cowardice, narrowness, bigotry were pardonable faults if in matters concerning the other sex one was impeccable. On the other hand, man might have a straying eye and remain a gentleman if no charge of lying, cowardice or dishonesty could be proved. If, however, he cheated at cards, his life among his fellows was as completely at an end as was that of his mate "when lovely woman stooped to folly." How many times has not the tear of sweet sensibility flowed at the sorrows of those poor ladies who, having lost their claim to kindness and respect, wandered in the snow, or crept home to die on the outraged husband's or father's doorstep. No repentance could avail to replace her in the high estate she had forfeited.

> "The only art her guilt to cover,
> To hide her shame from every eye,
> To give repentance to her lover,
> And wring his bosom, is—to die."

The scarlet letter marked her as with the brand of Cain; and, like the male cheater at cards, she must forever wander an exile from the warm precincts of respectability, later heroism not availing to win back the lost regard unless that heroism led to a prompt demise.

The man who cheats at cards still roams an exile, but the

modern heroine by no means submits to atone her follies by accompanying him. About ten years ago, she arose in her might and declined to accept judgment from a censorious and hypocritic world. "The Superfluous Woman" was one of the first books whose heroine declared her independence of the elder morals She had her little fling, and then asked what we were going to do about it, and we sat with our astonished mouths open and had no answer ready. Grant Allen echoed with "The Woman Who Did,"—and she did very naughty things indeed; and once again we found ourselves out of our depths in the sudden liquefaction of all our old predilections. Since which time the modern heroine has taken the Key of the Fields. The Hester Prynne of to-day would make scarlet letters fashionable, contract an excellent marriage, and shortly be leading mothers' meetings in Mr. Arthur Dimmesdale's popular church; and the very modernest heroine, like the protagonist of "Life's Shop Window," would probably haughtily refuse altogether to be, in the old parlance, "made an honest woman of," and reject marriage entirely as too cramping to her new-found liberty.

Females of the very lightest character may set up as heroines in honorable heroic circles in our tolerant day, and we look forward with prickling interest to see what new forms of moral delinquency these vigorous ladies will next render respectable by their potent patronage.

These fantastic moral excursions are undoubtedly a very natural reaction from a long period of the namby-pambyism of the Rosa Matilda School of the eighteenth century. These are but the sowing of wild literary oats on the part of heady femininity, new to the liberty of the pen, and not yet settled down to the sobered middle age of letters. We are not to take these vagaries too ponderously. It is like the changing voice of the boy, apt to rise into hysteric head notes in the midst of the growth of deeper tones. Liberty is a good thing after all, though it be sometimes abused. The heroine, who is the ideal of the woman herself, the expression of her own highest consciousness of aspiration for herself, will be eventually, no doubt, a very different person from the alternating goddess and rogue; a very different person, too, from the fantastic unclassifiable individual offered us as a model just now. She will clarify into something higher and better than the woman now imagined by women. For the modern heroine

does not seem to have the elements fitting her to be the mother of heroes, or of heroines either, for that matter.

In the new and intense self-consciousness of women, and of the men dominated by the modern feminism, one of the oldest and most important facts of life is in danger of being obscured. The woman of our day, with only half a century of education, has succeeded in stepping into a new place upon the human stage. She is so new in this place that every eye is turned upon her in the endeavor to analyze and place her in the general scheme of things. But, if she is to be placed apart from the higher idealism, she will have lost something for which all her treasure-trove of liberty and education will be but small compensation. With all the calumny and scorn that men have heaped upon woman, they have yet kept her an ideal. They have treated her much as the Italian fisherman does the image of his patron saint; he smacks it when in a temper, but worships it and looks up to it as something better than himself all the while. Now, an ideal, even when treated pretty roughly, is a potent thing. It assimilates the holder of it to itself, as the green leaf turns a chameleon to its own tint, and all that we do and are, of the best, results from our contact with, our value of, that immediate jewel of our souls. It is said that the capacity for growth and development in a race may always be tested accurately by the race's attitude to its women. If its ideal of women is low and gross, its general progress is also low and gross. And this is equally true of the individual. No one ever knew a really admirable man who thought badly of women, and the nature of a woman is suspect who thinks meanly of her own sex. The terrible welter of European savagery in the Middle Ages got its greatest impetus forward through the development of the dreams of chivalry. And if the real women were at all as the poets and painters and story-tellers thought of them, one doesn't wonder. They were the dearest creatures!

The truth is, the modern heroines do not stir enthusiasm, for the modern heroine on the whole is a pretty bad lot. In this age of investigation, the muck-raker might employ his spare time in exposing her. There is suggestion here of a new direction for a certain well-known person's inexhaustible energy. A fresh interpretation of the Constitution might easily be made to cover her case and bring her under Federal regulation.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

THE NORTHERN QUESTION.

BY BRITANNICUS.

On April 23rd, two Agreements involving seven European Powers and representing their concerted efforts to buttress the political equilibrium of Northern Europe, were signed in St. Petersburg and Berlin. The first pledged Russia, Germany, Sweden and Denmark to the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* in the Baltic. All these Powers border on the Baltic, and three of them possess islands situate in its waters. The new Agreement confirms these possessions by what is virtually a fourfold guarantee. It provides that if the territorial *status quo* in the Baltic regions is threatened by any events whatever, the Governments of the four signatory Powers shall "enter into communication with one another with a view to agreeing upon such measures as they may consider advisable in the interest of the maintenance of the *status quo*." Attached to the Agreement is a Memorandum which reserves to the High Contracting Parties "the free exercise of sovereign rights" in their respective possessions.

The second Agreement is on similar lines, but concerns the North Sea instead of the Baltic. It binds Great Britain, Germany, France, Denmark, Holland and Sweden "to preserve intact and to respect mutually the sovereign rights which these countries now enjoy in their respective territories" in the regions bordering on the North Sea. As in the case of the Baltic Agreement, provision is made for mutual consultation should the territorial *status quo* be threatened by any events whatsoever; a Memorandum is added declaring that the Agreement "can in no way be appealed to whenever there may be a question of the rights of sovereignty of the High Contracting Parties over their respective possessions above mentioned"; and for the purposes of the Agreement the North Sea is defined as "stretching east-

wards as far as its junction with the waters of the Baltic." Simultaneously with these two Agreements, a declaration was signed at Stockholm by Great Britain, France and Sweden denouncing the Treaty of 1855. By this Treaty, Sweden—and in those days Sweden, of course, included Norway as well—pledged herself not to make any cession of territory to Russia; and Great Britain and France undertook, in case of need, to assist her in resisting Russian pretensions or aggressions. The abrogation of this compact can only be construed as a proof that, in the opinion of Great Britain, France and Sweden, the danger it was framed to guard against has been sufficiently obviated by the new Baltic Agreement. Taking the three instruments as a whole they amount to a stringent, solemn and voluntary covenant on the part of the leading Baltic and North Sea Powers to preserve things as they are, and, while retaining their full sovereign rights in their own possessions, to abstain from attacking or encroaching upon one another. No more comprehensive agreement of the kind has been negotiated in our time. It is a contribution on a quite unprecedented scale to the stock of international confidence and good will. It brings France and Germany together in mutual and frictionless co-operation. It assures to the smaller and weaker States that are washed by the Baltic and the North Sea, to Sweden, Denmark and Holland, a guarantee of protection against their more powerful neighbors. I am well aware that "paper compacts" cannot alter inexorable realities, and that no nation can be bound by them at a supreme crisis. But such Agreements as those we are considering have, nevertheless, a real value. They help to soothe apprehensions and banish suspicions, they impose upon the prosecution of aggressive politics moral penalties that no Government in these sensitive days will lightly incur; they definitely and publicly stamp a certain line of conduct with the seal of international approval; they, therefore, make any departure from it peculiarly dishonorable; they rally the pacific sentiments and the public interests of many different peoples to the support of a policy conceived for the benefit of them all; they tend to create that atmosphere of trust and amity in which half the difficulties of diplomacy vanish; and they furnish a foundation and starting-point for further accommodations. Those who minimize the value of such instruments have yet to learn that in international politics concrete issues

and specific antagonisms are often of less moment than the vaguer but more penetrating influences of distrust, irrational animosity —and continued suspicion.

It will be noticed that Norway is not among the Powers that have signed the Baltic or the North Sea Agreement. The reason is that her position is regarded as being already amply secured. After the rupture of the Union with Sweden, the first care of Norwegian statesmen was to obtain from the Great Powers guarantees for the safety of the new-born kingdom. A Treaty was accordingly negotiated last November placing the integrity of Norwegian territory under the joint guarantee of Great Britain, Russia, Germany and France. The Treaty was little commented upon at the time, yet it was a document of real importance. In the first place, its effect was to supersede the old Treaty of 1855, which bound Great Britain and France to protect the then united kingdom of Sweden and Norway against Russia. In the second place, it was negotiated without consulting Stockholm, and gave great offence to Swedish susceptibilities. It left Sweden for the time being internationally stranded. It placed her at a positive disadvantage as compared with her former partner. Not only was she virtually deprived of the assistance promised by the Treaty of 1855, but she had the mortification of seeing Norway treated with every consideration by the Powers and singled out for their special protection. In the third place, the quadrilateral guarantee of Norwegian integrity is important because it interposes one more barrier between Russia and the warm waters. It is one of the commonplaces of world-politics that Russia, everywhere in sight of the sea, is nowhere in control of it. The Black and Caspian Seas are virtually inland lakes. Ice makes the Baltic unnavigable for a great part of the year, and the passage through it into the North Sea is at the mercy of either Denmark or Sweden. After crossing the expanse of Asia and planting herself at Port Arthur the first outlet to the ice-free waters that she had ever reached—Russia has seen the labor and ambitions of centuries frustrated by the prowess of Japan. Hurled back from the Pacific and debarred from the Persian Gulf, she still remains a landlocked State. In one quarter only has she a chance of escaping the limitations of her fate. Between the Russian outposts in Europe and the freedom of the North-eastern Atlantic there lies nothing more formidable than a few

miles of Norwegian territory. The possibility of a Port Arthur springing up on the Atlantic is an aspect of the Northern Question too much neglected. The time may come when Russia will find her Treaty obligations to uphold Norwegian integrity a hindrance, or at any rate an embarrassment, in the prosecution of her great secular policy. The time may also come when the identical obligations assumed by Great Britain, France and Germany will be charged with an unlooked-for significance.

That, however, is a problem or a speculation for the future to resolve. Meanwhile, it was clear that the collapse of the partnership between Norway and Sweden, and the protection guaranteed to the former State by four of the Great Powers, left Sweden in a position of some isolation and insecurity. The kind of guarantee that had satisfied the Norwegians would not satisfy her. The Swedes are an easy, aristocratic people, proud of their past, and at one in rejecting as an intolerable humiliation the idea of being placed under the special protection of their more powerful neighbors. At the same time they have been the victims of Muscovite expansion; Finland is a perpetual source of irritation, if not of controversy, between the Russians and themselves; and, as they watch the advance of Russia by land and the growing power of Germany at sea, they feel, not unnaturally, that their independence might well rest on a less precarious footing. It is one of the first advantages of the new Baltic Agreement that, without offending Sweden's dignity and, indeed, by treating her in all ways as on the same level with Russia and Germany, it provides her with all the guarantees of territorial integrity that diplomatic and external assurances can furnish. It is another of its advantages that it has made possible the abrogation of the Treaty of 1855. So long as Great Britain and France were under bonds to lend naval and military assistance to Sweden in resisting Russian aggression, Russo-Swedish relations could not be wholly comfortable. The new arrangement substitutes for the pledge of Anglo-French protection of Swedish integrity a guarantee on the part of Russia, Germany and Denmark that that integrity will be respected. The change seems to me to supply a safeguard much more in conformity with the facts of modern politics, more natural, and more effective.

The position of Denmark throughout these negotiations has been peculiar. She is washed equally by the North Sea and the

Baltic, and she controls the passage between them. Germany, it is true, has built the Kiel Canal, and is now widening it at a cost of at least $50,000,000 to accommodate the "Dreadnoughts." But the Kiel Canal is neither the most expeditious nor the most profitable waterway in the world, and practically all the shipping of the Swedish, Russian and German ports in the Baltic passes to the North Sea under Denmark's windows. In the event of a war between, for instance, France and Germany, England and Germany, or England and Russia, the French or British fleet could only gain entrance to the Baltic by steaming through the narrow and difficult straits of the Great Belt or the Sound, both of which may be opened or closed at the will of Denmark, and the seizure of which might, therefore, present itself to Russia or Germany as a strategic necessity. The Danes do not relish the disquieting perils and responsibilities of their situation. At the time of the first Hague Conference 300,000 of his subjects petitioned King Christian to obtain from the Conference a solemn recognition of Danish neutrality. The problems of defence are their constant preccupation. They have spent a hundred million kroner on safeguarding Copenhagen. They are every day strengthening Seeland's coast-line with forts, mines and torpedoes. They have worked out an elaborate system of transport and mobilization for bringing their troops from Jutland and Fünen to Seeland. The hidden rocks and sand-banks of the Great Belt are far from being its only defences. The Little Belt is only available for the smaller ships, and an enemy trying to force its passage would meet with a warm reception from the shore batteries. The southern entrance to the Sound is already thoroughly protected; the northern entrance will shortly be in almost as good a state; and the capital itself, though vulnerable, has been converted into a great fortified camp.

Altogether, Denmark is incomparably better prepared to resist invasion to-day than at any moment during the nineteenth century. Yet she remains ceaselessly anxious. It is not, in spite of Pan-Germanism, and the unsettled boundary question and the treatment of the Danes in Schleswig, that she expects to be involved in any struggle of her own making. Her dread is that in a war between the Great Powers, and particularly between England and Germany, it will be impossible for her to enforce her neutrality. In the Franco-Prussian war the landing of an

army in Denmark was an essential, though unrealized, part of the French plan of campaign. Since then the maritime rivalry of Great Britain and Germany has exposed the Danes to new perils. A dash upon the Great Belt by Germany, the seizure of a base by Great Britain, disembarkations upon the coast of Jutland—these are all possibilities, probabilities, or necessities of a situation that might arise. Denmark has sought to escape from them in many ways, by alliances with the Scandinavian Powers, by agitating the question of a British Protectorate, and, as I have just remarked, by endeavoring to extract a guarantee of her neutrality. Self-effacement is her policy, and every project that makes for harmony among the Baltic Powers commands her instant support. There would, therefore, be nothing surprising if history were to confirm the rumor that she was the first Power to suggest the Baltic Agreement. So far as it goes, it is altogether in harmony with her instincts and aspirations. It adds appreciably to her sense of security, and it involves her in no risks or surrenders—unless it be a surrender to acknowledge by implication that Schleswig-Holstein is irrevocably lost.

I have said that, so far as it goes, the Baltic Agreement satisfies Denmark. But how far does it go? It pledges the four Powers that border on the Baltic to respect each other's territorial integrity. That is a great and indisputable gain, but it is far from covering the whole problem of the Baltic, or even its most important part. From the widest international standpoint the question of the Baltic is primarily not a territorial, but a maritime, question. Is the Baltic a *mare liberum* or a *mare clausum?* International law is doubtful on the point, but the policy both of Great Britain and of France has always been to maintain that it is a free and open sea. It was to emphasize that contention that the British Channel Fleet was despatched to the Baltic three years ago for its annual manœuvres. Denmark and Sweden, being relatively weak Powers, and knowing that a recognition of the Baltic as a closed sea would place them in a position of permanent subjection to both Russia and Germany, likewise adopt the British standpoint. The attitude of Germany is not so clear. Mr. Lucien Wolf, the best English authority on the subject, has rightly noted that, in the days of the Great Elector, Prussia consistently championed the freedom of the Baltic against Sweden and Denmark. But since the building of the Kiel Canal, which

provides Germany with a private entrance and exit of her own, the Pan-Germans have repeatedly agitated for the definite closing of the sea; and although official Germany has hitherto lent them no countenance, it is not impossible that, when the reconstruction of the Canal is complete, the question may be sharply raised, and an attempt made to convert the Baltic into a German, or rather a Russo-German, lake. The risks of such an enterprise are, however, very great, and time is not likely to lessen them materially. In spite of this, the precise status of the Baltic remains a matter of present doubt, and possibly of future danger; and it is felt, especially in England, that diplomacy has missed a chance in not defining it once and for all. So favorable an opportunity may not again occur. The reasons why it was not utilized are probably that diplomatists are a naturally timid race, and live and move under a panic dread of attempting too much; and partly, also, that Germany, as has been hinted, was desirous of excluding Great Britain and France from any share in the Baltic negotiations. So long as the negotiations were limited to the territorial question, the non-Baltic Powers could legitimately be kept from participating in them. Had they been extended to include also the maritime status of the Baltic, it would have been impossible to prevent Great Britain and France from taking a leading part in the discussion.

Another Baltic question, and a far more acute one, which the Agreement fails to cover, is the question of the Aland Islands. It has figured very prominently of late in popular speculations on the scope and purpose of the negotiations. It has sent a shiver of alarm through Sweden; it has been mentioned within the last few months in every Parliament in northern Europe; but whether it was officially raised in the course of the *pourparlers* is not definitely known. I think myself that probably it was not; but I think also that it was more than once obliquely hinted at, and that only the certainty that its discussion would bring the negotiations abruptly to an end prevented it from being made the subject of a formal debate. A glance at the map is enough to make clear the crucial issues involved in it. The Aland Islands lie at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia in the Upper Baltic. They consist of one fairly large island and a multitude of islets, rocks and skerries. They used to belong to Sweden, and the twenty-five thousand inhabitants are nearly all

of Swedish origin and still speak the Swedish tongue. Together with Finland, they were ceded to Russia as the result of the war of 1808. Russia proceeded to erect fortifications and to convert the archipelago into a naval base. In the Crimean War, the allied fleets of Great Britain and France destroyed the forts, and, among the provisions of the Treaty of Peace signed in 1856 by Russia, Great Britain and France, it was agreed that for the future the Aland Islands should not be fortified and that no naval or military establishment should be maintained or created upon them. The prohibition has proved of immense international consequence. The Aland Islands might without much difficulty be turned into a well-nigh impregnable naval base. They dominate the Upper Baltic; they protect St. Petersburg; they are situate within three hours' steaming distance of the Stockholm skerries, and within six hours of the Swedish capital itself; and the great bulk of the export trade from the northern provinces of Sweden—timber, pulp, iron ore and iron—has to pass by them. A Russian Kronstadt on the Aland archipelago would, in effect, convert the Upper Baltic into a Russian lake and expose the heart of Sweden to a direct, unescapable and permanent menace. It would secure Russia from the possibility of effective attack in the Baltic, and would thus alter all the political and strategic conditions in her favor. Taken in conjunction with the German base at Kiel, and with the many links of political and dynastic sympathy that unite the Governments of St. Petersburg and Berlin, the fortification of the Aland Islands would invest Russia and Germany with a joint and indisputable predominance over the whole of the Baltic; and one consequence of any such development may very well be that Germany, if involved in war, would feel free to leave the Baltic to the guardianship of Russia and to concentrate all her naval power in the North Sea. It is natural that Russia, especially at a moment when the whole problem of her naval policy is under acute discussion, should wish to be rid of the Treaty of 1856. It is equally natural that Great Britain and France, in their own as much as in Sweden's interests, should insist on maintaining it. The new Baltic Agreement, as I have said, does not specifically touch on the Aland Islands question. Does it, a good many people have been asking, touch on that question by implication? The "sovereign rights" of the High Contracting Par-

ties in their own possessions are definitely and in set terms reserved. Do "sovereign rights" include the right of fortification? May not their reservation be made hereafter the basis of a Russian claim that the Treaty of 1856 has, in effect, been abrogated?

But, in spite of all deductions, the Agreement remains a solid and valuable instrument. If it leaves untouched the two most contentious issues in the range of Baltic politics, it does at least furnish a strong moral guarantee that the apprehensions of the smaller States in regard to their territorial integrity may from now onwards be modified, if not laid aside. I do not anticipate any visible results from this improved sense of security. Norway, it is true, appears to trust so implicitly to her quadrilateral guarantee of neutrality as to contemplate, not precisely disarmament, but at any rate an all-round reduction in her estimates for defence; but it is hardly probable that either Sweden or Denmark will be tempted to follow her example. The advantages gained by these latter States are chiefly to be found in the lowering of the international temperature and in the assurances they have now received in the eyes of the world that certain perils they have feared and guarded against may for the future be disregarded. They accept these assurances with gratitude and relief; they believe them to be of such a nature as to render their infraction for a long while highly improbable; but they are not likely on that account to relax a single precaution.

If now we turn to the North Sea Agreement, we find that the problem it deals with is essentially the same as the Baltic problem, and has been handled in an almost identical fashion. Here, too, we find a number of small and ill-defended States caught between the fire of two perils. One is the peril that they may be absorbed by a single and far more powerful State. The other is the peril that they may be crushed in a collision between any two of their mighty neighbors. In the May number of this REVIEW, "Anglo-American" dealt so fully with the anxieties aroused in Belgium and Holland by the consciousness of their own weakness and by the growth and pressure of Germany and by the many temptations which their geographical position offers to the statesmen of Berlin, that I need not go over this well-worn ground again. The North Sea Agreement amounts practically to a formal repudiation by Germany of the ambitions imputed to her by the Pan-German pamphleteers. The

compulsion of permanent facts is not, indeed, mitigated by this disavowal. Holland still bars Germany from the easiest route of access to the North Sea; the mouths of the Rhine still remain in Dutch control; the irksome limitations upon the development of Germany's naval and commercial strength are not less irksome than they were. But the Pan-Germans henceforward are likely to modify their zeal and for a while, at any rate, to draw in their horns. The North Sea Agreement organizes a strong body of international opinion against the aggressions they have hitherto advocated. It has the further good effect of allaying the suspicions that England and Germany have mutually fomented. After these emphatic pledges and disclaimers, it will become morally more difficult for Anglophobes and Teutophobes to persuade their countrymen that England and Germany are each incessantly on the watch to pounce upon the other.

Just as Norway was omitted from the Baltic Agreement, so Belgium is not among the signatories to the North Sea compact; and for very similar reasons. Belgium was permanently mediatized in 1831 under the guarantee of France, Prussia, Austria, Russia and Great Britain. A great deal has happened since then, and it is probable that to-day the most earnest and effective defender of Belgian neutrality is Great Britain. "Antwerp in French hands," said Napoleon, "is a pistol held to England's head." Great Britain has incorporated the maxim among the guiding principles of her foreign policy, and would unquestionably fight sooner than allow Antwerp to pass under either French or German domination. She showed that with sufficient plainness in 1870, and again in 1875, and the past thirty-eight years have only emphasized the necessity of saving the Belgian coasts and ports from being utilized as a base by a first-class naval Power. The danger of any attack upon the independence of Belgium from the French side has, in my judgment, finally passed; while from the German side it is as probable, and no more, as any other of the Pan-German schemes. The true peril that confronts the Belgians is that, in the event of a Franco-German war, their territory may be invaded and their neutrality violated and perhaps permanently destroyed. That contingency all but arose in the war of 1870. In a second struggle between the same Powers, the best military opinion, I believe, inclines to the view that it could not be averted. All Belgium's military

preparations are directed towards this sole eventuality. It is possible that in time she may supplement her own efforts by a defensive alliance with Holland. But in the last resort it is upon British power exercised in her behalf for the protection of British interests that her security depends.

Looking at the two Agreements as a whole, it may fairly be said against them that they divide a problem that is essentially indivisible, and to that extent are unsatisfactory. The Baltic Question and the North Sea Question are only parts of the Northern Question, and the mere fact that Denmark fronts on both seas is enough to point the absurdity of treating them separately. Mingling with the satisfaction over the conclusion of the new Agreements is the feeling that they fall some way short, not merely of the ideally best, but of the possible best, and that a more resolute and far-sighted diplomacy might easily have improved upon them. If we admit that the interests of Norway and Belgium are already sufficiently safeguarded and that no diplomatic instrument can add to such security as they at present enjoy, there remain seven Powers intimately concerned in the Northern Question. It is arguable that, had these seven Powers signed a single Convention mutually guaranteeing the territorial *status quo* throughout the regions of the Baltic and the North Sea, the result would have been far preferable to the present arrangement. It would have been preferable, in the first place, because it would have enlisted Great Britain and France in support of Danish and Swedish integrity in the Baltic, and in the second place, because it would have enrolled Russia among the guarantors of Dutch independence in the North Sea. Then, again, in a single and comprehensive Convention it might have proved feasible to incorporate a clause specifically affirming the freedom of the Baltic. As it is, we are forced to be content, as usual, with solutions that are partial and inadequate when they might have been final. Even so, however, the Agreements substantially reinforce the securities of European peace. Besides the anxieties they help to appease and the suspicions they do something towards dissipating, they furnish the very welcome spectacle of France and Germany, and England and Germany, working hand in hand. That co-operation may prove to be more fruitful of results than the Hague Conference itself.

BRITANNICUS.

POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS.

BY GEORGE V. L. MEYER, POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

To encourage thrift in the wage-earner and person of small means, by affording a place for the deposit of the dime that otherwise "burns a hole in the pocket," is the prime object of postal savings-banks. The post-office is open early and late, and the day-laborer returning home on Saturday night with his week's pay finds the regular banks closed, but the saloon open. The post-office bank would attract some of his earnings and of the earnings of the other classes now accustomed to go to Uncle Sam's office for their stamps and letters, where they are received and treated cordially without discrimination. It is estimated that, within a few years, about $500,000,000 would be deposited in this way; and, under the scheme which I have recommended to Congress, the money would be placed in the channels of trade through the instrumentality of the national banks.

Postal savings-banks are now in operation in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Hungary, India, Italy, the Netherlands, New South Wales, New Zealand, the Philippines, Queensland, Russia, South Australia, Sweden, Victoria, Japan, and the British, Dutch and French colonies. In Germany, the municipal savings-banks are under the jurisdiction of the Government and they are also considering the need of postal savings-banks.

Their establishment in the United States has been discussed since 1871; but their desirability and peculiar efficacy in averting financial panics was not appreciated by the business world generally until last fall, at which time the money received through the postal banks would have strengthened many institutions, for, as fast as withdrawals were made from the banks

and placed in the postal banks for safe-keeping, it would have been returned to the banks through the agency of the national banks. I advocated their creation as far back as last August.

In certain parts of our country, savings institutions are sufficiently numerous to accommodate the people, but such areas are quite limited, being confined to New England, New York and a few other States. It is alleged that, by reason of the number and location of savings-banks, there is a savings account to every two of the population of New England; while, in all the country outside New England and New York, the average is only one savings account to every 157 of the population. As the people of all sections of this country are pretty much the same in habits, inclinations and purposes, it must be obvious to the most casual observer that the people of the South, the Middle West and the West do not save their earnings as do those of New England from the lack of opportunity—that is, from the mere want of secure places in which deposit may be made.

The total amount of deposits in the savings-banks of this country is $3,690,078,945. Of this amount, $1,394,296,034 is in the State of New York; $1,229,701,214 is in the New England States, $694,081,142 being deposited in the State of Massachusetts; $282,508,956 is in the State of California; $159,174,012 is in the State of Pennsylvania; $194,668,858 is in the State of Illinois; $135,370,436 is in the State of Iowa, and but $294,359,435 in the rest of the United States.

From these figures it will be seen that 38 per cent. is in New York State; 33 per cent. is in the New England States, about 19 per cent. being in Massachusetts; about 8 per cent. in California; 4 per cent. in Pennsylvania; 5 per cent. in Illinois; nearly 4 per cent. in Iowa, and about 8 per cent. in all the remaining States.

It has been computed that, in the New England States, the post-office averages only about fifteen miles from the savings-bank, the distance in the Middle States being twenty-five miles, in the Southern States thirty-three miles, and in the States west of the Rockies fifty-five miles.

To those who fear that these postal banks or depositories will invade the domain of savings-banks or commercial banks, experience in other countries should be sufficient assurance to the contrary. If, as in England, the law should provide for the

merging of postal deposits in Government bonds and the use of all postal funds by the Government, it might follow that a great and needless concentration of money in the Government vaults might occur; but, under the terms of the bill before Congress, such concentration cannot occur. On the contrary, the inevitable tendency must be to keep all of the available money of the country in active circulation in the localities where it is brought to the post-office. Undoubtedly, there are millions of dollars withheld from banks and placed in hiding because of lack of confidence in the banks, or else because the amount in hand is considered too trifling and small to bring to a bank.

Instead of injuring present financial institutions, it would be of great benefit to them and would strengthen their position. Any depositor who at present has dealings with a savings-bank and is getting four per cent. interest would not take his deposit away, and thereby reduce his income one-half by placing it in the post-office. The individual who opens an account with a National or State bank or trust company has the advantage of a check-book, enabling him to pay his bills in a convenient manner, and to have his paper and that of his customers or clients discounted. None of these advantages would accrue to a depositor in the postal savings-bank. Again, when the depositor had accumulated money to the amount of two hundred or three hundred dollars, he would in all probability withdraw it and place it in a savings-bank, where he could obtain much larger returns. Furthermore, in times of nervous fright it would be a benefit to banking institutions (should the depositor place it with the postal savings-bank instead of withdrawing it for the purpose of putting it in hiding), as it would be deposited immediately with the local national bank, thus strengthening that institution and the community.

More than seven million immigrants landed in this country during the past ten years, and it has been demonstrated that in the aggregate immense sums of money have been hoarded or sent away by these people. In many instances, it has been found that, for want of postal savings-banks, money orders are being bought, payable to the purchaser, which are good for one year. There can be no question as to the advisability of encouraging the foreigners within our borders to make such disposition of their savings as will result in a benefit to the communities in

which they are employed. Most of these people come from countries in which postal savings-banks have been long established, and they have little confidence in any depository for savings which is not absolutely vouched for by the Government. In the year ended January 1st, 1908, money orders amounting to $94,892,716 left this country to replenish foreign coffers; and, in addition, many millions were undoubtedly sent through the agency of banks and express companies. Of course, not all of this money was sent by our foreign population, but the greater part of it certainly represented their savings. In fact, it has been brought to my attention that money of the immigrants, on account of its possessors being ignorant of our language and suspicious of our private institutions, is being sent home that it may be placed in the postal savings-banks of their native countries.

To show just what these foreigners are doing, I quote the following from a report of a post-office inspector:

"One week ago, an Italian went to East Liberty Station (Pittsburg) and made out applications for ten money orders of $100 each. He shoved the applications, $1,000, and fees through the window and started away. The clerk called to him to come back and get the orders. His answer was that he hadn't time to wait, but would call for the orders later. His faith in the Government was such that he left his thousand dollars without a receipt of any kind. On Tuesday, a foreigner at the main office here arranged to buy $1,000 worth of money orders. These orders cost him three dollars. He said he was afraid of banks and a safe deposit box would cost him five dollars a year. He could hold these orders for a year, and then cash them, saving two dollars, or he could hold them for seven years. After the first year, payment is made only on a Department warrant, which takes time. This morning, a man at Arsenal Station bought $400 worth of orders, which he said he intended to hold for a year."

The foreign settler should be induced to deposit his earnings in this country, because, after he had accumulated a few hundred dollars, he would not be content to receive merely two per cent. interest, but would either place it in a savings-bank at four per cent., or possibly seek to purchase a home; and, the moment he acquired real property here, he would become a more conservative citizen, would be actively interested in the affairs of the nation, and at the same time would place himself and his dependents beyond the likelihood of becoming public charges. Should his

earnings remain in the postal savings-banks, however, the fact that he had an interest in the Government and something at stake would tend to make him a more desirable citizen.

Under the bill now before Congress, the Postmaster-General is given authority to designate all money-order post-offices (about forty thousand in number) to receive deposits of money for savings.

Accounts may be opened by any person of the age of ten years, and a married woman may open an account free from interference by her husband. A trustee may open an account for another person. No person can open more than one savings account except when acting as trustee for another individual.

A depositor's pass-book will be delivered to each depositor in which the name and other memoranda for identification will be entered, and entry of all deposits shall be made.

One dollar or a larger amount in multiples of ten cents will be necessary to open an account, but deposits of ten cents or multiples thereof will be received after an account is opened.

Upon receiving a deposit, the postmaster is required to enter the same in the pass-book of the depositor and immediately notify the Postmaster-General of the amount of the deposit and the name of the depositor. The Postmaster-General, upon receipt of such notice, is required to send an acknowledgment thereof to the depositor, which acknowledgment shall constitute conclusive evidence of the making of such deposit and serve as a check on the postmaster receiving the deposit.

Interest is allowed at the rate of two per cent. *per annum,* computed annually on the average deposit during each quarter of the year. One thousand dollars is the maximum deposit allowed to the credit of any one person; more than two hundred dollars cannot be deposited in any one month, but interest will not be paid on any amount to the credit of an account in excess of five hundred dollars.

Postal savings-bank funds are to be deposited by the Postmaster-General in national banks located as near as may be in the neighborhood where such deposits are received, at a rate of interest not less than two and a quarter per cent. *per annum.* If deposits cannot be made in national banks at the specified rate of interest, which is not anticipated, the Postmaster-General may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury and the

Attorney-General, invest in State, Territorial, county or municipal bonds. As the Post Office Department is a preferred creditor, it will not demand collateral from the banks in the way of bonds, on deposits which do not exceed the capital of the national bank.

I confidently believe that a postal savings-bank law will be enacted at the next session of Congress, and I have had assurances from more than a majority of the Senators that they will support the measure. The bill has been set for debate beginning on December 14th, and Senator Carter, who has charge of the measure, has every belief that it will pass. It was unanimously reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. The Republican National Convention has just declared in its favor in the Party Platform. The Post Office Department looks for speedy action on the part of the House, because the people are demanding it, as they have a right to do, and as the proposition is better understood opposition ceases.

I desire to repeat that, while postal banks are primarily in the interest of the wage-earner, they will also be mutually beneficial to labor and capital, and prevent the hoarding of money throughout the country.

GEORGE V. L. MEYER.

SOME UNPALATABLE SUGGESTIONS.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

"A THOUSAND expressions," says Heine, "have the Arabs for the horse, the French for love, the Germans for beer, and the English for hanging." Nothing seems to have appealed so vividly to the fancy of our forefathers from the time when a thief could be hanged for stealing the value of a shilling down to the time when our forefathers became our elder brothers, and people could be hanged only for a very few crimes besides murder. When they could be hanged for nothing but murder, the merry conception of hanging still remained, and the fond associations which clustered about the gallows-tree attested the tenderness of our race for the old ideal. Our race is otherwise tough, and its sensibilities are of a leathery consistence which does not readily yield to reason or emotion. This is supposed to be something fine, and to keep us the superiors of the races apt to be carried away by logic or pity. At the period when not only forgers and housebreakers and footpads, but petty larceners were hanged as well as murderers, a man so quite typically good as Doctor Johnson habitually spoke of the popular punishment with complacency, and often with cheerfulness close upon hilarity. He might compassionate certain offenders, and it is well known how hard he tried to move the King to mercy for a clergyman who had imitated the signature of the Earl of Chesterfield; but that all such offenders were justly punished by death he had apparently no doubt. Commoner people were touched in like manner by particular cases, such as that of several persons who were found guilty of stealing some handkerchiefs worth a shilling, but whose lives were saved by the kind-hearted shopkeeper's swearing that the handkerchiefs were worth only ninepence. The convicts were then merely transported for fourteen years,

and one of them lived to write a very agreeable autobiography; but the rule was that thieves were hanged, and rightly, almost blithely. The literature of the time abounds in proofs of the humorous gayety with which Englishmen regarded the favorite expiation. "The Beggar's Opera" is full of such felicities, and that famous masterpiece doubtless contributed many witty expressions to the thousand with which the imagination of our race has caressed it.

There has always and everywhere been a tendency to euphemize the names of punishments, which has probably come from the superexcited humorous sense of the sufferers, or from the intellectual leisure which abounds in the lives of prisoners, and of criminals who are not yet, or yet again, prisoners. Sometimes it seems to come from a wish for scientific precision and succinctness in the lawmakers. A graphic instance is the verb "exoculate," which was created in the necessity of briefly describing the process of putting out the eyes of offenders condemned to lose their sight. Exoculation in the Eastern Empire was largely applied to the next of kin in the case of political evil-doers sentenced to death; but the traveller Vambery saw it, not a generation ago, inflicted upon eight or ten respectable business men in Persia; his description of it is rather terrible. "Decollation" is a polite Latinism for cutting off heads; and there seems an instinctive endeavor for some term in like cases which shall either mask or burlesque the fact. Ever since the introduction of State-homicide by electricity, we have ourselves been seeking a word which should say it comprehensively and inoffensively. We have got no further than "electrocution," a mongrel vocable as hateful to the philological sense as "automobile"; it should be either wholly a Greek derivative or a Latin; "the mixture of the two" is, as Browning says, "a marvel and a curse." But we lack still more a polite or a jocose euphemism for the penalty which the State, in the spirit of Oriental jurisprudence, visits upon the family of a man sentenced to a term in prison. I do not mean the infamy; society in its less organized form looks after that; but I mean the total deprivation of the criminal's family of the support, such as it was, which it received from him. "Pauperization" would do, but it seems a weak word, and it has been used so often in warning people not to give alms, that the sharper primitive sense is worn off it.

We require still some locution which shall fully express the fact, and yet shall travesty or soften it so that it shall either amuse us or reconcile us to it through an elegant exactness of epithet. Possibly the convicts themselves have a phrase for it; but, as it is, the fact is not even roughly realized by the public at large, as it might be if sentences were run to some such effect as that John Doe, or Mary Doe, should be imprisoned in the penitentiary for five or ten or fifteen years, and that, in the mean time, his or her children, or dependent father, mother, brothers or sisters should be denied his or her earnings, which the State should seize and retain as an added punishment.

Sometimes, in visiting Courts of Justice, as they are called, it has seemed to me that all sentences were still too severe. I have, for instance, found it monstrous that for a very trifling theft, which would indeed once have hanged a man or a boy, the culprit should be sent up, or sent over, as the direction of the prison chanced to be, for say three months. As for a sentence of ten or fifteen years one must feel that it should never be passed for anything but for the most heinous offence; and I hold now that any added punishment, any accumulated misery, is atrocious, especially if it falls upon the convict's family, as it chiefly must when the State confiscates the prisoner's earnings. Even when he has no family, it is hardly less abominable to withhold his wages, for when he comes out of prison at the end of his time, he comes out an exasperated beggar, whom, if he is known to have been a felon, no one will willingly employ and very few befriend. Wretches like that have then nothing before them but crime, and they commit new crimes because they must; they go back to prison, and so continue on in a vicious circle to the end. They swarm by hundreds of thousands all over the land, in and out of jail, and their lot seems without hope unless there is some hope for them in such a scheme as a recent observer has suggested. One cannot seriously consider the proposition of the United States Attorney-General that they shall be put to death after a certain number of repetitions of their offences against society, though that suggestion is something which should give him much serious thought hereafter. But a writer in a recent number of a sociological journal proposes, rather less impossibly, the establishment of a "Court of Rehabilitation," as he calls it. This Court shall inquire into the conduct of the pris-

oners, whose sentences shall all have been made indeterminate, and whose imprisonment shall end when the fact of their genuine repentance is convincingly ascertained. A verdict of the Court of Rehabilitation in their favor shall be the warrant to society that they are fit to enter upon some honest employment, and may be safely trusted with life and property when they are liberated. I need not follow the reasoning by which the writer seeks to persuade us that the inquiries of such a court are practicable, and that its finding may be confidently accepted. What is self-evident is that it would be infinitely better than nothing, and that the criminals whom it rehabilitated would be incomparably usefuller men than those whom a determinate sentence now frees to prey upon society.

Indeterminate sentences we already have, but there is nothing to certify formally to the public that the prisoner who comes out sooner is a fitter man to resume his economic and social place than the prisoner who comes out later. He has the stigma upon him, and his fellow men are not invited to trust him as they would be if a verdict of the Court of Rehabilitation declared him, by every reasonable test, a penitent man. The writer who urges the establishment of such a tribunal bases his argument in its favor on the strong belief that when a prisoner has no hope of escape but through reform he will accept the conditions, and in mere self-interest make the effort to be henceforward an honest man, with those helps to his reform which assiduous moral and intellectual training in prison will have supplied him. This is taking him on a very low plane, but the plane is not lower than that on which we all, who have somehow kept out of jail, try, from time to time, to rebuild our characters; and by a very little effort we can sympathize with a reformer who asks our sympathy on the level of our average human nature.

But we have to do here only with his incidental suggestion (which I will own has reminded me of the neglected purpose of the present essay) that the criminal shall be paid fair wages by the State during his imprisonment, and that when he is released he shall be given his earnings to live upon until he can find something to do. This part of the scheme is not so novel as the whole scheme, and it seems more immediately practicable. It has been more than once proposed in different States: only winter before last, a bill to enact it was, I believe, introduced into the Ohio

legislature, where it probably met the accustomed fate of such bills at the hands of the economists who look to it that the State, or at least the contractors, shall profit by the unpaid labor of convicts. Such economists have perpetuated with us those ideals of Oriental jurisprudence by which the innocent are made to suffer as much as possible with the guilty; and they insist that, when a criminal is sent to prison, his family shall be left to starve, while the State sets him a thief's example by stealing his wages. It is true that the State is supposed to sin against him in the interests of society; but it is possible that, upon closer study, it might be found that the interests of society could be better served by the State's paying currently to the criminal's family—his worse than widow, his worse than orphans—his earnings at a rate based upon the Trades Unions' scale of wages; or, if he has no such dependents, by giving them to the criminal himself when he leaves its custody. This might at least dispose of the grievance which the Unions have sometimes had with the State about prison cheap labor. As it is, convicts are taught trades, but organized labor protests against their exercise of their trades in prison; and, when they return to the world, they remain beggars till they can again become criminals. But, if they were given full wages in prison, they would, after paying the State all that their board, lodging and clothing were worth, still have money enough to live on till they could approve themselves worthy of honest work.

This is the business view of the matter; if we regard it from a higher point, I hope my readers will agree that the State might well pay the convict his hire merely because it is just to do so. At any rate, I venture the conjecture; and, while I am about it, I have another observation to make. We are all, in and out of jail, doing a great deal more for the State than it does for us, severally or collectively, and we ought to try, as a matter of duty toward one another, to make the State do its part; we ought to educate the State in its duties to the citizen. In a war of invasion, the State may draft us into its service and imperil our lives and limbs for an office-boy's wages; or, in any war, it may invite us to volunteer, with the promise of half or quarter pay in the form of a pension much begrudged us by patriots not drafted, or not volunteering. Even in time of peace, the State levies taxes, and imposes tasks upon us for which it makes no adequate

return. It obliges us to serve on juries for two dollars a day, while our proper incomes languish and our affairs fall into disorder. It maintains costly administrations which will not mend or clean our streets, and constabularies against which we have no recourse when they fail to protect our lives or limbs. If a burglar breaks into our houses, the city, which makes us pay its police for our protection, does not make good our losses; if trains, or trolleys, or motors maim us, the State does not pay us, but ironically allows us to bring suit for damages. If any wrong can be made to lie against the State, the State will right it only upon some such long delay and final compulsion as none but the most thrifty and frugal lover of his country could have the heart to inflict upon the injured.

The State is still, after individual despots have been largely modified or eliminated, a collective despot, mostly inexorable, almost irresponsible, and entirely inaccessible to those personal appeals which have sometimes moved the obsolete or obsolescent tyrants to pity. In its selfishness and meanness, it is largely the legislated and organized ideal of the lowest and stupidest of its citizens, whose daily life is nearest the level of barbarism. Justice must be extorted from it: a rogue may readily enrich himself in its service, but an honest man shall spend his life in a vain effort to get his due. Such facts incline us naturally to question any proposition which seems to affect the nature of the State. If the State has always stolen the wages of its prisoners, it seems to our patriotism a very good reason why it should always do so. If it has left for every, or for every other, convict whom it robs of his earnings a helpless family to suffer for want of his support, its practice is sufficient proof of its right to punish the innocent with the guilty. If it turns the destitute convict loose at the end of his sentence more depraved than at the beginning, and practically doomed to incur another imprisonment, there must be something in the nature of things which justifies the State in a cruelty apparently so monstrous.

Still, it is not impossible that the State should be something different. Even that lowest and stupidest citizen whose ideals the State so largely embodies is human. Such a citizen may wake in the dawn of some brighter day and perceive by the unwonted light that it is not well to compel a man to the repetition of crime when there is a chance of saving the community from his

renewed depredations. "Of course," the lowest and stupidest citizen will reason, "there must be something right in the present custom, just as there was formerly something right in hanging a man for the theft of a shilling; but perhaps it had better be looked into. The actual arrangement seems to be expensive."

When the lowest and stupidest citizen—who may be occupying a very high place socially, politically and financially—comes to this reasoning, it may occur to him that there is a feature of our criminal procedure which may affect him, though hitherto he has escaped. In this luminous moment it may appear to him rather droll that a citizen, not even the lowest and stupidest, may be arrested on a charge of which the genius of our law holds him innocent until he is proved guilty, and may be kept in jail till it is convenient for the State to try him, while all the sagacity of the police and all the ingenuity of the prosecution are employed in extorting and accumulating and contriving proofs of his guilt. When he is brought to trial, his torment is protracted through weeks or months, while the prosecution and the defence fight over him for his life. After the examination of the witnesses and the testimony of experts and squabble of counsel, the State will claim the last word in the summing up, speaking twice where the defence may speak but once, and outraging a yet innocent man by every conceivable defamation, by impassioned appeals to the prejudices of the jurymen, by flattery of their passions, by every insinuation from the testimony in which there is perhaps no direct proof whatever against him. All the vulgar and shabby arts of rhetoric may be employed to sway the weary minds of the twelve men forced from their proper affairs at two dollars a day, to decide whether he is guilty or not. The judge then charges them, wisely or unwisely, but unquestionably from his preoccupations concerning the matter, and they find the accused guilty or not guilty. If they find him guilty, he is sent to the death chamber to await his turn in the electric chair. His counsel may now contrive to stay execution of his sentence by this device and that, for weeks, months and years. Then, if he is brought to trial again, he may be declared innocent, as innocent while he rested in the shadow of death as ever he was, or as any of us is.

But what reparation does the State make him for his time, of which it has wasted years, and for the agony which it has in-

flicted upon an innocent man? Does it compute his wrong in money, and offer to recompense him for his loss and pain? Does it formally claim the sovereign right, the sacred privilege, of paying his counsel, the men who have saved him from its error, and kept from its annals the stain of his guiltless death? Does it declare, with forms of peculiar solemnity, in some special session of its highest tribunal, that he has been deeply wronged and that now he must be righted in the esteem of all just men? Nothing of the kind. It simply lets him go, under the cloud that it does nothing else to lift from him, and leaves him to pay the whole cost of his fight for life. Sometimes there is popular applause at the acquittal of an accused man, and then an officer commands silence in the court. But ought there to be silence in the court? Would not the court's dignity be more respected by a joyful noise, which should echo through all the land, proclaiming the escape of the State from the commission of a disgraceful blunder? As yet, the courts think not; but the circumstances may yet affect even the sort of citizen we have been imagining as grotesque. Such a citizen may say, to be sure, that we are not different from the rest of the civilized world in these features of our criminal procedure, and he can justly hold that nowhere is an accused person indemnified for his losses through the blundering of the State. He can say, and probably will continue to say, that it is enough for the accused to have got off. But is it?

W. D. Howells.

THE NEW IRELAND—VI.

THE GAELIC LEAGUE.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

I HAVE already expressed and reiterated my opinion that the essence of "the new Ireland" is the determination of the Irish people to build up an Irish character and an Irish individuality in an Irish atmosphere. It is a determination that manifests itself in many ways, politically in the Sinn Féin movement, economically in the industrial revival and in the reorganization of agriculture on a cooperative basis, spiritually and linguistically in the Gaelic League. Of all these energizing forces the Gaelic League, from more than one standpoint, appeals to me as the most interesting and the most fundamental. Ireland to-day, as ever, is the joyous hunting-ground of the political quack. One man will tell you that all she needs is Home Rule; another, that a truce to agitation and the unflinching maintenance of law and order are her only desiderata; a third puts the nationalization of the railways in the forefront of his programme of regeneration; a fourth stakes everything on the reclamation of the peat bogs and their conversion into sources of industrial motive-power; a fifth declares that there can be no hope for Ireland until the people have broken loose from clerical leading strings. I do not quarrel with any of these specifics; Ireland, quite conceivably, may need them all. But I cannot persuade myself that, either individually or collectively, they quite reach the heart of the Irish problem. The deepest and most permanent questions involved in that problem, as I see it, are questions not of constitutional change or adaptation, not primarily of material development or of mental emancipation, but of character and of spirit—questions not of Ireland, but of Irish men and women. I am inclined, therefore,

to hold that Dr. Douglas Hyde, the Irish Mistral, the founder of the Gaelic League and its President, came nearer the truth when he proclaimed that Ireland was ceasing to be Irish, and could only realize her true self by becoming Irish once more.

That the Irish are not Irish is no paradox. I do not, of course, mean to imply that in travelling through the country as an uninitiated Englishman I was not made conscious of something foreign in the atmosphere, and of a mode of life and a cast of thought and temperament that, whatever else they might be, were certainly not English. But, on the whole, nothing more surprised me than to note how far the process of Anglicization had spread. The Irish claim to be a nation, but they are remarkably destitute of the distinctive signs of a separate people. An average Londoner might well be puzzled to decide in what particulars or to what degree the Irish impressed him as being more alien than the men of rural Yorkshire or Cornwall. They would strike him as being English provincials with a difference —a difference that was far from amounting to the virtue of a genuine nationality. He would observe, of course, certain local idiosyncrasies of speech and manners; but their effect would be easily outweighed by the evidence that would confront him on every side of the completeness of English domination; and, if he stopped to think about the matter at all, he would probably conclude that a people reading, speaking and writing practically nothing but English, wearing English dress, playing English games, singing English music-hall songs, copying English ways, and largely governed by English social conventions, had forfeited their right to be considered a separate nation. And it is, I think, unquestionably the fact that the nineteenth century crushed out of the Irish people nearly all the characteristics that made them a distinctive entity. It found them Irish; it left them imitation English. It destroyed their language, their pastimes, their music, their special social atmosphere. One by one, the links that bound them to their past were snapped. One by one, the emblems of their separateness disappeared. A hundred years ago, Irish was spoken up to the gates of Dublin. It has now dropped to be a mere fugitive tongue of the outskirts. When the Gaelic League sprang to its rescue, some fourteen years ago, there were only some 38,000 people who spoke Irish and nothing else, and less than one-seventh of the total population even understood it.

There is a Dutch proverb which says, "No language, no nation." In that abrupt form the dictum will hardly bear a moment's historical analysis. But it is, I think, a safe assertion that a common speech spreads its roots far down in the complex psychology of nationhood; and it is not less certain that a nation cannot, as the Irish have done, lose its ancestral tongue without losing at the same time a good deal more. A people who allow their native speech to sink into disuse or to linger only in remote seaboard places, and who become habituated to an alien tongue, insensibly but inevitably find that they have parted with nearly all that makes them an individual nationality, that for them the past loses its meaning and its message, and that their minds, their manners, their ideals, the whole bent of their civilization, are marked with an alien stamp. And this to a very great extent is what has happened to the Irish. The nineteenth century, by killing their language, killed the very soul of the people. It cut them off from their past and from everything that made them a separate organism. It obliterated, where it did not uproot, their traditions, deflected their instinctive habits of thought, and sought to amalgamate them with a foreign, overpowering, but essentially repugnant, civilization. "To all but the wilfully blind or the hopelessly thoughtless and unobservant," said a distinguished Irishman nine years ago, "it is painfully evident that we are fast losing our national identity, our national distinctiveness, our racial characteristics. . . . National customs, traits and ideals are disappearing fast. We are densely, abysmally ignorant of our history, and not of our history merely, but of everything appertaining to our past—of our laws, our customs, our polity, our social system, our literature, our folk-lore, and of the language which enshrines them all and which alone can adequately and securely perpetuate them. Of all these things we, as a nation, know little or nothing, and seem to care less. The iron has entered our souls. We palm ourselves on our patriotism and nationalism, whereas in many vital respects we have become almost completely Anglicized." That is true and frank —frank, I mean, because it places the responsibility where it belongs. The Irish have a rather charming way of never admitting that they are to blame for anything. They are the most stubbornly self-exculpatory of peoples. For whatever is amiss in their social or political or economic conditions, the

fault is always England's, never their own. Characteristically enough, they have tried to cast upon the broad British doorstep the responsibility for the decay of Gaelic. They trace its decline to the imposition in the 'thirties of an English-made educational system that penalized, where it did not ignore, the native tongue. I have not the least intention of defending that system. The idea of those who devised it seemed to be that to educate the Irish you had first to wring everything that was distinctively Irish out of them. The children grew up impartially ignorant of both English and Irish, knowing nothing of their national past, of who or what they were. The thread of historical continuity came, as it were, to a sudden end in these denationalized outcasts, cut off from their own civilization and unable to assimilate another's.

But it is impossible to stamp out a language which the people are determined to keep alive. It was not England that murdered Irish civilization; it was Irish civilization that committed suicide. Had the Irish shown one-tenth of the earnestness in preserving their ancestral tongue that they showed in preserving their ancestral religion, Ireland would to-day be a bilingual country. The truth is that the people welcomed, and joined in hastening, the decline of Gaelic. Parents hung a tally, a small block of wood, around the necks of their children, and a notch was made on it for every word of Irish they were heard to speak; and the schoolmaster counted the notches and dealt with the pupils accordingly. The priesthood did more than any other body of Irishmen towards killing the national language. The Protestants had started a proselytizing movement among the Irish-speaking peasants. Tracts and pamphlets written in Irish, Bible-readers and missionaries familiar with the vernacular, spread all over the south and west. The Catholics met the attack by banning the Irish language, frowning even upon its domestic use, and procuring the destruction, wherever possible, of Gaelic books and manuscripts. It ceased to be the language of the pulpit, of education, of catechism, of the liturgies, of the fair and, finally, of the fireside. Then came O'Connell and the famine. O'Connell, by far the most powerful Irishman of the last century, knew Irish from his childhood, and, had he chosen, could have established it as the settled language of the people. But he had no conception either of how its use would fortify or its

oblivion disintegrate the spirit of Irish nationality. He did worse than nothing for it. Thousands probably learned English simply that they might be able to follow his speeches. He never, I believe, made a public speech in Irish; never attempted in any way to stay its decline or to foster its revival. On the contrary, he boycotted and suppressed it; and what little the weight of his influence failed to overthrow, the vast exodus of Irish-speaking peasants after the famine came to crush. No speech could well have fallen lower. Despised, trampled upon, disowned, it fell in sixty-odd years from the language of a literature into little more than a mere dialect of the barren and backward west. And with it the true fibre of Irish nationhood began to rot away—the traditions, the habits of thought, the pride and consciousness of the past, all that makes a virile and distinctive people. The very idea of nationality, in anything but its narrowest political sense, seems to have perished. The people are appallingly ignorant of their own past, except in so far as it discredits England. Of all that there is in it that should be the glory of every Irishman they know next to nothing. They have drifted all unconsciously into the position of racial nondescripts. They can never, of course, become wholly Saxon; they can never cease to retain something of the Celt; but they stood, fifteen years ago, an awful chance of developing into a colorless hybrid, half provincial English, half renegade and emasculated Irish.

It was this threatened bankruptcy of a civilization that the Gaelic League was formed to avert. It set out to recover for Ireland her lost language, her authentic culture. Its founders were moved by the same impulse of national regeneration that has thrilled in turn Poland and Hungary, Bohemia and Finland. No ideal less splendid could have sustained them through the initial years of hopelessness. They were determined to arouse and appeal to a higher and all-embracing nationality. Creeds, parties, sections, races, interests, all the rigid lines of Irish division and subdivision, they absolutely disregarded. They made their League from the start non-political and non-sectarian. Men of little fame or influence and with even less money, they suddenly called upon all Irishmen to devote themselves—I quote from the Constitution of the League—to the "preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland and the extension of its use as a spoken tongue." For a long while the response to their

appeal was slow, timid and fitful. But, looking back on their fourteen years of labor, they may fairly pride themselves on a phenomenal success. The Gaelic League to-day boasts of an enrolled membership of one hundred thousand, with more than nine hundred branches throughout the country. It maintains fourteen regular organizers and eighty travelling teachers. It has founded six training colleges for the education of instructors in Gaelic. It claims to have forced the teaching of Irish into three thousand schools. It has secured from the Board of National Education an acknowledgment of the right of every Irish child in every national school to be taught Irish as an ordinary subject. In districts that are wholly or partly Irish-speaking, it has succeeded in introducing an official bilingual programme of instruction. It has made a knowledge of Gaelic essential to candidates for a large number of public offices. At this moment, there are probably not less than a quarter of a million of Irish people, children and adults, learning Irish. The Gaelic League is one of the largest and most successful publishing firms in the country. It organizes festivals and summer schools; it prints a weekly and a monthly journal; it holds public contests and distributes prizes. One meets its influence everywhere. You can hardly go into an Irish town without finding one or two names written in Gaelic over the doors of the shops. You can hardly pick up an Irish paper without finding a column at least printed in Gaelic. In Dublin the names of the streets appear both in English and in Irish. Bank managers who refuse to cash checks signed in Gaelic, railway managers who see no reason why they should go to the expense of having the names of their stations placarded in Gaelic, find themselves enthusiastically denounced from one end of the country to the other.

Nor is it only with the language that the Gaelic League concerns itself. Music, oratory, singing, dancing and the revival of the old Gaelic games all come within its scope. It is the only really national university that Ireland possesses, and its splendid success means that education in Ireland is to become permeated with Irish ideas and brought into touch with the historic genius of the people, and that Ireland is to be made once more an interesting country for Irishmen to live in. But even that is far from telling the whole story. You cannot revive a dying tongue without first touching the secret chord of national patriotism.

Gaelic is not an easy language and the average indolent Irishman will not rouse himself to grapple with its difficulties unless it is presented to him in the light of a high duty, unless he is passionately convinced that, so long as he is ignorant of Irish, he does not deserve to be called an Irishman. But when that point of exaltation is reached, many consequences follow that seem, at first sight, to have little or nothing to do with a mere literary renaissance. I recall, among a hundred similar instances, the case of a grocer's assistant in a small town in County Fermanagh whom the impulse of the Gaelic League had gripped and conquered. All day he wrapped up parcels of tea and sugar; at night he studied Gaelic; and when he had mastered it he began to teach it. That man was unconsciously building up a twofold character. The pleasures he denied himself, the ridicule he disregarded and lived down, the mental alertness which he cultivated, were in themselves a stringent course in self-discipline. He had found an ideal, a purpose, a supreme objective, to live and work for; and in pursuing them he could not but develop courage, veracity and the habit of clear thinking. But besides this he was becoming Irish; he was rearing a new and searching sense of nationality; he was stepping into possession of a historical birthright, the mere conception of which had never dawned on him before. Such a man, realizing himself and his country for the first time, would not, indeed could not, confine his awakened patriotism to the mere mastery of Gaelic. He would inevitably be led on to wishing Ireland to be Irish all through, Irish not only in her language, but in her industries, her government, her pastimes, her mode of life. That has been the experience of all countries that have suddenly revived and reconquered the use of their ancestral tongue. Such countries are filled with an irresistible ambition to be self-contained and self-sufficient, to have the sole ordering of their own affairs, to wear clothes of their own manufacture, to consume products of their own growing. It is so in Ireland. Dr. Douglas Hyde has himself described the Gaelic League as "an educational body tinged with an industrial strain." Its first object is literary; its second is social and economic. It is a strong and ardent supporter of temperance. It has thrown itself heart and soul into popularizing the sale of Irish goods and products. It has done more than any other agency to brighten village life, to raise the stand-

ard of rural economy, and to implant among the Irish peasantry a higher conception of the comforts and embellishments of the home. And that is the answer to the "practical" critic who scoffs at the Irish renaissance as so much sentimental nonsense. I am persuaded that, wherever the Gaelic League goes, a spirit of intellectual curiosity, of self-respect, of self-sacrifice, and of nationality based on knowledge, follows after. Life becomes more purposeful and less gloomy for those whom its propaganda has touched, their character is strengthened, their interests immensely widened. To lead the Irish people back to the baptismal font of their true nationality, to stimulate among them a study of their native tongue and the cultivation of all those elements that make them a distinctive entity, is not to render them unpractical or to unfit them in any way for material success in life. It is, on the contrary, to fill them with a new initiative, alertness, backbone and independence. All other Leagues in Irish history have destroyed character or demoralized it. The Gaelic League makes it.

There is something of real sublimity in such a movement; no man with any sensibilities at all can watch its progress unmoved. To link Irishmen with their past that they may the better face their future; to make clear to them that, just as Ireland has a past of which all Irishmen may be proud, so she has a future in which all Irishmen may unite; to check—I quote from one of the League's appeals—"the steam-roller of an imperfect and vulgarizing Anglicization which was being passed over the face of Ireland, blotting out everything native, no matter how valuable or how interesting, and leaving behind it one dead level of barren imitation and of hopeless intellectual stagnation"; to aim at creating "a self-contained, self-sufficing Irish Ireland, instead of a weak, backboneless imitation of England, a country wry-necked from looking over its left shoulder to see what the English fashion-plates are doing before it will stir a step itself"; to propagate a sense of nationality above politics and beyond them; to form character and marshal it against the hectic pretences, the malingering "patriotism," the shams, the lies and the basenesses that are the disfiguring curse of Irish life; to revive an ancient language, a great tradition of learning and culture, and the customs and recreations of an old and attractive society; and to mitigate the clash and jar of political, sectarian

and social strife by providing Irishmen with a new interest of mind and heart, a broad and tolerant platform on which all may meet and fraternize—this seems to me a work of true greatness. It is an inspiring mission of internal reconciliation on which the directors of the League find themselves engaged. They will never be satisfied, as Dr. Douglas Hyde has said, "until, throughout the whole of Ireland, man grasps man in peace and unity."

I do not, however, intend it to be understood that the Gaelic League is carrying all before it. It has its full share of enemies and detractors. The Unionists for the most part stand aloof from it, seeing in the intensified spirit of nationality which it evokes one more menace to the maintenance of English influence, and it is by no means certain that the next Unionist Government may not set its face against the extension of the bilingual programme in the schools or withdraw the fees that the teachers at present receive for teaching Gaelic as an extra subject. From Trinity College, again, the headquarters of the culture and the prejudices of Protestant and Unionist Ireland, a steady stream of opposition is directed against the introduction of Irish into the higher education of the country; the idea of reviving it is mercilessly ridiculed; and even the claims of Gaelic to be anything more than a species of folk-lore are disallowed. The "practical" man of business, I need scarcely add, scoffs at the entire movement, asks triumphantly how Ireland will be a penny the better for its success, cannot conceive why any one should prefer a more or less bastard dialect to the language of a great literature and a great commerce, known and spoken the world over, and regards the attempt to resurrect it partly as a pose and partly as an outbreak of political lunacy. If the Irish, he exclaims, must learn something, if English does not satisfy them, let them learn French or German or some other useful and profitable tongue, instead of trying to revive a moribund language that is as inadequate as the Boer *taal* for the purposes of twentieth-century intercourse, and the effect of which can only be to separate those who speak it still further from the living world. But the most formidable obstacles in the path of the League's progress are the concealed and the invisible. In the presence of any such movement as this one asks one's self, instinctively and not without trepidation, Have the Irish the clear vision, the

grit, the tenacity to carry it on to victory, or will they, after going a certain distance, fall as so often before, faint and weary, by the roadside? One dare not hazard a too-confident prophecy, but my faith, I confess, is very great. Here, at any rate, is a movement of mental and spiritual emancipation such as a bare decade ago would have been thought incredible. It is a movement wholly Irish in its inception and in its objective, springing from the people and supported by them; and it has already gone farther and has become involved in greater implications than those who launched it could possibly have foreseen. Ireland has definitely turned her back on all schemes of attaining Home Rule by force of arms. She has not abandoned the hope of winning it by Parliamentary pressure and peaceful agitation. But, in the mean time, she is realizing that there is one form of enfranchisement that it rests solely with herself to achieve, the enfranchisement of the national soul, the recovery of the lost or dwindling spirit of unity and historical consciousness. An Irish Ireland, I for one am convinced, is an Ireland morally made over, mistress of her fate, and strengthened beyond computation for both the material and the political struggle. It is to this consummation that the influence of the Gaelic League tends, and not of the League only, but of that whole renaissance which has already brought to birth the beginnings of a national drama and finds a vivid and appealing interpretation in a score of poets, essayists and playwrights.

One cannot, however, leave the matter there. To do so would be to have wholly failed to "place" the League among the many agitations of Irish life and politics. It is impossible to resist inquiring how a movement, so vital and energizing, affects or is affected by those other influences that play upon the Irish mind. What are its relations, for instance, with the Roman Catholic Church, and what with the politicians? How does it stand in regard to the English connection? In fighting the social and intellectual Anglicization of the country, is it also fighting, consciously or otherwise, for political separation? May not the spirit it has evoked, genuinely pro-Irish as it is, be not less genuinely anti-English? It will not do to reply to these queries by merely pointing to the Constitution of the League and noting the declaration of its "non-political and non-sectarian" character. You might as well try to avoid the influence of race in

the affairs of Austria-Hungary as of politics and religion in the affairs of Ireland. The League has, it is true, managed to preserve its independence of sects and parties. Though the great majority of its members are Nationalists and Catholics, its President is a Protestant and many Protestants and Unionists sit upon its councils. There is no such thing as a Gaelic League vote; no party can claim that it owns the League; as an organized body it takes no part in elections.

Very much the same may be said of the League's connection with the Church. The priesthood instinctively apprehended the dangers of allowing a popular movement of so formidable a character to develop without clerical guidance. The officials of the League, on their part, realizing that their best, if not their sole, chance of final success lay in introducing the teaching of Gaelic into the schools—and the schools in Ireland, I must again remind my readers, are a jealously guarded priestly preserve—were anxious not to alienate the Church. But, though the growth of the League owes an immense debt to the Catholic clergy, and would not have been possible without their assistance, it is, in my judgment, none the less true that the essential tendency of the Gaelic revival is towards anti-clericalism. Anything that makes Irishmen more independent and self-reliant, and that rouses them to a sustained intellectual exertion, must in time tell against priestly interference in secular affairs. A conflict with the Church, I regard as one of the certainties of the future. Nor is it, in my conviction, less axiomatic that the League is bound to have political results. The spirit it has created cannot be dissociated from politics. In emphasizing their racial separateness, the Irish are giving a new turn and a new vehemence to the old demand for Home Rule as well as arming themselves with a new power for the enforcement of that demand. The League, as I see it, while not a political army in itself, is a force from which political armies can be, will be and are being recruited. It may yet serve as a feeder for the Sinn Féin organization; its animating spirit is essentially the Sinn Féin spirit. Of all the agencies that are working for the regeneration of Ireland from within, the Gaelic League impresses me as the most hopeful, the most interesting and the most constructive.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be Continued.)

INJUNCTIONS IN LABOR DISPUTES.

BY FRANCIS M. BURDICK, DWIGHT PROFESSOR OF LAW IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE outburst of criticism upon the use of injunctions in labor controversies which characterized the last session of Congress was a sure harbinger of a Presidential campaign. During preceding sessions Senators and Representatives had appeared almost oblivious to the "judicial outrages" which "Federal tyrants," in the fashion of judges, were perpetrating upon good and innocent men by "Star Chamber proceedings, and traps for trying, convicting and imprisoning them." But the early days of the Sixtieth Congress witnessed a great awakening. Over thirty bills restraining and regulating the writ of injunction were introduced.

Mr. Henry, of Texas, in a speech from which the above-quoted phrases are taken, compliments himself upon being the earliest proponent in Congress of this sort of legislation. But even he must yield precedence in this great awakening to the President, who, in his Messages to Congress, called "attention to the need of some action in connection with the abuse of injunctions in labor cases." "It is all wrong," he declared, "to use the injunction to prevent the entirely proper and legitimate action of labor organizations in their struggle for industrial betterment, or under the guise of protecting property rights unwarrantably to invade the fundamental rights of the individual."

It is a sad defect, we submit, as well in the Presidential Messages as in the more impassioned speech of the Congressman, that the names of the judicial tyrants and abusers of the injunction are not vouchsafed. Surely, if such grievous wrongs have been committed, they are matters of record, and it should be easy to name each wrong-doer: to brand him with the charge,

"Thou art the man." True, such a course would call for real courage, and, above all, for accurate information. But it is the only course that is fair towards the judiciary as a body. Moreover, any judge who, "under the guise of protecting property rights," has "unwarrantably invaded the fundamental rights of the individual," is unfit to wear the judicial ermine. If subject to removal by the President, he should be summarily dismissed. If not so subject, the President should make every proper effort to have him impeached. The fact that no such action has been taken, or effort put forth, justifies the suspicion that this alleged judicial offender is but a figment of Presidential campaign fancy.

Mr. Taft puts the case for legislative regulation much more mildly. He writes to the Ohio labor organizations:

"I have taken occasion to say in public speeches that the power to issue injunctions *ex parte* has given rise to certain abuses and injustices to the laborers engaged in the peaceful strike. Men leave employment on a strike, counsel for the employer applies to a judge and presents an affidavit averring fear of threatened violence, and making such a case on the *ex parte* statement that the judge feels called upon to issue a temporary restraining order. This is served upon all the strikers; they are not lawyers; their fears are aroused by the process with which they are not acquainted, and, although their purpose may have been entirely lawful, their common determination to carry through the strike is weakened by an order which they have never had an opportunity to question, and which is calculated to discourage their proceeding in their original purpose. To avoid this injustice, I believe, as I have already said, that the Federal statute might well be made what it was originally, requiring notice and a hearing before an injunction issues."

It will be observed that Mr. Taft makes no charge of judicial dereliction in this matter. The abuses and injustices are due to the misleading affidavits of the employer. Upon these affidavits he gets a temporary injunction against threatened violence by strikers; and the latter, mistaking it for an injunction against a peaceful strike, are weakened and discouraged, and the strike collapses. Here again the present writer yearns for a bill of particulars. He would like to have a concrete example of a strike collapsing in this way. For a number of years he has had occasion to follow this class of legislation with care, but without retainer from either employer or employed; and a case of the sort supposed by Mr. Taft has never fallen under his notice. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine such a case.

In the first place, whenever an *ex parte* injunction is granted,

provision is made for an early hearing of a motion to show cause why it should not be continued. Such was Mr. Taft's own practice when judge, as shown in the Toledo, Ann Arbor and Michigan Railway case, where he granted an *ex parte* injunction against Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Undoubtedly, striking laborers are not lawyers; but every strike of sufficient importance to be enjoined is under the control of professional labor leaders, and commands abundant legal advice. It is well settled that an *ex parte* injunction will not be granted against a mere strike. Every laborer knows this. It was repeatedly decided by Judge Taft, and admitted by the hypothetical case of Candidate Taft; for his supposed affidavit avers fear of violence. Of course, the injunction would be confined to the case made by the affidavit and, hence, would restrain the strikers from the use of violence only. If the affidavit presented a case of threatened boycott, the order would enjoin against that; but, as Judge Taft said in Thomas *vs.* Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway (62 Fed., 803), when punishing Phelan for contempt:

"The distinction between an ordinary lawful and peaceable strike, entered upon to obtain concessions in the terms of the strikers' employment, and a boycott, is not a fanciful one, or one which needs the power of fine distinction to determine which is which. *Every laboring man recognizes the one or the other as quickly as a lawyer or a judge.*"

We need only to appeal from Candidate Taft to Judge Taft to discover that no set of laborers, who strike for a purpose entirely lawful, will be weakened, discouraged and defeated by a temporary injunction against violent boycotting or other unlawful misconduct on their part. Dealing with the argument that "a preliminary injunction ends the strike," a learned Federal judge has well said: "The defendants will not be required to abandon a lawfully conducted strike; and, if they do abandon it, this would be voluntary, and a confession on their part that only by lawlessness can the strike be successfully maintained."

In several reported cases, the original order has been modified upon defendants' request, because its terms were too broad or indefinite, and might seem to include mere lawful persuasion and other peaceful acts. Such are the cases of Plant *vs.* Woods (176 Mass., 492), Gray *vs.* Building Trades Council (91 Minn., 171) and Jetton-Dreckle Lumber Co. *vs.* Mather ([Fla.] 43 So.,

590). In others, the order has been set aside, because the plaintiff's affidavits have been overborne by defendant's evidence, as in Allis Chalmers Co. *vs.* Iron Moulders' Union (150 Fed., 155), Wabash Railway Co. *vs.* Hannahan (121 Fed., 563) and Van der Plant *vs.* Undertakers' Association (70 N. J. Eq., 116). But in none, so far as the writer has discovered, has the temporary injunction caused a collapse of the strike. Indeed, as the Chancellor of New Jersey remarked in denying a motion to dissolve an order enjoining a threatened boycott: "If the defendants do not intend to do the things forbidden by the restraining order, then the order will do them no harm."

The fact referred to, that *ex parte* injunctions have been modified or set aside upon the opposing affidavits of striking laborers, shows that they know their rights and have only to assert them, precisely as any other litigants would do in case of an injunction, in order to secure their prompt and even jealous enforcement by the courts.

It is no indication of judicial abuse of this process that an *ex parte* order has been modified occasionally.

In the famous case of Arthur *vs.* Oakes (63 Fed., 310) the judge who granted the *ex parte* injunction modified it, upon Chief Arthur's application, by striking out a clause which might be construed to restrain him from giving friendly advice to the employees of the railways, as a body or individually. Said the judge:

> "The language of a writ of injunction should be clear and explicit, and, if possible, above criticism as to its meaning. Since, therefore, the language of this particular phrase may be misconceived, the motion in that respect will be granted, and the clause stricken from the writ."

Surely no fair-minded man can justly complain of judges who are thus ready to rectify mistakes; and, it is submitted, no one can study the judicial opinions in labor injunction cases without being impressed with the anxiety of the courts to do full justice to the employees.

The fact that, now and then, an *ex parte* order has been too broad in its terms, or has been induced by exaggerated, or even false, statements on the part of employers, furnishes no sufficient ground for the prohibitory legislation demanded by labor leaders. As well might legislation be invoked to prohibit courts of equity from granting injunctions against nuisances, trespass,

waste and other irreparable injuries to property, because at times such a writ was issued improvidently or on untrustworthy affidavits. Moreover, the courts everywhere are demonstrating their ability and desire to limit injunctions in labor disputes to those acts or threats of laborers which are clearly unlawful, such as violence, intimidation or malicious boycotts.

The topic came before the Supreme Court of Florida for the first time in April, 1907. An *ex parte* order had been granted by a circuit judge, upon the application of the Jetton-Dreckle Lumber Company, restraining certain labor unions from enforcing their rules (which forbade their members working for any employer of non-union labor), and thus enforcing a sympathetic strike against the lumber company. The defendants answered, denying all acts of violence, or threats of intimidation, coercion or boycott, and asked that the injunction be dissolved. Upon this hearing (apparently before the judge who granted the *ex parte* order) the injunction was modified, so as to restrain the defendants only from acts and threats of violence, intimidation, coercion or boycott. The lumber company appealed from this modification, but the Supreme Court unanimously declared that "the decided weight, if not the universal rule, of the modern American cases sustains the action of the circuit court in refusing to extend the effects of the injunction so as to include the peaceable enforcement by labor unions of their reasonable rules." This declaration is supported by a long array of State and Federal decisions.

Another case which admirably illustrates the present attitude of our courts is that of the Wabash Railway Co. *vs.* Hannahan and others (121 Fed., 563), decided in 1903. The railroad company, upon a verified bill of complaint, obtained an *ex parte* restraining order against the defendants, as officers of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, "commanding them to refrain from ordering or causing a strike of complainant's employees." The defendants were given fifteen days within which to appear and show cause why the order should be dissolved or modified. They did appear, and by their sworn answer and affidavits convinced the court that they were not maliciously interfering with the Wabash employees; were not engaging in any intimidation or coercion of such employees, or in any unlawful combination against the Wabash

Company's business, or the transportation of the United States mails or of interstate commerce, as had been charged in complainant's bill; whereupon the court vacated the *ex parte* order. "It results from the facts presented," said the judge, "that this court should not interfere with the exercise of the right, on the part of complainant's employees who are members of the Brotherhoods in question, of quitting the service of complainant in a body, by restraining the defendants, who are officers of the Brotherhood, from exercising the functions of their office, prerequisite thereto."

In neither of these cases, it will be observed, did the injunction operate to "weaken the common determination" of the laborers to strike or "discourage their proceeding in their lawful purpose." It would appear, therefore, that Mr. Taft is not happy in the only reason which he assigns for legislation on this topic.

Certainly, judicial discretion as to the time and manner of employing this extraordinary writ ought not to be interfered with by statute, unless the necessity therefor is clearly shown. It is a fundamental rule of equity jurisprudence that this writ is not to be issued in doubtful cases; that "it will be refused till the courts are satisfied that the case before them is of a right about to be destroyed, irreparably injured, or great and lasting injury about to be done by an illegal act." It is equally fundamental, writes Justice Story, "that courts of equity constantly decline to lay down any rule which shall limit their power and discretion as to particular cases, in which such injunctions shall be granted or withheld." He adds:

> "There is wisdom in this course, for it is impossible to foresee all the exigencies of society which may require their aid to protect rights or redress wrongs. The jurisdiction of these courts, thus operating by special injunction, is manifestly indispensable for the purposes of social justice in a great variety of cases, and, therefore, should be fostered and upheld by a steady confidence."

One of the exigencies referred to by Judge Story was presented by the attempt of Debs, Phelan and other officers of the American Railway Union to paralyze interstate commerce over a large portion of this country. They declared that their attempt was "inspired by a purpose to subserve the public good"; and that if their struggle was successful every wage-earner in the land would share in its beneficial effects. But it was waged with

a ruthless disregard of the rights of non-union laborers, of the railways and of the public. The struggle was precipitated by a strike of the employees of the Pullman Car Company in May, 1894, because of its refusal to restore wages which had been reduced the year before. The union threatened the Pullman Company with a boycott unless it acceded to a proposed arbitration with its employees. Upon its refusal, Debs, the president of the union, formally declared the boycott, on June 26th. All railway employees were ordered by Debs to refuse to handle Pullman cars. If this refusal did not force their employers to cut out such cars, the employees were to strike, and to make every effort to tie up and cripple the recalcitrant railways. So successfully was the scheme carried out that, on June 29th, Debs telegraphed to Phelan: "About twenty-five lines now paralyzed. More following. Tremendous blockade."

Of this scheme Judge Taft said, in Thomas *vs.* Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway (62 Fed., 803):

> "The gigantic character of the conspiracy of the American Railway Union staggers the imagination. . . . Debs, Phelan and their associates proposed, by inciting employees of all the railways of the country to suddenly quit their service without any dissatisfaction with the terms of their own employment, to paralyze utterly all the traffic by which the people live, and in this way to compel Pullman, for whose acts neither the public nor the railway companies are in the slightest degree responsible, and over whose acts they can lawfully exercise no control, to pay more wages to his employees."

In the execution of this conspiracy, employees who refused to join in the strike, and those who took the places of strikers, were assaulted and driven from their posts of duty. The strikers and their sympathizers took forcible possession of the railways within and adjacent to Chicago, and prevented the passage of any trains for some days. They derailed engines and cars; assailed passengers, as well as non-striking employees, with stones and other missiles, and even fired upon them. More than a thousand loaded freight-cars were set on fire and destroyed, as well as numerous signal-towers; and many lives were sacrificed as the result of mob violence.

That even Debs was shocked at the havoc he had wrought is apparent from the following statement which he issued on July 12th:

"The strike, small and comparatively unimportant in its inception, has extended in every direction, until now it involves or threatens, not only every public interest, but the peace, security and prosperity of our common country. The contest has waged fiercely. It has extended far beyond the limits of interests originally involved, and has laid hold of a vast number of industries and enterprises in no wise responsible for the differences that led to the trouble. Factory, mill, mine and shop have been silenced; wide-spread demoralization has sway. The interests of multiplied thousands of people are suffering. The common welfare is seriously menaced. The public peace and tranquillity imperilled. Grave apprehensions for the future prevail."

While this state of things existed, the courts were applied to for injunctions against Debs and his fellow conspirators; the writs were issued, served and disobeyed; whereupon these leaders of the mob and flouters of judicial writs were arrested and jailed for contempt of court. This was the beginning of the end. True, Federal troops had been called out and were engaged in defending life and property against mob violence. But it was the action of the courts that dealt the death blow to the gigantic conspiracy of Debs and his fellows, to take the American people by the throat and starve them into forcing the Pullman Company to run its business in accordance with their demands. In his testimony before the Federal Strike Commission, Debs said:

"As soon as the employees found that we were arrested and taken from the scene of action, they became demoralized, and that ended the strike. It was not the soldiers. It was simply the United States courts that ended the strike, by restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of our employees."

Should the power to issue injunctions in such a case be taken from the courts?

Congressman William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, answers, Yes. In his opinion, an injunction should never be granted in labor troubles, even though the concerted and violent action of boycotting laborers paralyzes business "over all the lines of the United States." * Similar views have been expressed by Mr. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, by Mr. Spelling, its counsel, and other labor leaders. They hold that no property right is invaded by a labor boycott, even when it results in forcing non-union laborers out of employment and in paralyzing the employer's business. They ask for a statutory

* Hearings on House Bill 19745 at p. 507.

definition of property which shall make it clear that there is "no property or property rights in labor or the labor power of any person or persons, nor in the patronage of any person." * At their request Congressman Pearre introduced a bill declaring that "no right to continue the relation of employer and employee, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered or treated as property or as constituting a property right."

Verily, were that bill to pass and to be held constitutional, it would revolutionize existing conceptions of property rights. What a boon it would prove to the Standard Oil Company and similar organizations, in the efforts which they are charged with making to crush rivals! And it would legalize the boycott in its worst forms. It is now well settled that "a person's occupation or calling, by means of which he earns a livelihood for himself and those dependent upon him, is property, and entitled to protection as such, aside from the goods, chattels, money or effects employed in connection therewith." † Such has been the doctrine of the common law for centuries.

But Mr. Gompers and his school of social economists propose to change all this. They insist upon the right to paralyze the business of any employer whom they deem unfair, as they did in the Danbury Hat case, and as they tried to do in the case of the George Jonas Glass Company. Because the latter company would not conduct its business in accordance with the rules of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, one of which was that the company should employ only one apprentice to fifteen journeymen, the association ordered all union men to leave the company's employ; induced non-union men to quit by promising to take care of them and pay them good wages if they went out; coerced patrons of the company into withdrawing all patronage by threats of a boycott; and collected the strikers in a body and encamped them near the company's factory to terrorize the neighborhood, and to prevent persons who wished to labor from reaching the company' works.

The result was not only a great property loss to the company, but a flagrant invasion of the rights of non-union laborers, cul-

* Hearings on House Bill 19745, pp. 51, 637, 647.

† Gray *vs.* Building Trades Council, 91 Minn., 171.

minating in the assassination of an employee who attempted to return to work.

Messrs. Gompers and Wilson assert that in such cases the purpose of the labor organization is not to injure the employer or destroy his business, but simply to secure what they deem to be fair working terms for themselves. That is very euphemistic. When the representatives of these organizations appear before a recalcitrant employer they use no such soft words. They give him plainly to understand, as in Purvis *vs.* Local No. 500, United Brotherhood of Carpenters (214 Pa., 348), that he must unionize his plant or quit business. "Their means of persuasion," said the court in that case, "are the destruction of the property of those whom they would persuade." "How absurd is it," declared another court, "to call this peaceable persuasion, and how absurd to argue that, if the law attempts to prevent it, the rights of workmen to organize for their common benefit is frustrated."

Another euphemism of the Gompers school is that a boycott is always spontaneous. There is no conspiracy about it. A great variety of organizations, and their thousands of members, of a sudden and at the same moment experience the conviction that not one of them should wear the Danbury hat, or use any product of the Bucks Stove and Range Company. Hence they withdraw their patronage. Indeed, the conviction is so keen and dominant that they are unanimously impelled to persuade all persons with whom they deal to cease patronizing these unfair establishments. Incidentally, they notify such persons that if the latter continue to wear Danbury hats or use Bucks stoves, it will be at the peril of giving up all beneficial business intercourse with the notifiers and their friends.

This plea of spontaneity was interposed by Phelan when brought before Judge Taft for contempt in violating an injunction. "He would have the court believe," said Judge Taft, "that what occurred was wholly spontaneous and not through his agency, and that his business was, if there should be such coincidental spontaneity resulting in a strike, to prevent disorder and to look after the sick." Unfortunately for Phelan, his telegrams to Debs and his speeches were matters of record, and proved conclusively that the boycott was the work of a few leaders and not the result of a spontaneous outburst of feeling among the mass of employees.

Objection is made to the use of injunctions in labor controversies, on the ground that there is an adequate remedy at law. Congressman Wilson puts it in this way:

> "Every State in the Union through its Legislature, when it has enacted into law what is a remedy in cases of that kind, has provided a remedy against the use of force, has provided penalties and punishments where force is used. The legislative body has determined what is an adequate remedy at law, and, notwithstanding that fact, our courts assume that there is no adequate remedy at law, and issue restraining orders preventing the use of force."

Here again the labor leaders contend for the application of a different rule to them from that which applies to other violators of the law. The Legislature has provided penalties and punishments for the maintenance of a house of ill fame; but if such a house, or any other form of public nuisance, is maintained in a residential locality, it may be enjoined by any neighbor whose property is injured thereby. (Cranford *vs.* Tyrrell, 128 N. Y., 341.)

Perhaps the objection most strenuously urged to the use of injunctions in labor cases, with the accompanying contempt proceedings for the punishment of their violation, is that it results in a denial of a trial by jury to persons charged with crime. For a full and convincing reply to this objection the reader is referred to the great opinion of our highest court *in re* Debs (158 U. S., 564). We have not space even to summarize it here. But this should be noted: "A court enforcing obedience to its orders by proceedings for contempt is not executing the criminal laws of the land, but only securing to suitors the right which it has adjudged them entitled to." Contempt proceedings against a labor leader for violation of an injunction are instituted and conducted precisely as are such proceedings against any other violator of this writ. Why should the law-breaking striker or boycotter be accorded a special privilege in the matter of injunction contempts? Moreover, if the violator of an injunction is thereafter indicted for a crime which he committed while engaged in such violation, the contempt proceedings have no relevancy to the issue in the criminal trial. The two are wholly separate and distinct. The penalties imposed by the criminal law furnish no standard for the punishment in contempt proceedings.

The topic of this paper has furnished the theme for voluminous and passionate appeals before the platform committees of our recent National Conventions. Fortunately, as the writer thinks, neither of the great parties has committed itself to any such doctrine as that contained in the Pearre bill, while both have recorded their confidence in the courts. True, the Democratic platform pledges provision "for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt"—that is, of contempt committed outside the precincts of the court; but it also declares that "the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality."

It seems probable, therefore, that no radical legislation on this topic will result from the impending Presidential campaign, whichever candidate is elected; but that the courts will be allowed to control the writ of injunction, in the future as in the past, without the hindrance of statutes enacted in the heat of partisan excitement.

FRANCIS M. BURDICK.

ESPERANTO IN GERMANY.

BY OTTO SIMON.

THE first advocate of Esperanto in Germany was Leopold Einstein, of Nuremberg. From the very beginning he had penetrated the deficiencies of Volapük; but, making the best of it, he espoused the cause of that artificial language until 1888, when a copy of Zamenhof's grammar fell into his hands. Notwithstanding his advanced age and severe bodily afflictions, he became an ardent apostle of Esperanto, and displayed in its service a feverish activity. As late as a few months before his death in 1890 he wrote to Zamenhof: "I am old and sick, and will not live to see the triumph of our beautiful and sacred undertaking. But you will soon, soon witness it in all its glory." The geometrician Trompeter (Schalke) became another champion who made great sacrifices for the propaganda. Zamenhof has repeatedly acknowledged that without the interposition of these two Germans he would have despaired of the success of his work. Then Trompeter also died in 1902, and the first attempts of the Esperanto movement in Germany were soon crushed by the indifference of public opinion. However, Esperanto was no more homeless. France, Sweden and the Bohemian provinces of Austria had already given it admittance, and from foreign countries it had necessarily, sooner or later, to find its way back to Germany.

The first guide was the Bohemian teacher Theodore Cejka, of Bistritz-on-Hostein, who added to his Bohemian "Esperanto Review" a German supplement with correspondence lessons. This review, which Cejka had edited for three years with great sacrifices, long ago ceased publication; but, thanks to its German supplement, there are now German Esperantists to be met in all the towns of Bohemia and Moravia, where more than one

language is spoken. More substantial aid the German Esperanto movement received from Switzerland. Jean Borel, who has devoted much time to the problem of neutral auxiliary language in general and to Volapük in particular, and who also commands thoroughly five modern languages, was won over to Esperanto at the beginning of this century. In 1902, with some fellow spirits, he founded the "Schweizer Esperanto-Gesellschaft," and was elected its vice-president. An extensive tour abroad, which brought him to Hungary, Servia, Rumania, Russia, etc., strengthened him in his view that, notwithstanding his knowledge of many languages, he was in a great part of the civilized world condemned to "numbness and dumbness." He then became thoroughly convinced of the usefulness of Esperanto, because he met in many places Esperantists to whom he could make himself understood only in this new language. He also succeeded in gaining for the new language the interest of his brother, the owner of a publishing business in Berlin, who also published Jean Borel's effective pamphlet for the advancement of Esperanto. A few weeks later, Jean Borel decided to settle permanently in Berlin. In order to push forward the Esperanto movement in Germany he published in November, 1903, a modest monthly, "*Esperantistische Mitteilungen,*" which with the beginning of 1905 appeared considerably enlarged under the title: "*Germana Esperantisto,*" and brought about the union of all the Esperantists scattered through the country. On this occasion it became apparent that the interest of the public surpassed all expectations; yet even now some Esperantists were unacquainted with the others, and most of the earlier Esperantists believed the movement had entirely died away. Some, it is true, occupied themselves with the language as a private amusement; but for serious work on a large scale they needed a centre, an organ, an organization. Through the "*Esperantistische Mitteilungen*" the rank and file of the movement became acquainted with each other; in Jean Borel they found their organizer. The latter founded, jointly with Professor Schmidt, Mehlisch, and Professor Wetekampf, a group in Berlin in 1903, and this example was soon imitated in many other cities. The Esperanto movement, emerging from the period of uncertain grouping and sporadic successes, had arrived at the period of a systematic propaganda.

Although small Esperanto circles had been organized before at Kiel and Gratz, they were not active in making converts. But with the foundation of the Berlin group the ice was broken. After Berlin came Brunswick in February, 1904. A month later was formed in Munich a group whose president, Captain Meier, had organized a quiet but consistent missionary movement as early as 1890. Soon after groups were formed in Hamburg, Frankfort-on-Main and Stuttgart; and, since the beginning of 1905, hardly a month has passed without the foundation of one or two Esperanto societies. At present they number about forty. This result must be valued the more as the German press has until recently been rather unfriendly to the movement. The press either attempted to kill it with silence or indulged in cheap witticisms at its expense. Refutations of malicious articles were often declined. It was, therefore, very important that the Esperantists had at their disposal since January, 1905, a copious monthly organ, "*Germana Esperantisto,*" edited by Borel. Since the successes of the two Esperanto congresses (in Boulogne-sur-Mer, in 1905, and Geneva, in 1906), however, the attitude of a part of the German press has been more favorable. The "*Praktische Wegweiser*" and "*Das Echo,*" two widely circulated periodicals, are now earnestly taking part in the propaganda, and almost the whole South German press has been won over to the movement by the unceasing efforts of Professor Christaller, of Stuttgart. Besides, many smaller periodicals ("*Mondo,*" "*Weltwarte,*" "*Handels-Akademie,*" "*Deutschlands Jugend,*" etc.) regularly devote space to Esperanto.

A conclusive evidence of the fact that Esperanto has not merely found sympathy, but is earnestly studied, is the increase of the Esperanto method-literature. As early as 1888, Einstein had published a German method, which, however, considered the propaganda rather than the pedagogics. He was followed in 1890, by Meier, with the first methodical grammar; by Fried, who in a series of articles had acquainted the harmonizers of systems with the splendid aims of the auxiliary language. A year later appeared the "*Vollständiges Lehrbuch,*" a complete method, by Jean Borel, which bears the approbation of Zamenhof, and has since passed through six editions. In the same year appeared, in the popular "*Miniatur-Bibliothek,*" a method by Mielck, and soon after a method by Jürgensen. Schröder,

the meritorious honorary president of the Vienna group, wrote in 1905 a methodical grammar which is intended for self-instruction of those who have not a thorough knowledge of the grammar of their mother tongue. Lately have appeared methods by Stark, Mainzer, Stephan Büschel, and last, but not least, Schramm. Special mention should also be made of the dictionaries by Zamenhof and Jürgensen, published in 1905, the third edition of which appeared at the end of 1906.

Meanwhile, the various single groups felt the necessity of coming in closer contact with one another. Under the presidency of Dr. Mybs, of Hamburg, the most influential Esperantists of Germany assembled in May, 1906, at Brunswick. Here an organization, the "Germana Esperantista Societa" was founded, embracing all the Esperantist societies of Germany. The "*Germana Esperantisto*" was selected as the official organ. Dr. Mybs, Drs. Hanauer and Schuck were entrusted with the management of the association. Two Austrians and one Swiss were appointed to the larger board of managers.

Among Germans abroad Esperanto was introduced even before it was promoted in Germany. Thus, in Austria a group exists in almost every large city. The Reichenberg group took part in the German-Bohemian exhibition and was awarded the gold medal. German Switzerland also manifests a favorable disposition toward Esperanto, which was largely influenced by the second international congress, held in Geneva in 1906. The energetic president of the Swiss Esperanto Society, Pastor Schneeberger, from German Switzerland, was chosen chairman of this congress, his election evidencing the high esteem the German Esperantists enjoy in the international Esperanto world. This esteem is further shown by the election of nine German Esperantists to the "Lingva Comitato" (language committee), which has its seat in Paris. This committee was organized by the first Esperanto congress held at Boulogne in 1905, from among the most experienced Esperantists, as the highest authority in linguistic controversies. Barthel, the vice-president of the international lodge of Freemasons; Foerster, Schmidt and Meier belong to the editorial board of the most important scientific periodical, "*Internacia Scienca Revuo.*" All the international Esperanto periodicals have Germans as constant contributors. The stenographic system proposed for Esperanto by Schneeberger finds

favor also abroad, and was practically applied at both international congresses. Schuck has given much joy to the pioneers of this movement by his original album of 114 of the best-known Esperantists. Among them are fourteen Germans. The foreign Esperantists have also strongly supported the German propaganda, first of all by the translation of selected works of German literature into Esperanto. The Russians, Devyatnin, Gernet and Kaufmann; the Poles, Kabe, Grabovski and Belmont; the Frenchman Bouçon and the Englishman Cefec, participated in these translations. Cefec has rendered great service to the German propaganda by his pamphlet "*Esperanto-Schlüssel.*" Zamenhof has not only paved the way by his wonderful translation of Schiller's "*Robbers*" and single poems of Schiller, Goethe, Uhland and Heine, but has also raised the spirits and confidence of the champions of Esperanto by his visits to the Esperantists of Berlin and Frankfort. Couturat has issued his book, "*La langue auxiliaire international,*" also in German, and in an article in the "*Deutsche Revue*" has cleared up misunderstandings of the principles of the auxiliary languages that have lately arisen.

The chief obstacle to the German Esperanto movement, apathy, has now been overcome. Only three years ago, at the Berlin meeting, for which thousands of invitations were issued and sent to all teachers, but fifteen persons appeared, although a distinguished scholar, Professor Schmidt, of Potsdam, had been announced as the main speaker; whereas, in November, 1906, Professor Ostwald spoke in Berlin in favor of the Esperanto idea amid the thundering applause of many hundreds; and, a few weeks later, Professor Schmidt treated the same subject before a large and select audience. As late as the nineteenth of April, 1904, Fritz Mauthner could assert in the "*Berliner Tageblatt*" that only faddists occupied themselves with Esperanto. At present this paper from time to time publishes items referring to the movement. The scholars who, with the exception of Ostwald, Foerster, Schmidt and Schuchardt, originally stood aloof from Esperanto, no longer consider it unworthy of notice. Four years ago, an application requesting the Association of the Academies to take an interest in the problem of an international auxiliary language had only four signatures of German scholars; to-day, no less than twenty German scholars are interested. Next after

the report of Schuchardt, who was commissioned by the Vienna Academy to investigate this problem, the chief cause of the advance is the work of Ostwald, who, already in 1903, before the German Ingenieur-Verein at Munich, urged the possibility of an artificial auxiliary language, and in his "*Natur Philosophie*" gave a strictly scientific argument in support of his view, which he defended in "*Die Neue Freie Presse*" in 1904 against the philologist Gomperz. In his lectures at the Salzburg summer high school in 1903, he came out for the first time specifically for Esperanto, which in the next year he recommended at Berlin, Leipsic, Prague, Teplitz and Vienna, as the best solution of the auxiliary language problem. An adroit opponent of the Esperantists arose in the person of Professor Diels, the rector of the Berlin University, who, because of his warnings against Esperanto on the ground that it was injurious to national sentiment, could from the beginning count on the approval of all chauvinists. His reproaches have, however, been met by Schmidt, Couturat and Ostwald in three of the most prominent German periodicals. After all, the chauvinistic prejudice is still widely spread. The same circles that at an earlier stage declined to occupy themselves at all with Esperanto, on the ground of its alleged hopelessness, now see in this neutral auxiliary language a menace to the sacred fortunes of the nation. Other opposition to Esperanto has lately materialized in the newest projectors, who cannot rest through jealousy of Zamenhof's fame; but they cannot succeed and, like Professor Diels, they do their share to enliven the public discussion of the question of the world language and to prevent a dangerous indifferentism.

The confidence which has been placed in Esperanto by the German public manifests itself also in the greater interest accorded to it by the commercial world. A society of merchants, "Progresso," publishes in Frankfort the Esperanto periodical "*Eksport Jurnalo*," a number of manufactured articles bear the trade-mark "Esperanto," and probably the most important sign of the times is the fact that in some commercial schools Esperanto has lately been taught experimentally. Some commercial houses already supplement their announcements with the notice: "Oni corespondas Esperante" ("We correspond in Esperanto"). Some of them even advertise in Esperanto periodicals.

At the very cradle of Esperanto we find, on the one hand, men engaged in industrial pursuits who hope, for practical considerations, that the new method will furnish the future language of commerce; on the other hand, scholars see in it the future language of science. The International Esperanto Association has laid before the scholars and friends of science a declaration in which is expressed the earnest hope that the scientists at the international congresses will always use Esperanto, that articles written in Esperanto will find place in the prominent scientific periodicals, which shall likewise print an index in Esperanto of those articles that appear in the national languages. This declaration was signed by more than fifty learned Germans with academic degrees.

Moreover, the idealists hope that Esperanto may serve as a conqueror, or at least as a mitigator, of national animosities, as an instrument to conciliate the nations and to establish universal brotherhood. Some may go a little too far in their keen anticipations, but they have a perfect right to point out that the furtherance of mutual love among the nations was the real guiding star that Zamenhof followed in elaborating his great work. They can also point to the fact that, notwithstanding political differences of the day, the German Esperantists have always met with hearty and friendly sentiments among the various nations and creeds. Not often in the history of the world have idealists and practical workers united so closely in common activity as they have now in advancing Esperanto in Germany; and even if the first steps of the Germans were timorous and uncertain, the dangers incident to the infancy of the cause have been overcome, and the international Esperanto congress which is about to meet on German soil will prove to all the world that the Germans have done their duty in this beneficent movement.

OTTO SIMON.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY JESSIE B. RITTENHOUSE, EDWARD PORRITT AND BRANDER MATTHEWS.

"LETTERS OF THE WORDSWORTH FAMILY."*

UPON the assumption that no form of biography is at once so intimate, authentic and delightful as letters, Professor William Knight, who has done such admirable work in the study of Wordsworth, supplements his former labor by the publication of all the available letters of the poet, from his early youth to his death, together with those which throw illuminating side-lights upon his life and personality, by his wife, his sister, his daughter, his son-in-law and Sarah Hutchinson.

It would seem, at this date, that all the Wordsworth correspondence must have found its way into biographies and memoirs, but, on the contrary, a large number of these letters appear for the first time, and among them a group from Wordsworth and Dorothy to Coleridge, covering a period of eight years after their association at Alfoxden, discovered only in the autumn of 1906 by Mr. Gordon Wordsworth, grandson of the poet, among the effects of Miss Quillinan of Loughrigg Holm.

These letters alone, with their poignant interest, written out of the painful hope and fear of those first years of Coleridge's weakness, would render invaluable these volumes, even though unsupplemented by many others to friends of Coleridge in which one obtains a newly vivid and ineffaceable impression of this most magical mind of his epoch.

So inextricable is Coleridge's life from that of Wordsworth and so does he dominate the latter's thought, even in absence,

* "Letters of the Wordsworth Family. From 1787 to 1855." Collected and edited by William Knight. In three volumes. Boston and London: Ginn & Co., publishers.

that his influence upon Wordsworth, as revealed in these letters, becomes psychic, as if a spirit hovered ever behind. Literature affords no parallel to this association, in its inner sympathy and outward diversity. One follows Wordsworth in his harmonious, luminous life, as a planet held aloft in an unswerving orbit by the gravity of the spiritual law, and Coleridge, in his passionate and losing strife, as an errant star in perilous deflection, unpoised, at last, but lighting the bounds of space as it falls.

A new reading of Coleridge is, in many respects, made necessary by the intimate disclosures of these letters. The irrevocable mistake of his life, that of his marriage, assumes a significance not attached to it in his biographies, and its negative and disintegrating effect upon him is seen to have influenced his habits more than his habits reacted upon his life. The sordid, superficial, undivining nature of Mrs. Coleridge, concerned, even in her misfortune, but with the world's comment, was so alien and repellent to that of Coleridge that even the formal bond between them became a spiritual perversion. The accepted impression that Coleridge deliberately deserted his family, after succumbing to his weakness, is greatly modified by the evidence of these letters, wherein one learns of the years in which he struggled for adjustment of impossible conditions and gave the marvellous powers of his mind to the foredoomed task of developing in Mrs. Coleridge qualities, both of intellect and temperament, which nature had denied her. The stultifying effect of this association, and the subsequent discord and wretchedness which it entailed, are forces not sufficiently reckoned with in appraising the aborted genius of Coleridge. One may reckon them better by contrast with what he produced in the "miraculous year" of his first association with the Wordsworths.

In his turn, Coleridge acted as a fuse to the slow-moving, contemplative mind of Wordsworth, whose genius sympathy alone could render creative. Had Dorothy Wordsworth and Coleridge been removed from his life, he must have remained the diffuse moralist of the "Prelude" and "Excursion" upon which, in his critical blindness, he placed the emphasis of his claim to recognition. No poet had ever such imperturbable confidence in his own immortality, nor miscalculated more, perhaps, the specific work by which his faith would be justified.

In a letter to Lady Beaumont he cites Coleridge as saying that "every great and original writer must himself create the taste by which he is to be relished," and so discloses the source, or the striking parallel, of a line of our own great cosmic egoist, Walt Whitman, "I myself create the only taste by which I can be appreciated." Apropos of Wordsworth as a source for other poets, one is newly reminded by these letters that Théophile Gautier's exquisite "*L'Art*" is almost a paraphrase of certain lines written by Wordsworth as an inscription for a niche of Lady Beaumont's winter garden.

Upon the borrowings of his contemporaries, Wordsworth was severe enough, and his egoism often led him into absurd suspicions and strictures, such as that in a letter to Henry Taylor, accusing Byron of purloining his own conception of nature:

> "So far as I am acquainted with his works, they [his obligations to Wordsworth] are most apparent in the third canto of 'Childe Harold,' not so much in particular expressions, though there is no want of these, as in the tone (assumed rather than natural) of enthusiastic admiration of nature and a sensibility to her influence. Of my writings you need read no more than the blank verse to the River Wye to be convinced of this."

Wordsworth's antipathy to Byron was fundamental, ineradicable, whereas Byron, having repented him of his early folly, became a genuine admirer of Wordsworth, but those critics who, following Wordsworth's own lead, can find in Byron's lava-poured lines the meditative Wordsworthian mood, must possess a richer equipment of imagination than of insight.

The philosophical so predominated in Wordsworth, that he could not tolerate the personal nor admit its claim to perpetuity, and were it not for the supplementary letters of his family, we should have, from this correspondence, no more notion of Wordsworth's personality than of that of a being from another sphere. On the contrary, no biography yet written of him may be placed with these letters in unfolding, in sequence and symmetry, the progress of his art. For Wordsworth's life was hidden in his art, his self-expression is purely spiritual and, in this regard, more complete than that of any of his fellow poets.

It follows that Wordsworth was deficient in charm as a letter-writer; charm, as such, fleeing the abstract, detached and impersonal. The constitutional trouble with Wordsworth as a corre-

spondent was identical with that which, in the absence of inspiration, afflicted him as a poet, his inability to forget himself and give free course to his impulses. He contemplates himself and his own emotions, chiefly moral, until his letters become homilies. When he touches upon personality, it is at once robbed of its essence. Compare his comment to Francis Wrangham, upon Mary Hutchinson, soon to be his bride,

"Miss Hutchinson I can recommend to you as a most amiable and good creature, with whom you would converse with great pleasure,"

with

"She was a phantom of delight,

. . . . .

A lovely apparition, sent
To be a moment's ornament"—

and one will understand the distinction between Wordsworth as a correspondent and Wordsworth as a poet. Nevertheless, he holds one, even in his letters, by a singular spell. As the range of his correspondence is wide, no phase of his mind is left uninterpreted. Social and political conditions are treated more fully, perhaps, than matters of art. The letters comprise a long series to Sir George and Lady Beaumont, to Henry Crabb Robinson, to Coleridge, Scott, Southey, De Quincey, Samuel Rogers, Cottle, "Christopher North," Henry Reed, of Philadelphia, with many isolated letters of great interest, such as that to Gladstone, in regard to the Laureateship.

Interspersed throughout the volumes, as they occur chronologically, are the intimate and delightful letters of Dorothy Wordsworth and other members of the poet's family, which relieve the gravity of his own and leaven the collection with the magnetic personal quality, the charm, which Wordsworth himself lacked. One is impressed constantly by the manner in which all those associated with Wordsworth conduced to his art; not from coercion, but from voluntary sympathy. No poet was ever companioned more inspiringly nor sustained by greater faith. Had he not been poised and buttressed in hope, he must have been unresponsive to all spiritual sympathy.

In their store of fresh material, illuminating, by both data and comment, the characters of most of Wordsworth's great contemporaries; in the light flashed upon his own nature from many facets, and in the complete expression of his opinions upon sub-

jects of permanent interest,—these letters will henceforth be indispensable to the student of Wordsworth, and they supply much that will be invaluable to future biographies, not only of Wordsworth, but of his fellow poets.

JESSIE B. RITTENHOUSE.

DELANE, OF "THE TIMES." *

IF there is any one department of English biography that is lean and weak it is the biography of newspaper editors. Not more than three or four of these biographies have appeared since the Life of Baines, of the "Leeds Mercury," was published in 1851; and those of Robinson, of the "Daily News," and Cowen, of the "Newcastle Daily Chronicle," to recall only the more recently published biographies, are proof of the difficulty that seems to be experienced in depicting the life and work of men in the front rank of English journalism—men who have built up great newspapers. Mr. Dasent had an unusual opportunity; for as the nephew of Delane he was in possession of more correspondence and other valuable data concerning the "Times" in the period when it was outdistancing all its London competitors, creating standards in newspaper work that were maintained all over England and unchallenged for half a century and firmly establishing its place as the world's greatest newspaper, than were ever in the possession of any man who was about to write the life of an editor, or deal with an epoch-making period in the history of British journalism. He has adequately grasped Delane's close relations with the statesmen and politicians of the period between 1840 and 1879, when he was editor of the "Times." Mr. Dasent realizes, and he makes the reader realize, that no other English editor was ever so long or so closely in touch with the men of both political parties who were governing England during Delane's reign at the "Times" office. He shows how anxious these statesmen were to stand well with Delane; how at times they deferred to him in larger as well as in minor affairs of state; and the extent to which Delane was taken into their counsels and confidence. Mr. Dasent claims all

* "John Thaddeus Delane: Editor of 'The Times.' His Life and Correspondence." By Arthur Irwin Dasent. With Portraits and Other Illustrations. Two Volumes, pp. ix, 328; vii, 376. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

that it is possible to claim for Delane as a power in the state; so much so that he exalts him into what he describes as the Prime Minister of the Public. He has, moreover, been almost overawed by Delane's high position in society and his acceptance in the homes of the families of what it was wont to describe as the governing classes of England. In politics and in society Delane's unique position does not suffer in the least in Mr. Dasent's representation of it. Of eulogy also there is no lack, even if it is not always discriminating. Men like Bright and Cobden, for whom Delane had scant regard, Mr. Dasent treats at times with obvious injustice; and he fights all Delane's battles over again with the zeal of a feudal squire. In a word, Delane could not have desired a more intensely loyal and eulogistic biographer; but in depicting Delane as the greatest of newspaper-makers in the period between the reign of George III and the middle years of Queen Victoria's reign Mr. Dasent has fallen short of his opportunities.

Mr. Dasent is seemingly not a journalist. He is at any rate not familiar with the technique of journalism; and he has no appreciation of the news instinct which was so magnificently developed in Delane. Nor can Mr. Dasent be familiar with the history of English journalism; for if the history of journalism during the thirty-seven years that Delane was editor of the "Times"—the period of its new political power and of its greatest development—had any interest for him he would cheerfully have sacrificed the pages which he devotes to the appearance of the streets of London between Printing House Square and the West End when Delane was appointed editor in 1840, for a sketch of the history of the "Times" between 1785 and 1840; an outline of the position it then occupied in English public life and of its hold in the capitals of Continental Europe; and a brief survey of the position of the London and provinical press at the time when Delane, then only twenty-three years of age, succeeded Barnes as editor. Anything adequate of this nature is lacking; and, more remarkable still, nowhere in the two volumes is there from Dasent's pen a good description of Delane at work. But fortunately a large part of the volumes consists of the letters that Delane wrote to Sir George Webbe Dasent—father of the biographer—who from 1840 to 1870 was Delane's associate editor. These letters, like many of the other letters

contained in the two volumes are indifferently edited. There is a tantalizing lack of foot-notes to elucidate personal references and references to events; but from the letters that Delane wrote to Dasent while on his vacations it is easily possible to estimate Delane's position as a great newspaper-maker; and it is on his work in this respect that Delane's larger and more permanent fame must always rest.

Delane had a genius for newspaper-making; for realizing of what the ever-widening constitutency of readers of the "Times" would like to be informed, and for placing his men at home and abroad where they could do the best work for the great newspaper they were serving. He had a keen and alert perception of good newspaper writing, whether for the editorial or the special correspondence columns or for the news pages; and an eye for the niceties of typography and make-up that would have made him a great printer had fortune not destined him for a great editor. Delane as a newspaper editor is seen at his best in his letters to his associate editor when he was on his travels. He wrote usually after he had gone over the latest issues of the "Times" that had caught up with him, and commented on the literary work and the typographical make-up of the pages, and also offered suggestions as to how this or that subject could best be handled on the editorial page, or who was the best man in the corps of correspondents to be sent specially to cover some coming event of national or international importance. Not even for a week, no matter where he was or how far away from London, did he cease to be editor of the "Times." He never seems to have allowed himself a vacation; for he carried his oversight of the "Times" with him wherever he went. Delane's London house was in Sergeant's Inn, a precinct of the law just off the south side of Fleet Street, and within half a mile of Printing House Square. One of the saddest domestic calamities that can befall a man practically ended his married life. He had, consequently, few of the home ties of the ordinary professional man in middle life; no children of his own to make any calls on his time and care, and for nearly forty years he lived wholly for the "Times."

In the period that lies between the French Revolution and the second Reform Act of 1867, James Perry, who from 1789 to 1817 edited the famous Whig "Morning Chronicle,"

and who among his other newspaper achievements was the organizer of the present corps system of reporting the debates in Parliament, is the only English newspaper editor who can be compared with Delane. Perry's opportunities, in spite of the success of the old "Morning Chronicle" under his editorship, were not nearly so great nor so varied as those of Delane. Enterprise such as Delane developed was not physically possible in the days when there were no railways, no steamships, no telegraph and cable lines, and no presses printing from the roll. Delane belongs to the second era of daily newspaper development in England. He is of the era that preceded the new journalism that has been developed in connection with the present-day half-penny daily newspapers of London—and in this second era, of which he was the pioneer, he must always hold the premier position among great newspaper-makers as a man who not only found opportunity awaiting him, but who was constantly creating new opportunities.

Delane was not a publicist who worked for great causes. He was a free-trader; but he had a contempt for the other movements in which Cobden and Bright were engaged. Political convictions concerning the domestic policy of England lay as lightly on Delane as they did on Melbourne or Palmerston, whose stereotyped reply to political reformers who got near enough to them to urge their causes was, "Can't you leave things alone?" In 1865, when Palmerston died, Delane's prayer was, "May God in His mercy defend the country, for now will begin a real revolution, political, religious and social." In the struggle of 1861-65 all Delane's sympathies were with the Southern States; and he was evidently misled by W. H. Russell's estimate of the position—the estimate that Russell wrote in his first American letter to the "Times," and reprinted in his "Diary, North and South," which was published in book form in December, 1862. "Although," wrote Russell, in the preface to this book, "I have never for one moment seen reason to change the opinion I expressed in the first letter I wrote from the States, that the Union as it was could never be restored, I am satisfied that the Free States of the North will retain and gain great advantages by the struggle if they will only set themselves at work to accomplish their destiny, nor lose time in sighing over vanished empire or indulging in abortive dreams

of conquest and schemes of vengeance." Delane must have accepted this off-hand and ill-informed judgment of his special correspondent with all seriousness; for on December 25th, 1864, he wrote to Dasent, "The American news is a heavy blow to us as well as to the South. It has changed at once the whole face of things." On December 12th Delane wrote Dasent, "I am still sore vexed about Sherman,"—about Sherman's march through Georgia; "but," he added in this letter to his associate editor, "Chenery did his best to attenuate the mischief," which was Delane's way of commending Chenery's editorial article which broke the news gently to the sympathizers with the South in England that Sherman was soon to be in possession of Savannah and that the Rebellion was at an end.

The value of the political letters in these two volumes is great and distinctive; for they supplement nearly every really important volume of political memoirs and letters which was published in England between the issue of Ashley's "Life of Palmerston" and Theodore Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort" in 1879 and 1880 and Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice's "Life of Earl Granville" and the "Letters of Queen Victoria," which appeared in 1905 and 1907.

EDWARD PORRITT.

"THE STANDARD OF USAGE IN ENGLISH."*

UNDER the ramparts of those who were ignorantly yet valiantly defending our noble English tongue against "corruptions" of all sorts Professor Lounsbury has now exploded a bomb which will bring their bastions tumbling about their ears. Many there be who have entrenched themselves behind a mound of grammars and of other manuals setting forth the secret of "correct" English, and who will now find themselves blown up into the windy spaces of the sky with no haven of refuge in sight. And scores of those rigid reformers who have been hard at work "schoolmastering" the language, marking out metes and bounds beyond which it might not stray, will now discover that their occupation is gone, and also the sole reason for their existence. The battle

* "The Standard of Usage in English." By Thomas R. Lounsbury, Emeritus Professor of English in Yale University. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. 1908. 8vo, pp. 310.

breeze brings to us faintly the shrieks of the wounded and the groans of the dying—with Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge still to hear from.

In this pleasantly written little book, as unpedantic and as unpedagogic as possible, as full of good-humor as it is of humor, Professor Lounsbury has considered the whole question of good English. What is good English? How do we know whether any word or any locution is proper or improper? What principles ought to govern us in our choice of words and phrases and forms of speech? What authority have those who fiercely denounce the Split-Infinitive and the Retained-Object? Who shall decide when doctors disagree? Where can we find dry ground for the ark of the covenant to rest on? And the answer to all these queries is simplicity itself. The English language has been made, is being made and will be made by those who use it. Constantly is it growing, changing, adjusting itself to new uses, fitting itself more exactly to its ever-shifting needs. It is manufacturing new words; and it is giving new meanings to old words. It is modifying not only its grammar, but also its syntax as it finds occasion. It is always in transformation, as becomes a living thing, since the only languages that have ceased to develop are the dead languages. And all these incessant modifications are the proof of the vitality of English and the necessary evidence of its health.

Many of these innovations shock us at first by their novelty. Some of them repel us as overt barbarisms. A few attract us at once by their felicity. But barbarous or felicitous, they all serve to show that the language is not dead, that it is very much alive, that it is vigorously keeping itself fit for service. They may seem like "corruptions" to those who are alert to defend what they suppose to be the "purity" of the language. It is not from new words or from new turns of phrase that the language is in danger, but from those who wish to impose on it a strait-jacket of logical uniformity, which would hinder it from its full service as an instrument of communication.

What, then, is the test which will ascertain whether a word or a phrase is fit and proper? It is no arbitrary standard evolved from the inner consciousness of self-appointed censors. It is nothing more than usage,—the usage of the great writers of the language. If a locution can be found frequently in the pages of the masters of English, then it is good English, no matter how

illogical it may seem or how unwarrantable, no matter what objections may be raised by purists. There can be no other standard than that set up by the practice of the great writers of the language. What they did, we are thereby authorized to do. What they rejected we can employ only at our peril.

Our own likes and dislikes may govern us as individuals, and we may decline ever to write "the two first" or "to loan" or "mutual friend," but our preferences and prejudices do not give us any warrant for asserting that any one of these is "correct" or "incorrect." Here the advice of Professor Lounsbury is pertinent;—"as long as the propriety of the expression remains unsettled, it is well for the peace of mind of the writer, who is sensitive to criticism, to refrain from employing it; but it is equally advisable for him to refrain from proclaiming the employment of it by others as something unpardonable" (p. 112).

What Professor Lounsbury has done in this book, as unpretentious as it is entertaining, is first to lay down this sound doctrine, and then to consider the history of a host of words and phrases and forms of speech which have been ignorantly denounced. He heaps up illustrations to show that the so-called Split-Infinitive,—*e. g.*, "to clearly prove"—has been employed by many of the foremost poets and prose-writers of Great Britain and the United States. We are all of us at liberty to avoid it if we choose, but Macaulay and Tennyson, Matthew Arnold and Lowell all used it unhesitatingly. Professor Lounsbury is particularly effective in exploding the absurdity of saying "would rather" instead of the sturdily idiomatic "had rather." He takes special pleasure in pointing out that the use of "females" for "women"—which is often denounced as a special atrocity of Fenimore Cooper's—was very common in the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth. Jane Austen, for one, often speaks of herself as a "female."

We are already indebted to Professor Lounsbury for an admirable life of Cooper, for a stimulating history of the English language, and for a richly appreciative critical biography of Chaucer. But perhaps our indebtedness to him is even greater for this book on the "Standard of Usage" and its immediate predecessor on the "Standard of Pronunciation."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *July, 1908.*

THE days when Englishmen were indifferent to and conspicuously ignorant of American politics have happily passed. I do not mean to imply that a subject so vast, so tangled and so remote from their daily concerns very vividly interests them, or that their acquaintance with it is by any means profound. But ten Englishmen of influence and authority now visit "the States" for every one that went there a decade ago; it is a reproach not to have a reasonable working knowledge of the American Constitution and American questions; and the English press has splendidly fostered the desire for Transatlantic news.

There can, at any rate, be no question that the interest displayed by Englishmen in the Republican and Democratic Conventions was very great, that the information published about them in the London journals was abundant enough to satisfy the most ardent inquirer into American politics, and that the comments upon their results showed good sense and a considerable degree of knowledge. To all but a very few Englishmen Mr. Taft is personally unknown; but, from the moment he became a Presidential possibility, his career was fully "written up" and the man in the street has by now a very fair idea both of his personality and of what he has accomplished in the Philippines, in Cuba, at Panama and as the handy man of the Roosevelt Administration.

Unlike Mr. Taft, Mr. Bryan has visited England and has met and spoken with most of the leading journalists and politicians. He went away, I believe, very well pleased with his reception, but probably quite ignorant of the impression he had left behind. It was not a very favorable impression. He is the last type of

man who would be elected to high office in this country, and Englishmen, as a rule, find the idea of him as President of the United States well-nigh inconceivable. As a man of courage, blameless life and character, and of an aspiring but not a self-seeking disposition, he commands their sympathy and to some extent their admiration. There is a feeling, too, in England that he has borne himself manfully under defeat, and that, after blazing the trail for Mr. Roosevelt, he has been unlucky in seeing most of his policies annexed by his opponents. With the social protest which, even in 1896, was the true backbone of Bryanism, a great many Englishmen—practically, indeed, all English Radicals—are in sympathy. But they remember his currency heresies and his vapid attacks upon Imperialism, and they are wholly disconcerted by the levity with which in the last twenty months he has suddenly taken up, and as suddenly dropped, such gigantic issues as the nationalization of the trunk railway lines, the introduction of the initiative and the referendum and the question of a Government guarantee for bank deposits. What it comes to is that, while Englishmen like Mr. Bryan personally, they rate his mental capacities rather low, are wholly sceptical of his powers of statesmanship, regard him pre-eminently as a talker and cannot find any reason to suspect that he possesses any hidden gift for the work of administration.

In domestic affairs, politics during the last few weeks has had to contend with the attractions of a perfect June and of an exceptionally full and brilliant "season." This Government, however, has not yet lost the knack of being interesting. The progress of the Old Age Pensions Bill through Committee, the parades and other demonstrations of the woman suffragists, the fight over the Miners' Eight Hours Bill and the highly "popular" discussion aroused by the Daylight Saving Bill, have furnished, along with a bye-election or two, plenty of material for political debate. As to the Old Age Pensions measure, the inevitable process of enlarging its scope and increasing its expense has already begun. Instead of the $30,000,000 which Mr. Asquith talked about, the country is now informed that $37,500,000 will be the minimum cost of the experiment in its opening year. Many of the safeguards that were included in the original scheme have disappeared. The inquiry into the character of applicants for pensions has been whittled down to a mere formality. A

sliding scale has been substituted in place of the fixed minimum income of $2.50 a week that was to entitle to a pension. The age limit remains at seventy, but for how long no man dare prophesy. The disqualification of paupers also remains, but it is avowedly provisional; it is not likely to survive the general revision of the Poor Law which is to be the great work of 1909, and its removal, which is one of the certainties of the future, means an addition of at least $20,000,000 a year. The clause under which married couples of seventy and over, if living together, were to receive less than the sum of two full pensions has already been abandoned. The second reading of the measure was carried by an enormous majority, only a handful of the Opposition daring to vote against it. But, except for the Socialists and the Labor party, no man is quite at ease in the depths of his mind; no one can foresee where the financial demands are to end; no one is even able to state with any show of plausibility how, in the face of an inevitable increase in the Navy estimates, Mr. Lloyd George is to find the money for floating the scheme; and no Free Trader, above all, can be sure that Old Age Pensions may not prove the grave of Free Trade.

Since Mr. Asquith undertook to accept an amendment in favor of woman suffrage, in the Electoral Reform Bill which he has promised for next year, provided that the amendment was a "democratic" one and that the majority of men and women approved it, the suffragists have organized two monster demonstrations to convince him that their movement has the support of the sex. One of the first results of their renewed activities, however, has been to rally the women who are opposed to the agitation and who do not wish to be dragged into politics by their more vehement sisters. An Anti-Suffrage League, with many prominent ladies at the head of it, has been formed and will, I think, undoubtedly carry on a vigorous propaganda. But the suffragists, being the more vocal and the more determined, are also, in my judgment, the winning force. I cannot question the ultimate success of their movement; though when and on what conditions their victory will be achieved are beyond my powers of speculation. Mr. Asquith's proviso that the suffrage must be "on a democratic basis" was designedly cryptic, but practical politicians interpret it as meaning that all women over twenty-one who can qualify as householders are to receive the vote. To

admit to the Parliamentary franchise merely those women who have property of their own would be to make a free gift to the forces of Conservatism—an object for which Liberals, naturally enough, feel no enthusiasm. It is probable, therefore, that to be acceptable to the Government the amendment, in addition to including all women with property in their own right, would also place on the register all married women whose husbands were already entitled to vote. This could be done by making the wife a joint householder, for electoral purposes, with her husband; but whether the Lords will agree to so vast an extension of the suffrage, and what will happen if they refuse, are points of very great uncertainty. Nor is it possible to do more than surmise the opinions either of the majority of men or of the majority of women on the whole question. The main reason for believing that woman suffrage in England is only a question of time rests, after all, on the conviction that politicians on the hunt for votes can be badgered into anything.

A measure which has not shown the Government to the best advantage is the Miners' Eight Hours Bill—a Bill for restricting the average time of employment for miners below ground to eight hours a day, with a maximum of sixty hours' overtime *per annum*. The Bill has been hotly attacked, and the fear of dear coal which it has imprinted on the mind of the average man was undoubtedly a powerful factor in the recent bye-elections. How far that fear is justified, it is impossible, in the face of so much conflicting evidence, for an outsider to determine. The mine-owners and the heads of many industries, in which coal plays a vital part, have estimated that the Bill, if it becomes law, will reduce the output of coal by twenty-six million tons a year, and will throw upon the consumer an extra burden of anywhere from $100,000,000 to $500,000,000 *per annum*. These figures, I need hardly say, are keenly challenged, but the select committee which inquired into the whole subject reported that the establishment of a fixed eight-hours day, whether at a stroke or gradually, "cannot but result in a temporary contraction of output and a consequent period of embarrassment and loss to the country at large." The Government has been so far influenced by this Report as to defer for five years the final introduction of the eight-hours system. But the concession has merely lost them a few friends without winning over any enemies; and there can

hardly, I think, be much doubt that the general public views the measure with extreme disfavor. Coal is the basis of Great Britain's industrial position. In many of her largest industries, in iron, steel and shipping, the cost of coal represents from forty to fifty per cent. of the cost of production and maintenance. Anything, therefore, that artificially reduces the output or raises the price of coal is bound to make its influence felt, not only in every household, but through all branches of British trade. The struggle, it is pointed out, is not one between miners and mine-owners, but between the mining industry and the nation. All the old arguments that have done duty a hundred times before to prove the iniquity of Governmental interference with adult labor are being trotted out again, and still, I dare say, find people to believe in them. But even those who disbelieve in them may well feel puzzled to decide on the merits of this particular measure. The balance of its advantages and its disadvantages is very even. Except among the Labor men (who are by no means unanimous in its support), it finds no really hearty backers, while its enemies are legion. From the party standpoint I imagine that most Liberals would be well pleased to see it done to death in the Lords. They fear its passage, and they well might. No Government in the world would willingly appeal to the country at a time when its legislation had sent up the price of so indispensable a requisite in the home and in the factory as coal.

PARIS, *July, 1908.*

IT is not often that the present writer can advert to three important questions which have just come to what may safely be called their conclusions. But this is actually his privilege to-day, for the nationalization of the Western Railway, the recall of the French troops from Morocco and the final and complete separation of Church and State can be looked upon as history.

The success of the Bill for the nationalization of the Western Railway is a curious paradox: it must be described as nothing less than a victory of M. Clémenceau over his friends, thanks to the assistance of his enemies. On taking office M. Clémenceau had declared that he intended to devote his energies to the accomplishment of three reforms, one of which was the nationalization of the Western Railway, and the other two an Income Tax and an Old Age Pension Fund. Apart from their intrinsic

merits, these reforms were made necessary at that time, on the one hand, by the feeling of distaste caused by the crude anti-clericalism of M. Combes, and, on the other, by the expediency of mollifying the Socialists by borrowing something of their own programme instead of turning them into desperate enemies.

The announcement of the nationalization of the Western Railway was well received in the country. This was, no doubt, another breach of a solemn contract, as the railways are not to be made over to the State before ninety-nine years from their establishment; but the Western Railway had long been threatened with legal dispossession, and the many Americans who have experienced its deficiencies on most of the lines starting from the Montparnasse and Saint-Lazare stations will not marvel at the popular hostility against it.

The Bill was passed through the Chamber, as the most difficult Bills generally are, with amazing rapidity. In such cases the Deputies always trust that the Cabinet will be overthrown and a new Bill brought in, or that the Senate will undertake to make any modifications that may be needed. In fact, the Senate, though strongly in favor of the Premier, evinced from the first quite an exceptional dislike to the idea. The French Senate, though far more numerous and of considerably less influence and power than the corresponding body at Washington, is superior to the Chamber, and consists of men, as a rule, comparatively independent. But, for this very reason, they are likely to be antagonistic to any measure looking like an attack on private property. Not only was the Committee appointed to examine the Bill as sent up from the Chamber almost unanimously opposed to it, but all the Senators suspected of being favorable to it were excluded from the Budget Committee, which is regarded as the most important one. Even M. Léon Bourgeois, who could have been President of the Senate if he had so chosen, was not spared the slight. So it appeared almost immediately that there would be more or less open warfare between the Government and the Senate on this subject.

The reproach of a Socialistic tendency was never made very seriously against the authors of the Bill; the mismanagement of the Company was too evident for that. But the Chairman of the Committee, M. Prevet, insisted all the time that the Government was laying, under pretence of righting a hopeless

situation, an enormous burden on the national finances. In fact, it appears from calculations which have never been seriously contradicted that the yearly expenditure for keeping the railway in proper working order will be at least four million dollars, exclusive of numberless legal cases in which the Government is not, by any means, sure of getting the better of its opponents. The Minister of Public Works, M. Barthou, always contented himself with saying that the state of affairs was getting worse every day for the passengers in the Western trains, that the only remedy was nationalization and that the same step had had been taken in Germany, Belgium and Italy, without any detriment to the State, and without any suspicion of Socialism. Meanwhile, the Committee, hearing of certain private documents necessary to their investigation, applied for them to the Minister, but in vain; and the refusal produced a state of irritation which bordered on resentment when the *discussion générale* — corresponding to committee work in Washington and London—began in the Senate.

The advantage lay throughout with M. Prevet against M. Barthou, who seemed to be supported only by a very few benches at the Extreme Left, and when this preparatory debate was drawing near its close (a vote on the advisability of discussing the various clauses of the Bill), a casual observer would have had no hesitation in predicting a total defeat of the Cabinet, the more so as some officious Senators were endeavoring to ward off the catastrophe by bringing about fresh negotiations between the Government and the Company.

However, considerations other than economical were to carry the most weight, M. Clémenceau, who had never spoken a word in the Senate, openly said that he was sure of a majority of twenty-five votes, and his calculation proved correct. The Senate certainly hated the idea of dispossession by the State of a large company, but they dreaded much more the dispossession by M. Combes of the first Cabinet that ever was able to withstand the efforts of the Socialists. The reader may remember what I said in a previous letter of a conspiracy, exclusively and miserably political, between M. Combes and M. Jaurès, to repair the old *Bloc*. But the restoration of the *Bloc* means nothing if not the Socialist hegemony, a few years of which were almost sufficient to ruin the army and navy, and leave France helpless in the

hands of the Confederacy of Labor. Even the dullest politician, outside the Socialist group and the crew of malcontents headed by M. Combes, realizes that Clémenceau has lifted France out of a most dangerous situation, and it requires the blind vanity of the Radical-Socialists to imagine that government is possible with the concurrence of Jaurès. The practical sense of the landowners, manufacturers and lawyers in the Senate places them above all danger of such a delusion. In spite of appearances, they were consequently resolved to keep Clémenceau in office even at the cost of their pride.

The day before the division a scene took place in the Senate which nobody, only three years ago, could have thought possible. M. Rouvier, the ex-Premier, the only French politician comparable to Clémenceau for lucidity of mind and spirit, actually besought him in pathetic language to desist from a resolution that would only humiliate the Parliament and make them feel as if they were trembling under another Louis XIV. Clémenceau was inexorable, and treated his colleagues of yesterday not as an absolute monarch, but as a strong man will treat trembling children whose safety depends on his presence. He good humoredly told them that he could not unsay what he had said on taking office, and that he could not be content with playing forever the *rôle* of a gendarme. The measure taken against the Western Railway was reasonable, and the Senate had the choice between passing it and looking for another Cabinet.

The division took place at once amidst the greatest agitation, and resulted in a majority of three for the Cabinet, the three votes undoubtedly of the Ministers present. This was a narrow escape; but, as usual in such occurrences, the majority rose immediately to twenty, then to thirty and finally to thirty-eight; and seventeen Senators who had not dared vote at all in the first division came penitently to explain, amidst general laughter, that they could not understand how their names had been omitted, considering that they had always been favorable to the Bill. This was the farcical *dénouement* of what had nearly been a tragedy, the President of the Senate promising most seriously to set an inquiry on foot and leave no stone unturned to know what had become of the vanished tickets.

A few days before this memorable sitting, the Foreign Minister had declared to the Chamber that General d'Amade had received

orders to bring his troops back to Casablanca. The announcement was received with great applause by the Socialists, but with astonishment by everybody else. No recent event had led to an anticipation of such a decision, and everything had seemed contrary to it. The Premier had closeted himself for two days, some weeks ago, with General Lyautey, and the latter on his return to Algeria had behaved as if he had been given *carte blanche,* while General d'Amade pursued a more and more energetic action in the Chaouïa. The almost unbroken success of the troops under this General, after the temporizing campaign of his predecessor, General Drude, had given confidence to the country. There was no protest when the Foreign Minister or M. Clémenceau laughed to scorn the ominous utterances of M. Jaurès: the Chamber had grown quite used to the idea of war. Certainly, M. Ribot and the "*Journal des Débats*" would still occasionally point out possible dangers; but the press, as a rule, had adopted a warlike tone which it had long unlearned. The "*Temps,*" more especially, published several articles during the President's visit to King Edward, which simply viewed the war with Germany and the weight of the *entente cordiale* as if a quarrel had been a certainty. One of the best-known writers in the same paper, M. Tardieu, said that during a recent visit to the United States he had become convinced that the spirited action of General d'Amade in Morocco had done more than all the alliances and agrements and *ententes* to modify the notion held by many Americans that France was on the down grade to decay, and the public seemed to adopt the same view. In short, the Moroccan war had so completely ceased to be a bugbear that it was looked upon, in all quarters, rather as a national tonic. There was, therefore, blank disappointment when the official despatches to General d'Amade were read to the Chamber, and many people have not yet recovered from the feeling.

The motives of M. Clémenceau for changing thus abruptly a policy which had been identified with his name are not clearly apparent; the Chaouïa district has certainly been restored to order, and the marauders who swarmed all over that region, after the Casablanca massacre, will not easily forget the punishment they have received; but tranquillity is far from being secured in the rest of the Empire. Who can tell what the consequences of Moulay-Hafid's inevitable victory over his brother

will be? There would be some prospect of tranquillity really prevailing in Morocco, on the lines of the Algeciras Act, if the Sultan, in whose behalf the Conference took place, were the real sovereign; but he is not, and, to all intents and purposes, the Sultan is Moulay-Hafid—that is to say, a creature and, possibly to-morrow, an agent of Germany.

There may be secret reasons for abandoning Morocco just when every apparent motive seems to point the other way. It may be, also, that M. Clémenceau is, after all, averse to a colonial policy, and,—as M. Cochin told him rather bitterly,—repeats in Morocco what he once did in Egypt. He has energy, decision and intrepidity; but in spite of his dare-devil ways, there is nothing venturesome in his nature. When he has carefully weighed all motives and consequences, he is never daunted from his purpose, and carries his decision through smilingly, but he must have seen clearly what the consequences are likely to be. This is firmness, not audacity. The Premier is more of a Parisian than of a Frenchman. The old French spirit of enterprise is replaced in him by a sober sense of what is possible and what is not, and his recklessness is confined within those limits. It should be added that since 1870 this disposition has been in perfect keeping with the national temper.

Of Church affairs there has been little to be said lately, as all that might be worth noticing is more preparation for a future which does not seem very near than actual occurrences. But we can now record the epilogue of the difficult process known as the Separation of Church and State.

This momentous step was,—it will be remembered,—initiated by the State less under the pressure of facts than under the influence of one of those logical fallacies to which the French mind is wonderfully prone. It seemed to be an admirable policy in the State to ignore the Church, as if such an attitude had not been utterly impossible even in the case of communities much less important than the Roman Church. The difficulty appeared at once when the first Separation Law was debated in 1905. The then Minister of Worship, M. Briand, was soon brought to seek a neutral ground in the constitution of the famous Cultural Associations, the lay members of which were to be the connecting link between the clergy and Government. This arrangement Rome rejected as ignoring the rights of the hierarchy.

The immediate consequence was the confiscation of all Church property and the appropriation by all the municipalities of the places of public worship. However, these places having to remain exclusively dedicated to their original purpose, some sort of agreement was to intervene between the parish boards and the local clergy. M. Briand suggested a yearly declaration to the mayor, but this again fell through, partly through the fault of the Government, but to the evident satisfaction of Rome, and the legal status of the Church of France remained a problem. The solution, or at least the first elements of a possible solution, seemed to have been found some weeks ago on the occasion of a debate on the devolution of the position of Church property that was invested in stock. Five million dollars of this belonged to Funds for the Aged Clergy, but were going, like the rest, to be made over to municipal charities, when the Abbé Lemire succeeded in impressing the Chamber with a sense of the enormity of such a confiscation, and proposed that the sum in question should be lodged with Mutual Assistance Societies, whereupon a Protestant Senator, M. Berger, suggested in his turn that the sums bequeathed to the churches towards religious services for the dead should also be rescued from the general disaster and handed over to the same Societies. Both amendments were passed, and there was a feeling in the country not only that had a piece of iniquity been avoided, but that there was a chance of coming to further arrangements on the same basis. Among the French clergy who have had no chance of being more than passive between Rome and the French Government the satisfaction was unmixed; and the disappointment was great — in spite of the immediate adhesion of all the Bishops—when Rome forbade any steps on the part of the clerical Societies of Assistance to claim back the property offered to them.

Into the motives or, I should say, causes of the Pope's decision this is not the place to enter. Suffice it to say that it was only welcomed with unmitigated joy by men—oftener lay than clerical—who look upon religious fights as promoting political views which have, in fact, nothing to do with religion. It is a cruel truth that the Church of France is as ill served by some of her so-called friends as by her enemies. For the present she is like a nondescript in the country, and her future is by no means clear.

WASHINGTON, *July, 1908.*

ALMOST the whole of the week ending July 11th was spent in Denver, Colorado, by the Democratic National Convention in formulating a platform and designating nominees, whereas, as a matter of fact, all its business might have been transacted within twelve hours in Mr. Bryan's house near Lincoln, Nebraska. As the event showed, the nomination of Mr. Bryan for the Presidency by a majority of more than two-thirds of the delegates was assured unalterably before the Convention was opened, and, subsequently, not a contestant was seated, nor was a single plank fixed definitely in the platform, without Mr. Bryan's approval. Never in our political history has a body, nominally representative, been dominated so absolutely by one man. The Republican National Convention, which met in June in Chicago, was accused of being a mere machine, of which President Roosevelt was the engineer, every movement being dictated from the White House. The truth is that the anti-Roosevelt wing of the Republican party, piloted by Speaker Cannon, succeeded in thwarting a part of Mr. Roosevelt's intentions, so far as the platform of his party was concerned, and in choosing a nominee for the Vice-Presidency whom it is hard to believe that Mr. Roosevelt can have desired. By contrast with the slavish subservience evinced at Denver to the will of an autocrat, the Chicago Convention was an impressive example of freedom of speech and action on the part of the freely chosen spokesmen of a part of a free people. It is true that, in dealing with contesting delegations, the Committee on Credentials at Chicago was charged with employing a steam-roller, but nothing done at Chicago was comparable for cynical defiance of justice with the treatment at Denver of the McCarren delegates from Brooklyn and the Guffey delegates from Philadelphia. It was shrewdly said by an onlooker that the acts and declarations of the Denver Convention are invested with no moral authority, because they reflected nothing except the supposed self-interest and individual determination of an unscrupulous boss.

Of the candidate for the Presidency put forward at Denver nothing can now be said which has not been said repeatedly during the last twelve years. Mr. Bryan is not a Democrat. He is a Populist, or, in other words, a Socialist, so far as he thinks it prudent to carry Socialism at this time. Could he have had his

way in 1896 we should have had the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, and he still advocated the same ruinous measure in 1900. Mr. Bryan also demanded twelve years ago that the power to issue notes to circulate as money should be taken from the national banks, and that all paper money should be issued directly by the Treasury Department, and receivable for all debts, public and private. In effect, this demand was obviously one for unlimited greenbacks, and was taken bodily from the Populist platform. In 1896, he did not blush to advocate the packing of the United States Supreme Court in order to secure a reversal by that tribunal of its decision against an income tax. In 1896, Mr. Bryan vigorously supported the sweeping attack on the Federal judiciary which was embodied in the pseudo-Democratic platform of that year. That, at heart, he wishes to go much farther in a Socialist direction than, as yet, his partisans are willing to accompany him is evident from the fact that, on several occasions during the last three years, he has urged the national ownership of railways. The facts here cited suffice to justify the assertion that a party willing to nominate a third time for the Presidency a man identified with the doctrines named has forfeited the right to call itself Democratic.

As for the nominee for the Vice-Presidency, Mr. John W. Kern of Indiana, his nomination was notoriously dictated by Mr. Bryan with exclusive reference to the campaign in Indiana. That he is not a man possessing the courage of his convictions is manifest, because, in 1896, although a believer in the gold standard, and opposed as a lawyer to any crippling of the equity powers of the Federal Courts, he gave his support to Mr. Bryan and the Chicago platform of that year. Touching the help that he is likely to give his ticket in the State of which he is a resident, we merely note that, when he ran for Governor in 1900, he was beaten by 25,000 votes, and four years later, when again a candidate for the same office, by about 85,000.

As for the platform put forth at Denver, we can best indicate the view which reasonable citizens are likely to take of it by comparing it with the platform on which Mr. Taft is standing. With regard to the revision of the tariff, the Denver platform is much more restrained than was that fashioned at Chicago in 1892, and much less sharply distinguished from the Republican programme, which itself declares unequivocally for a revision

of the tariff at a special session of Congress to follow immediately the inauguration of the next President. The Denver platform, however, would place upon the free list all foreign articles competing with American products controlled by trusts; whereas the Republican programme asserts that, in all tariff legislation, the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and the cost of producing similar articles abroad. Under all the circumstances, it is improbable that tariff revision will play a conspicuous part in the coming contest at the ballot-box. The difference between the two platforms, as regards their respective attitude towards Federal Courts and the issue of injunctions, is less marked than it was in 1896. The Republican party declared this year at Chicago that it would at all times uphold the authority and integrity of the Federal Courts, and would ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. The belief, however, was expressed in June last at Chicago that the rules of procedure in the Federal Courts with respect to the issuance of the writ of injunction should be more accurately defined by statute, and that no injunction or temporary restraining order should be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from delay, in which case a speedy hearing thereafter should be granted. The Denver platform also professes to regard the Courts of justice as the bulwark of our liberties, and declares that "we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity." It is pronounced "an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the Courts." Nevertheless, the delegates to Denver aver that experience has proved the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunctions, and proclaim themselves in favor of a measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, and which provided for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt. There is no doubt that the authority of a Court of Equity would be seriously crippled if a person guilty of indirect contempt (by which is meant a person not in the actual presence of a Court) had a right to claim a trial by jury. It is very questionable whether such an attempt to limit the power of a Court of Equity to uphold its orders would not be pronounced unconstitutional.

Now let us mark what the two platforms say about trusts and corporations. The Chicago platform recalls the fact that the Republican party passed the Sherman anti-trust law over Democratic opposition, and enforced it after Democratic dereliction. According to the Chicago platform, however, experience has shown that the effectiveness of the Sherman anti-trust law can be increased by such amendments as will give to the Federal Government greater supervision and control over those corporations engaged in interstate commerce which have power and opportunity to create monopolies. The Denver programme, on its part, favors rigorous enforcement of the criminal law against guilty trust magnates and officials, and demands the enactment of such additional legislation as shall make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States. Among the new remedies specified at Denver are a law forbidding the duplication of directors among competing corporations; a Federal license for corporations controlling twenty-five per cent. of any product; a prohibition of any corporation's controlling more than fifty per cent. of a given product; and the enforcement of equality of prices in all parts of the country, with allowance for the cost of transportation. It is obvious that the Federal license proposal, if accepted, would invest a President with still more power than he now possesses, power that might be wielded for political effect. With reference to the regulation of railroads, we observe that the Republican platform would amend the interstate commerce law so as to give railroads the right to make and publish traffic agreements, subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, though maintaining always the principle of competition between lines naturally competing. The Denver platform, on the other hand, gives the Interstate Commerce Commission what it does not now possess, to wit, the initiative in actions against companies without waiting for complaints. Touching this proposal, it has been pointed out that to give the Interstate Commerce Commissioners, who are appointees of the Chief Magistrate, power to reduce rates where no complaint has been made by shippers, is to invite the President to order such reductions solely for political effect. Such a power can safely be entrusted to no Executive while the Government of the United States continues to be a football of party politics.

Among the planks which are similar in both platforms may be mentioned postal savings-banks; the improvement of inland waterways; the endorsement of the civil service system; separate Statehood for New Mexico and Arizona; the better protection of the public health; better roads, and a strong navy. The Denver Convention, however, failed to urge the following demands, which were included in the Republican programme, namely, free rural mail delivery for farmers everywhere, the endorsement of international arbitration and a centennial celebration of Lincoln's birth next year. The Denver Convention also omitted to express confidence in a revival of business, or a hope that Cuba would soon be able to resume her sovereignty. A careful comparison of the more important planks here defined is likely to arouse in the thoughtful reader a feeling of wonder whether the delegates to Denver really believed that further threats would re-establish confidence and credit, reopen factories, fill empty freight-cars, and restore wages to the multitude of the unemployed.

If, now, we are asked what likelihood of success has the ticket framed at Denver, we answer that hopelessness was self-confessed when Mr. John W. Kern was selected as the nominee for the Vice-Presidency. If Judge George Gray of Delaware, or ex-Governor Douglas of Massachusetts, or President Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University, New Jersey, could have been prevailed upon to accept the nomination for that office, the ticket made at Denver might have had some prospect of victory in the Eastern States. As things are, Mr. Bryan must win in the Middle West, if anywhere; and his chance of triumph in Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and even Indiana must be admitted to be desperate.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

The Esperanto Congress at Dresden.

On the 16th of August the Esperantists of the world will again unite in Congress to celebrate another year's progress of Esperanto and to organize for another year's campaign in both hemispheres. The movement is quite obviously a very vital one, for it keeps constantly adding to its numbers. Thousands of men and women became Esperantists after the Congress of last year held at Cambridge, England. Britain, the conservative, saw fifteen hundred people gathered in one of its own old cities who spoke nothing but this strange new musical tongue—and Britain was impressed with the phenomenon. Hundreds of Englishmen joined the Esperantists after that.

This year the Congress at Dresden, in Germany, will probably be even more fruitful of results. The academic spirit of exclusion is indeed strong in the Kaiser's Empire, but, on the other hand, progress, particularly in commerce, industry and science, is virtually the watchword of Germany; and to progress in these domains Esperanto can be, and in a measure already is, of tremendous assistance. Once the language is brought home to Germany at large by such a gathering as a universal Congress, Germany will without doubt make the most of it.

In its more ideal phases the approaching Congress is already an international benefit. Every one knows of the animosity that still exists between France and Germany. Now, it so happens that France generally sends the most enthusiastic as well as the most numerous delegations to the Esperanto Congresses. The coming of hundreds of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen across the Rhine and their association with German *samideanoj* in a friendly, neutral language will do much to soften remaining asperities.

The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will be represented at the Dresden Congress as usual and we trust that as many members as possible of the Esperanto Society organized by the REVIEW will be present at the Dresden Congress and will arrange to meet there. Notice of place and date will be posted on the general bulletin board.

As we go to press Esperantists from every part of our American continent are gathering at Chautauqua to hold the first Esperanto Convention ever held on American soil. The Convention is to last a week, and is provided with an excellent programme of lectures and speeches. That is a splendid sign; it shows that in America also the spirit of Esperanto is alive and the need felt. The time, we believe, is at hand when a universal Congress should be held in this country. Once the facility and the usefulness of Esperanto are brought home to us, Esperanto is sure to advance here even more rapidly than it has advanced in Europe. This REVIEW will do all in its power to assure our European Esperantist friends of a welcome on this side of the Atlantic, should they consent to come next summer, and to make their visit an unqualified success.

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XX.

(1) La vino estas blasfemanto, ebriiga trinkaĵo estas sovaĝa, kaj kiu delogiĝas per ili, tiu ne estas prudenta. (2) Minaco de reĝo estas kiel kriego de leono; kiu lin kolerigas, tiu pekas kontraŭ sia vivo. (3) Estas honoro por homo ĉesigi malpacon; sed ĉiu malsaĝulo estas malpacema. (4) En la malvarma tempo mallaborulo ne plugas; li petos en somero, kaj li nenion ricevos. (5) Intenco en la koro de homo estas profunda akvo, sed homo saĝa ĝin elĉerpos. (6) Multaj homoj parolas pri sia boneco, sed kiu trovos homon fidelan? (7) Virtulo iras en sia senpekeco; feliĉaj estas liaj infanoj post li. (8) Reĝo, kiu sidas sur trono de juĝo, dispelas per siaj okuloj ĉion malbonan. (9) Kiu povas diri: "Mi purigis mian koron, mi estas libera de mia peko?" (10) Neegalaj peziloj, neegalaj mezuroj, ambaŭ estas abomenaĵo por Dio. (11) Eĉ knabon oni povas ekkoni laŭ liaj faroj, ĉu estas pura kaj justa lia konduto. (12) Orelon aŭdantan kaj okulon vidantan—ilin ambaŭ kreis Dio. (13) Ne amu dormon, por ke vi ne malriĉiĝu; malfermu viajn okulojn, kaj vi satiĝos de pano. (14) "Malbona, malbona," diras la aĉetanto; sed kiam li foriris, tiam li fanfaronas. (15) Oni povas havi oron kaj multe da perloj, sed saĝa buŝo estas multevalora ilo. (16) Prenu lian veston, ĉar li garantiis por aliulo, kaj pro la fremduloj prenu

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for The North American Review. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

de li garantiaĵon. (17) Malhonesta pano estas bongusta por homo, sed lia buŝo poste estas plena de ŝtonetoj. (18) Intencoj fortikiĝas per konsilo, kaj militon oni faru prudente. (19) Kiu malkaŝas sekreton, estas kiel kalumnianto; ne komunikiĝu kun tiu, kiu havas larĝan buŝon. (20) Kiu malbenas sian patron kaj patrinon, ties lumilo estingiĝos meze de profunda mallumo. (21) Heredo, al kiu oni komence tro rapidas, ne estas benata en sia fino. (22) Ne diru: "Mi repagos malbonon"; fidu Dion, kaj Li vin helpos. (23) Neegalaj peziloj estas abomenaĵo por Dio, kaj malvera pesilo estas ne bona. (24) La irado de homo dependas de Dio; kiel homo povus kompreni sian vojon? (25) Ĝi estas reto por homo, se li rapidas kun io sankta kaj post faro de promeso li esploras. (26) Saĝa reĝo dispelas malvirtulojn kaj venigas radon sur ilin. (27) La animo de homo estas lumilo de Dio, ĝi esploras ĉiujn internaĵojn de la korpo. (28) Favorkoreco kaj veremeco gardas reĝon, kaj per favorkoreco li subtenas sian tronon. (29) Gloro por junuloj estas ilia forto, kaj ornamo por maljunuloj estas grizeco. (30) Vundoj de batoj devas penetri en malbonulon, kaj frapoj devas iri profunde en lian korpon.

ĈAPITRO XXI.

(1) Kiel akvaj torentoj estas la koro de reĝo en la mano de Dio: kien Li volas, Li ĝin direktas. (2) Ĉiuj vojoj de homo estas ĝustaj en liaj okuloj, sed Dio pesas la korojn. (3) Plenumado de vero kaj justeco estas al Dio pli agrabla, ol oferado. (4) Fieraj okuloj kaj aroganta koro, lumilo de malvirtuloj, estas peko. (5) La entreprenoj de diligentulo donas nur profiton, sed ĉiu trorapidado kondukas nur al manko. (6) Akirado de trezoroj per lango mansogema estas vanta bloveto de serĉantoj de morto. (7) La rabo de malvirtuloj atakos ilin men, ĉar ili ne volis fari justaĵon. (8) Malrekta estas la vojo de homo kulpa, sed la agado de purulo estas ĝusta. (9) Pli bone estas loĝi sur angulo de tegmento, ol kun malpacema edzino en komuna domo. (10) La animo de malvirtulo deziras malbonon; lia proksimulo ne estas favorata de li. (11) Kiam blasfemanto estas punata, senspertulo fariĝas pli saĝa; kaj kiam oni instruas saĝulon, li akiras prudenton. (12) Virtulo tenas sin prudente rilate la domon de malvirtulo, kaj li faligas malvirtulojn en malbonon. (13) Se iu ŝtopas sian orelon kontraŭ kriado de malriĉulo, li ankaŭ vokos kaj ne estos aŭskultata. (14) Sekreta donaco

kvietigas koleron, kaj donaco en la baskon — fortan furiozon. (15) Farado de justaĵo estas ĝojo por la virtulo kaj teruro por la malbonaguloj. (16) Homo, kiu erarforiĝis de la vojo de prudento, ekloĝos en komunumo de inferuloj. (17) Kiu amas gajecon, tiu havos mankon; kiu amas vinon kaj oleon, ne estos riĉa. (18) La malvirtulo estos liberiga anstataŭo por la virtulo, kaj malpiulo por piuloj. (19) Pli bone estas loĝi en lando dezerta, ol kun malpacema kaj kolerema edzino. (20) Ĉarma trezoro kaj oleo estas en la domo de saĝulo, sed homo malsaĝa ĉion englutas. (21) Kiu celas justecon kaj bonecon, tiu trovos vivon, justecon kaj honoron. (22) Kontraŭ urbo de fortuloj eliras saĝulo, kaj li faligas ĝian fortan fortikaĵon. (23) Kiu gardas sian buŝon kaj sian langon, tiu gardas sian animon kontraŭ malfeliĉoj. (24) Fiera malbonulo, kiun oni nomas blasfemulo, agas kun kolero kaj malboneco. (25) La deziro de mallaborulo lin mortigas, ĉar liaj manoj ne volas labori. (26) Ĉiuage li forte deziras; sed virtulo donas kaj ne rifuzas. (27) Oferdono de malvirtuloj estas abomenaĵo, ĉar kun malico ĝi estas alportata. (28) Mensoga atestanto pereos, sed homo, kiu mem aŭdis, ĉiam parolos. (29) Malvirtulo tenas sian vizaĝon arogante, sed virtulo fortikigas sian vojon. (30) Ne ekzistas saĝo, ne ekzistas prudento, ne ekzistas konsilo kontraŭ Dio. (31) Ĉevalo estas preparata por la tago de milito, sed la helpo venas de Dio.

ĈAPITRO XXII.

(1) Nomo estas pli bona, ol granda riĉeco, kaj bona estimo estas pli bona, ol arĝento kaj ŏro. (2) Riĉulo kaj malriĉulo renkontiĝas, ilin ambaŭ kreis Dio. (3) Prudentulo vidas malbonon kaj kaŝiĝas, sed malsaĝuloj iras kaj difektiĝas. (4) Por humileco kaj timo antaŭ Dio oni ricevas riĉecon kaj honoron kaj vivon. (5) Dornoj kaj retoj estas sur la vojo de malbonagulo; kiu gardas sian animon, tiu malproksimiĝas de ili. (6) Instruu knabon en la komenco de lia vojo, kaj eĉ maljuniĝinte li ne dekliniĝos de ĝi. (7) Riĉulo regas super malriĉuloj, kaj kiu pruntepreno, tiu estas sklavo de la pruntedonanto. (8) Kiu semas maljustaĵon, tiu rikoltos suferon, kaj la kano de lia krueleco rompiĝos. (9) Bonokululo estos benata, ĉar li donas el sia pano al malriĉulo. (10) Forpelu blasfemulon, kaj foriros malpaco, kaj ĉesos malkonsento kaj ofendo. (11) Kiu amas purecon de koro kaj agrable parolas, al tiu la reĝo estas amiko.

(12) La okuloj de Dio gardas la prudenton, sed la vortojn de maliculo li renversas. (13) Mallaborulo diras: "Leono estas ekstere, mi povus esti mortigita meze de la strato." (14) La buŝo de malĉastulino estas profunda foso; kiun Dio koleras, tiu tien enfalas. (15) Malsaĝeco forte sidas en la koro de knabo, sed vergo punanta ĝin elpelas el ĝi. (16) Kiu premas malriĉulon, por pligrandigi sian riĉecon, tiu donas al riĉulo, por ke li malriĉiĝu. (17) Klinu vian orelon kaj aŭskultu vortojn de saĝuloj, kaj direktu vian koron al mia instruo. (18) Ĉar ili estos agrablaj, se vi gardos ilin en via interno, ili estos ĉiuj pretaj sur viaj lipoj. (19) Ke al Dio estu via fido, tion mi instruis al vi hodiaŭ. (20) Ĉu mi ne skribis al vi tion trifoje kun konsiloj kaj scio. (21) Por sciigi al vi la ĝustecon de la paroloj de vero, por ke vi transdonu la parolojn de vero al tiuj, kiuj vin sendis? (22) Ne prirabu malriĉulon, pro tio, ke li estas malriĉa, kaj ne premu senhavulon ĉe la pordego. (23) Ĉar Dio defendos ilian aferon kaj dispremos iliajn premantojn. (24) Ne amikiĝu kun homo kolerema, kaj ne komunikiĝu kun homo flamiĝema, (25) ke vi ne lernu lian vojon kaj ne ricevu reton por via animo. (26) Ne estu inter tiuj, kiuj firmigas per mano, kiuj garantias por ŝuldoj. (27) Se vi ne havos per kio pagi, oni ja prenos vian litaĵon de sub vi. (28) Ne forŝovu la antikvajn limojn, kiujn faris viaj patroj. (29) Se vi vidas homon lertan en sia profesio, li staros antaŭ reĝoj, li ne staros antaŭ maleminentuloj.

Ninety-fourth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. **Vol. 188: No. 3.**

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

September, 1908.

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THE EDITOR'S DIARY

A Decalogue for Women?

White Rock

"The World's Best Table Water"

Funniest book of the year, "Richard's Poor Almanack," beautifully bound and illustrated, sent for 10c. Address White Rock, Flatiron Building, New York.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

HENRY WADE ROGERS,

Dean of the Law Department of Yale University, was graduated from the University of Michigan in 1874. He was admitted to the bar in 1877. In 1883 he was appointed Professor of Law in the Law School of the University of Michigan, of which he was Dean from 1885 to 1890. He was president of the Northwestern University from 1890 to 1901, when he was appointed Professor of Law in Yale University. He is the author of a number of standard works on legal subjects, including a treatise on "Expert Testimony."

COLONEL CHARLES W. LARNED, U.S.A.,

graduated at West Point in 1870. He forthwith joined the Third Cavalry as second lieutenant, was shortly transferred to the Seventh Cavalry, and was engaged in reconstruction duty with his regiment in the South from 1871 to 1873. He was a member of the Stanley expedition against the Sioux Indians, and took part in the engagement of the Big Horn River in 1873. Since 1876 he has been Professor of Technical and Military Graphics and Applied Geometry at West Point. He is the author of a work entitled "The Great Discourse," and a frequent contributor to magazines on artistic, military and religious subjects.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

is a graduate of the University of North Carolina, and holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the same institution. He has been a tutor and Fellow in the University of Chicago, and now he is associate professor of mathematics at his Alma Mater. He has published a number of articles, particularly on modern dramatic subjects, in many magazines, both American and foreign.

W. S. Rossiter,

after graduating from Amherst College in 1884, filled a position in the business department of "The New York Tribune," and, later, of "The New York Press." Subsequently, he established a printing and publishing business on his own account, and in 1900 he was called to Washington to take charge of the publication of the reports of the Twelfth Census, and also to prepare the Twelfth Census report on printing and publishing. In 1904 he was appointed Chief Clerk of the Census, and he has since occupied that position, retaining also the supervision of the printing of the Census Bureau. He is the author of a volume of short stories and of various statistical papers and magazine articles.

Henry White

graduated at one of the public schools of New York City, and adopted the trade of clothing-cutting. At the age of eighteen he joined the Knights of Labor. In 1891 he founded the United Garment Workers of America, of which association he was a general officer from the beginning, and became General Secretary in 1896; and he represented that body at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. In 1904 he resigned office, because of his opposition to the series of strikes begun in New York against the open-shop attitude of the National Clothiers' Association. Mr. White was a member of the National Civic Federation up to the time of his resignation from the United Garment Workers. On the appointment of Governor Roosevelt, he represented the State of New York at the National Trust Conference in Chicago in 1900. He is a member of the New York Ethical Society and an executive member of the Citizens' Union.

Theodore A. Bingham,

who has been Police Commissioner of New York City since 1906, is a graduate of West Point, and was formerly in the United States army, from which he retired in 1904 with the rank of Brigadier-General. While in the army he performed distinguished services as engineer officer and as military *attaché* in various legations.

Mundji Bey Fikri,

a member of an old Turkish family, was born in Constantinople in 1871. His father, Fikri Pasha, was prominent in

Ottoman politics. Mundji Bey, after graduating from the College of Political Science *(Mektebee Mulkie)* in 1879, was appointed to a Secretaryship in the Turkish Foreign Office. In 1894 he became Vice-Consul at Athens, and in 1895 he was promoted to the Consulship at Chalcas. In 1897 he came to New York as Consul, and in 1900 he was Consul-General at The Hague. Last year he was appointed Consul-General at New York, and since the establishment of the new *régime* in Turkey he has acted also as *Chargé d'Affaires* at Washington. Mundji Bey has been actively interested in journalistic and literary work. He is the author of a number of novels in the Turkish language.

PERCY MACKAYE

graduated from Harvard University in 1897, and studied at the University of Leipzig from 1899 to 1900. For two years he travelled in Europe, residing in some of the more important cities. Since 1904 he has been engaged in writing plays. Among his best-known works are: "The Canterbury Pilgrims," a comedy; "Fenris the Wolf," a tragedy; "Jeanne d'Arc"; and "Sappho and Phaon," a tragedy.

SALVATORE CORTESI,

a native of Rome, has been engaged for many years in journalism, and his career in that profession has been signalized by a number of brilliant achievements. In 1891, after the memorable lynching of Italians in New Orleans, he came to America as the representative of the "*Tribuna*," the leading Roman paper. He represented the Italian press at the International Press Congresses in Stockholm and Lisbon, and, since 1902, he has been the Chief of the Italian Bureau of the Associated Press. He represented the Associated Press at the Portsmouth Peace Conference, the Morocco Conference at Algeciras, and at the last Peace Congress at The Hague.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN,

Professor of Logic at Princeton University, was born at Peoria, Illinois, on April 19th, 1861, and graduated from Princeton in 1882. Among his published works are "Inductive Logic," "Deductive Logic," "The Problems of Philosophy" and "Hegel's Logic."

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN

was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1841, and attended Guilford College in his native State. He graduated from

Amherst College in 1862, and from Harvard Medical School in 1867. During the Civil War he served as a private in the Fifty-first Massachusetts Volunteers. He has resided since 1864 in Rhode Island, to the Legislature of which State he has been elected fifteen times. He was elected Governor of the State in 1902 and 1903.

SYDNEY BROOKS

is an English journalist who has already contributed a number of articles to the REVIEW on a variety of subjects. He visited Ireland last year, and spent a number of months in observing on the spot existing conditions in that country.

CLAYTON HAMILTON

is a graduate of Columbia University, where he has also served as tutor in English. Since 1904 he has lectured extensively on literary topics, and has contributed essays, sketches and stories to the magazines. In collaboration with Miss Grace Isabel Colbron, he produced a play, "The Love that Blinds."

CHRISTIAN GAUSS

was born in 1878 at Ann Arbor, Michigan. He studied at the University of Michigan and in Paris, and subsequently became a member of the faculty of his Alma Mater. At present he is a professor of Romance languages and literatures at Princeton. He has contributed both verse and critical articles to various magazines.

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MOODY'S MAGAZINE

THE NATIONAL INVESTOR'S MONTHLY

35 NASSAU STREET, - NEW YORK

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
No. DCXXXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1908.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW FEDERALISM.

BY HENRY WADE ROGERS, LL.D., DEAN OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

A TENDENCY has developed within a few years to increase the power of the Federal Government at the expense of the State Government, and in the Federal Government to enhance the power of the Executive Department at the expense of both the Judicial and the Legislative Departments. A disposition has also manifested itself to ignore the canons of constitutional construction which heretofore have guided the courts of this country, and to establish a new theory which shall give to the Constitution that quality of elasticity which is the characteristic of the common law. There also appear an increasing antagonism to the courts and an attempt to create a feeling that they are anti-democratic and should be shorn of their power to nullify unconstitutional legislation. The Constitution is itself beginning to be regarded by some of our people as an antiquated document which has been outgrown, and which established a government that was democratic in name but anti-republican in fact. An antipathy is expressed to the limitations of power which the Constitution has imposed and which the Fathers reverenced and deemed necessary. These tendencies are found to some extent

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in both of the great parties and in all sections of the country. The tendencies are menacing and they should be earnestly opposed and strenuously resisted. It is not surprising that, among eighty-five millions of people, theories of government should be advanced which are false, visionary and mischievous. But the expression of such views need not occasion any serious apprehension. The American people, in their final judgment, are not likely to go wrong, or to consent that reckless innovation shall proceed unchecked. The foundation principles of our institutions are not to be undermined and destroyed.

The chief difficulty the framers of the Constitution encountered was in coming to an agreement as to the powers which relate to the maintenance of the Central Government, which are known as structural powers. A great diversity of opinion existed as to the structure of the new government. Should representation be in proportion to the population or should it recognize equality of the States? Should Congress be composed of two Houses or one? What regulation should be prescribed as to the time, place and manner of electing the members of Congress? Should the Executive be one or several persons? How should the Executive be chosen and for what term; and should he be eligible for re-election? Should the Executive be surrounded by a council? How should the judicial department be constituted, and what should be its jurisdiction?

But less difficulty was experienced when it came to defining the functional powers of the Government. The whole history and experience of the country indicated very plainly the line of partition between the powers of the States and of the National Government. From the very beginning of our Government, we have recognized a partition of powers. Matters of Imperial concern had belonged, throughout the Colonial period, to the Imperial Government; while matters of local concern were regulated by each Colony for itself. The line of division separating these powers was not sharply defined by organic law, but it continued to exist down to the time when the Articles of Confederation were adopted.

The founders of the Republic established the Constitution upon the fundamental principles of the absolute autonomy of the States, except in respect to the interests common to the entire country. They realized to the full extent that upon no

other principle would it be possible to maintain a republican government over a country even as large as ours then was.

Once the question was whether the States would destroy the National Government. Now the question seems to be whether the National Government shall be permitted to destroy the States. It was the fear that that question might sometime arise which led Samuel Adams and John Hancock in Massachusetts, George Clinton in New York and Patrick Henry in Virginia to withhold for so long their assent to the ratification of the Constitution. But, under the Constitution, the States are as indestructible as the Union. The Constitution looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States. Actual abolition of the States is impossible. There are, however, forces in operation which seek to reduce the States to administrative departments like those of France. There is an increasing tendency to regard a State as a mere geographical expression, rather than as a political division of the country. There ought to be, in every part of our country, not only a revival of knowledge of the Constitution, but a careful study and weighing of the opinions of the Fathers as they found expression in the debates in the Convention which framed the Constitution, and in the Conventions of the several States which ratified that instrument.

There is a constitutional and wholesome doctrine of State rights the maintenance of which is of the utmost importance to the continued welfare of the Republic. In the name of State rights certain extreme and disorganizing views were at one time promulgated, which the country received with disfavor. In our day, nullification is recognized as folly and secession as a crime. But it has been said that, because this folly and this crime were committed in the name of State rights, it would be folly to infer that the name may not have a good meaning and represent a useful thing.

If the Government is to endure, the people must steadfastly maintain two essential and fundamental principles: the first is, that the National Government possesses all the powers granted to it in the Constitution, either expressly or by necessary implication; and the second is, that the States possess all governmental powers not granted to the General Government or reserved to the people.

We are threatened with a revival of Federalism—a Federal-

ism that is more extreme and radical than the leaders of the old Federal party ever countenanced. The argument proceeds on the assumption that the States have failed to perform their duty properly, so that great evils have grown up which the States cannot or will not remedy, and from which we should have been free if only the Federal Government had possessed the authority and not the States.

That the evils exist is conceded. That the States have not done their full duty also is conceded. But that the Federal Government would have done better is a mere assumption, and one I am not prepared to accept. Congress now has in the Territories and District of Columbia all the powers which the State Governments possess; yet the legislation respecting the corporations which Congress has enacted has not been better than the legislation of the States on the same subject. The laws of Congress have not secured publicity of accounts, nor prevented over-capitalization and stock-watering, and an adequate system of inspection has not been established over Federal corporations. The Union Pacific Railroad, with which Congress has been concerned, had, upon its reorganization in 1897, a share capital of $136,000,000, which at market prices was worth only $54,000,000, showing an estimated over-capitalization of $81,330,000. Congress has provided for the examination of the National Banks. But the inspection of the National Banks is not superior to the system which Massachusetts has established for the inspection of its State banks. The law of Massachusetts regulating insurance companies is as good as, and in some respects better than, that which the advocates of a Federal law endeavored to get Congress to enact a year or two ago. And about the time the President was declaring in messages to Congress that the States were incompetent to deal with the problem of insurance, the State of New York, under the guidance of its present Governor, enacted an admirable piece of legislation, superior to that which a president of a New Jersey insurance company, himself a Senator, was seeking to impose upon Congress, under the fallacious assumption that insurance was interstate commerce, the Supreme Court of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. During the present year, the same State, under the direction of the same Governor, has enacted a Public Utilities Law which, as a piece of constructive legislation intended to

curb the public service corporations, is in advance of anything which has come from Congress respecting the corporations it has created, or over which it has control as the legislature for the Territories and the District of Columbia.

That in times past State Legislatures have been under the control of special interests is too true. But, unfortunately, so has Congress. One evidence of it is seen in the tariffs established from time to time. Under the pretence of protecting labor, tariffs have been fixed, not merely high enough to cover the difference in the cost of labor here and abroad, but far in excess thereof, and so high that the great mass of the people of this country have been exploited that the privileged few might build up enormous fortunes. The legislation has not been in the interest of the working-man nor for the benefit of the people as a whole, but quite the reverse. Those who have been benefited by such legislation have been certain privileged classes, the coal barons and the beef barons, the steel barons and the lumber barons, the sugar barons and tobacco barons of the country, who have been permitted by Congress to write the tariff laws of the United States.

Scandals there have been at times under the State Governments, and scandals likewise there have been under the Federal Government. Unfortunately, scandals are likely to arise under any government; for the men who are entrusted with public office are not always of high character or distinguished for probity. But the National Government has had its full share in the shame and disgrace occasioned by those who have betrayed their public trusts. Some years ago, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, speaking in the Senate of the United States of a work authorized by Congress, said:

> "When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent and uniting the two great seas that wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three Committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud."

The fraud and corruption which have attended upon our dealings with the Indians extend through a century of dishonor. The memory of the Crédit Mobilier, of the Whiskey Ring and of the Star Route Ring has not faded out of mind. The revela-

tion made a short time ago as to the corruption which existed in the Post-office Department and in the Agricultural Department are fresh in the public recollection, as are the frauds connected with the administration of the public lands. But recently, the President suspended the Public Printer on charges of mal-administration.

The tendency to take their domestic affairs from the control of the State is shown by the agitation in favor of a national incorporation law. It is assumed that the power to regulate commerce includes the right to regulate the corporation which is engaged in commerce. But if, under its power to regulate commerce, Congress can assume control over all corporations which engage in interstate commerce, it is difficult to see why it has not an equal right to assume a like control over all partnerships that do any interstate business, as well as over all individuals whose business is of a similar nature. In this way, Congress can take to itself jurisdiction over a very large part of the business of the country, withdrawing from the control of the States what always has been supposed to be within their peculiar province, and working a fundamental change in the character of the Government itself. It may be very seriously questioned whether the mere fact that a corporation or a partnership is engaged in interstate commerce affords any sound legal reason for assuming that Congress has the right to exercise an exclusive jurisdiction over every such corporation and partnership or individual who engages in interstate commerce, even though the interstate commerce may be but a part of the business of such corporation or partnership, as they may be likewise engaged in intrastate commerce. So that if the regulation of corporations is a regulation of interstate commerce it may be a regulation of intrastate commerce as well.

If Congress has jurisdiction over every corporation which to any extent engages in interstate commerce, what is there to prevent Congress from declaring that the vast properties which these corporations control shall not be taxed by the State Governments without the consent of Congress? The States cannot tax National Banks except to the extent authorized by the national banking law. If all corporations engaged in interstate commerce are to be compelled to incorporate under a national incorporation law, why may not Congress prohibit the States

from taxing such corporations or the properties which they own? It is nothing to the purpose to say that Congress would never exercise the power. The fact that it could exercise the power, and might sometime do so to a greater or less extent, is one not lightly to be lost sight of, as these corporations own a very large proportion of the wealth of the country, the withdrawal of which from the taxing power of the States would be most mischievous, crippling the resources of the States and imposing new burdens of taxation on the individual citizen.

The disposition to extend the power of Congress beyond its constitutional limits and unduly to diminish the proper legislative authority of the States is farther exemplified in the passage by Congress in 1906 of the Employers' Liability Act. Congress assumed that, under its power to regulate commerce, it could pass the Act and apply it to all employees of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, even though such employees rendered no service in the transportation of interstate commerce, such as engineers of local trains, section hands, mechanics in car and machine shops and clerks in offices. The Supreme Court in the Employers' Liability cases declared the law unconstitutional and denied the contention of the Attorney-General that where one engages in interstate commerce one thereby comes under the power of Congress as to all his business and may not complain of any regulation which Congress may choose to adopt.

The extreme to which advocates of the New Federalism go is shown in the proposal to enact the Beveridge Child-labor Law and make it applicable throughout the United States. The Supreme Court has decided that the power to regulate commerce does not confer power to regulate manufactures, as commerce and manufactures are not synonymous. But the advocates of the Bill asserted that the Government has the power to shut out from interstate business any article manufactured in violation of the Act. To assume that Congress can do this is to assume that it can regulate the hours of labor, the wages paid and prices charged by any factory in the United States for goods which are to find their way into interstate commerce. To assume that the Congress has any such power is to assume that American statesmen and American lawyers for a hundred and twenty years have not understood the Constitution of this country aright.

The excuse made for bringing a bill of this kind before Congress was that the States had not discharged their full duty in the matter. But if half of the States have not enacted a Child-labor Law, they are no more delinquent than Congress. No one questions that Congress has a constitutional right to make such a law applicable to the District of Columbia and for the Territories. It has, however, never done so, and the same condemnation which its advocates pronounce upon the States which have failed to enact such laws is as applicable to the Congress for a similar neglect within the limits of its unquestioned jurisdiction. Undoubtedly, there should be such a law in each State, and one already exists in a majority of the States.

Until recently, it had always been supposed that the Federal Government had no possessive title to the water flowing in navigable streams, nor to the lands composing their beds and shores. It had not been thought that Congress could grant any absolute authority to any one to use and occupy such water and land for manufacturing and industrial purposes. The theory has been that the Federal Government controlled navigable streams for the single purpose of preventing obstruction to navigation. The States have granted the use of these streams for power or irrigation purposes, and their action has always been understood to be subject to be reviewed by the Congress, but only to the extent of determining whether that which the States had authorized would constitute an interference with commerce. Now, apparently unmindful of an impressive line of decisions of the courts which assert the doctrine that the waters of a river and the waters of the arms of the sea belong to the States and not to the Federal Government, the President recently sent a message to the Congress asserting a right in the General Government to exact tolls for the use of the waters in navigable streams, and of his intention to veto all bills granting water-power rights which do not authorize the President or the Secretary concerned to collect such tolls as he may find to be just and reasonable. A Republican Senator properly characterized the doctrine as "the most far-reaching and over-reaching claim of power that ever was made in a government." And he added: "The Kings and Emperors claim no such rights in their lands."

The President of the United States has made known on various occasions his conviction that what the country needs is

"through executive action, through legislation and through judicial interpretation and construction, to increase the power of the Federal Government." His distinguished Secretary of State, one of the most eminent members of the American Bar, whose ability and patriotism no man calls in question, agrees with him. In one of his speeches, Mr. Secretary Root has said:

"It is useless for the advocates of State rights to inveigh against the supremacy of the constitutional laws of the United States or against the extension of national authority in the fields of necessary control, when the States themselves fail in the performance of their duty. The instinct for self-government among the people of the United States is too strong to permit them long to refute any one's right to exercise a power which he fails to exercise. The governmental control which they deem just and necessary they will have. It may be that such control would be better exercised in particular instances by the government of the States, but the people will have the control they need either from the States or from the National Government, and if the States fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised in the National Government."

In other words, centralization of power in the nation is to be accomplished not by amendment of the Constitution depriving States of the rights which now are theirs under the Constitution, but they are to be deprived of those rights by construction and interpretation. The revolutionary character of these utterances will be better understood if they are read in the light of the principles laid down by the leading authority on American Law. In his great work on Constitutional Limitations, Mr. Justice Cooley says:

"A Constitution is not to be made to mean one thing at one time, and another at some subsequent time when the circumstances may have so changed as perhaps to make a different rule in the case seem desirable. . . . A Court or Legislature which should allow a change in public sentiment to influence it in giving to a written Constitution a construction not warranted by the intention of its founders, would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty. . . . What a Court is to do, therefore, is to declare the law as written, leaving it to the people themselves to make such changes as new circumstances require. The meaning of the Constitution is fixed when it is adopted, and it is not different at any subsequent time when a Court has occasion to pass upon it."

Another distinguished commentator on the Constitution, Mr. Tucker, says:

"The idea that usurpation, or necessity, or a supposed extension as the consequence of custom or progress of society, can make jural any power not constitutionally conferred is contrary to American political science, fatal to the liberties of the people and is only a wicked pretext for the violation of sworn obligations. Such an idea would really mean this—that persistent usurpation of power by a Government, acting under the prescribed limitations of a written Constitution, could amend and change that Constitution, which by its terms can only be amended by the body politic itself. It would make the Government a self-creator of its own powers, instead of the creation of the body politic with only delegated powers. It would take sovereignty from the people and vest it in the Government; and transfer all political authority by flagrant usurpation from the body politic to the omnipotent Government. Written Constitutions would be destroyed, and the self-usurped omnipotence of irresponsible government would be enacted upon their ruins."

This, it should be needless to say, is the doctrine of the Supreme Court. That Court has lately said:

"The Constitution is a written instrument; as such, its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted, it means now. . . . Those things which are written within its grant of power, as those grants were understood when made, are still within them; and those things not within them remain still excluded. . . . As long as it continues to exist in its present form, it speaks not only in the same words, but with the same meaning and intent with which it spoke when it came from the hands of its framers."

To be told by men in high authority that the Constitution is to be changed by construction and interpretation, so that it shall mean something different from what it says and from what it has always been understood to mean, and from what it was intended to mean by those who framed and adopted it, is evidence of an extraordinary disregard of the accepted principles of courts and commentators.

The proposal to discard the idea that the Constitution always means the same thing, and to adopt the theory that the courts shall by construction make it mean what the people want it to mean or what the exigencies of the occasion may seem to require it to mean, is in effect to propose that the Supreme Court shall have the power, by a vote of five to four, to amend the instrument according to their views of what it is desirable it should mean. This power the courts are to have in order to give elasticity to the Constitution. The Constitution points out the method by which the people are to amend it when, in their judgment, it

needs amendment. But, as the people have not made much use of the amending power, it is concluded that instead of requiring a change in the Constitution to be ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, as the framers provided, it will be much the simpler and easier way just to permit the Supreme Court to make the change by construction, even though it be by a five to four vote, so construing the words used in the instrument as to give them, not the meaning which those who framed and adopted the instrument meant them to have, but the meaning which the majority of the Court may think that the people at that particular time most approve. To secure the approval of five of the judges of the Supreme Court may be less troublesome than to secure the approval of the Legislatures of thirty-four States. But any theory of construction which makes the Constitution mean what a majority of the people think at a given time it should mean, is certainly not in accordance with the law and the prophets. A Federal judge of an inferior court, in a paper read before the American Bar Association at Portland in August last, argued in support of this new theory. But, as Mr. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States has said, those who hold to this theory are, "happily, few in number." Continuing, Justice Harlan declared that "such theories of constitutional construction find no support in judicial decisions or in sound reason, least of all in the final judgments of that tribunal whose greatest function is to declare the meaning and the scope of the fundamental law."

In weighing the arguments for national as against State control, it may be well to remember that a minority of the people not only may elect, but since 1856 more frequently have elected, the President. In the States, on the other hand, the Governors are more generally chosen by a majority vote of the electors. Including 1856, there have been thirteen Presidential elections, and in only six out of thirteen did the successful candidate secure a majority of the popular vote. On the other hand, during the same period the State of New York has held thirty-five gubernatorial elections, and the successful candidate obtained a majority of votes in all but five of them. Under our system, it has not only happened that during the past fifty years the President has generally been chosen by a minority of

the people, but that the minority party has in some instances gained the House of Representatives and by a large majority. For example, in 1860 the Republican party elected its candidate for President although he had but forty per cent. of the popular vote, and at the same time it elected sixty per cent. of the members chosen to the House. In 1892, the Democratic party elected its candidate for President although he had but forty-five per cent. of the popular vote, and at the same time it elected sixty-two per cent. of the members of the House. And it has happened, as in 1876, that one party elected the President and the other carried the House of Representatives. It is a fact, therefore, that under our system of elections the President and Congress are not as liable to represent the majority of the people of the entire country as are the Governors and Legislators of the States to represent the majority of the voters of their respective States.

The people of the United States cannot possibly act with the same promptness and directness as are possible to the people of a single State. It takes longer for public opinion to form and make itself felt among eighty-five millions of people, scattered over a continent and having interests widely dissimilar, than in a single State where the people are more closely associated and where their interests are less divergent. The ease with which a State Constitution may be amended and the difficulty which has been found to exist in amending the Constitution of the United States afford instructive illustration upon the point under consideration. The smaller the unit of government, the more prompt, direct and intelligent its action is likely to be.

Congress might enact legislation which may be injurious to particular sections of the country without responsibility to the States affected. An act may be passed which is harmful to the interests of New York, and which its representatives in the Senate and the House unanimously oppose, and the people of the State are absolutely remediless. If the same act had been passed by the Legislature of the State, those responsible for it could be turned out of power at the next election and the law repealed by their successors. But the Senators from Idaho and California owe no responsibility to any other Legislature than their own, and the representatives in Congress from Texas are ac-

countable only to the people of Texas. For this reason it is of the utmost importance that the powers of Congress should be restricted to matters which affect all parts of the country alike. It should not be possible for other States to govern, say, New York, except in those matters which are essential to the common welfare of all the States.

The American people, in their desire to remedy existing abuses and to avert the dangers which menace them, should not revolutionize the Governments which the Fathers established. The rights of the States, as well as the rights of the Nation, must be preserved.

The time is opportune to recall the opinion expressed by Mr. Justice Miller in his Lectures on the Constitution. That great judge said:

"While the pendulum of public opinion has swung with much force away from the extreme point of the State's rights doctrine, there may be danger of its reaching an extreme point on the other side. In my opinion, the just and equal observance of the rights of the States and of the General Government, as defined by the present Constitution, is as necessary to the permanent prosperity of our country, and to its existence for another century, as it has been for the one whose close we are now celebrating."

Speaking of State rights, Mr. Webster declared:

"It is this balance between the General and State Governments which has preserved the country in unexampled prosperity for fifty years; and the destruction of this just balance will be the destruction of our Government. What I believe to be the doctrine of State rights I hold as firmly as any man. . . . I say again that the upholding of State rights, on the one hand, and of the just powers of Congress on the other, is indispensable to the preservation of our free republican government."

A few years after the Civil War ended, Mr. Beecher, speaking for national unity, emphasized the importance of maintaining the rights of the States, and of the local Governments of the States. He said:

"New England, from her earliest Colonial days, with a fervor and intensity that have never been surpassed, preserved inviolate the one political doctrine which will enable this vast nation, if anything will enable it, to maintain Federal unity; and that doctrine is the rights of States. . . . This simple doctrine of State rights, not State sovereignty, will carry good government with it through all the continent. No central government could have sympathy and wise administrative adaptation to

the local peculiarities of this huge nation, couched down between two oceans, whose southern line never freezes and whose northern boundary never melts."

And Mr. Justice Harlan in December last expressed the opinion that "The American people are more determined than at any time in their history to maintain both National and State rights, as those rights exist under the Union ordained by the Constitution." He added that if the trend in public affairs to-day is towards the centralization of governmental power in the nation and the destruction of the rights of the States, it would be the duty of every American to resist such a tendency by every means in his power. He thought that a National Government for national affairs, and State Governments for State affairs, is the foundation rock upon which our institutions rest, and that any serious departure from that principle would bring disaster upon the American people and upon the American system of free government.

The writers on political institutions have pointed out many times the advantages of local government over centralized government. They have taught us that local self-government develops an energetic citizenship, and centralization an enervated one; that local self-government is conducive to the steady progress of society, and that centralization involves conditions which are unsound and do not make for the progress of society; that under local self-government officials exist for the benefit of the people, and that under centralization the people exist for the benefit of the officials; that local self-government provides for the political education of the people, and that centralization, based upon the principle that everything is to be done for the people rather than by the people, creates a spirit of dependence which dwarfs the intellectual and moral faculties and incapacitates for citizenship; that local self-government exerts an influence which invigorates, and centralization an influence which blights; that the basis of local self-government is confidence in the people, while the fundamental idea of centralization is distrust of the people; that local self-government fixes responsibility for wrongs and renders a redress for grievances practicable; that no responsibility anywhere exists under a system of centralization and that redress is difficult to obtain for acts of commission or omission; that under local self-government every in-

dividual has a part to perform and a duty to discharge in public affairs, while under a centralized government one's affairs are managed by others.

The noblest system of political institutions the world has known, and the most conducive to the happiness and welfare of mankind, is that of local self-government. It has been said that "to centralize is the act and trick of despots, to decentralize is the necessary wisdom of those who love good government."

The preservation to the local community of the right to manage its own affairs must be recognized as essential to the permanent well-being of the Republic.

Local self-government has been described by a political philosopher as that "system of government under which the greatest number of minds, knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or control over it." Centralization has been described as that "system of government under which the smallest number of minds, or those knowing the least, and having the fewest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or control over it."

An immense amount of wretched misgovernment might have been avoided, according to John Fiske, if all Legislators and all voters had those two wholesome maxims engraven upon their minds.

HENRY WADE ROGERS.

THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY CHARLES W. LARNED, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

THE opportunities for testing the efficiency of public-school instruction throughout the country are exceptionally good at the two Government institutions at West Point and Annapolis. Probably nowhere else can the general effectiveness of our public schools be so well gauged as at these Academies. Their candidates are drawn from every Congressional District of every State and Territory in the Union, and largely from the class of our citizens who send their children to the primary and high schools supported by the States.

The Military Academy at West Point has been recruiting from this source for about a century, and its experience, therefore, covers the period during which the public-school system was in its elementary stage of development, as well as the intermediary and later phases of its organization. For many years—up to 1870—the examinations for entrance were oral and primary in character, and until 1866 their requirements covered only:

> "To be able to read distinctly and pronounce correctly; to write a fair legible hand; to perform with facility and accuracy the various operations of the ground rules of arithmetic, both simple and compound; also those of reduction, of single and compound proportion; vulgar and decimal fractions."

These primary requirements were framed to meet the primitive conditions of the beginning of the last century, which prohibited any test of a character so advanced as to throw out those regions, vast in extent, which were without educational facilities, or in which these were crudely organized. The Academy adapted its needs to these conditions by establishing the real test of entrance to its curriculum in the results of its first and semi-annual examination in January.

There was always a reluctance on the part of Congress, as well as of the authorities in Washington, to increase the entrance requirements, upon the supposition that such a procedure would put at a disadvantage the poor boy who, either from the necessities of his surroundings or from lack of school facilities, was unable to prepare himself for a more advanced test. It was not until 1866, when the school system had become thoroughly established throughout the Union, that Congress consented to add to the entering requirements:

"A knowledge of the elements of English Grammar; of Descriptive Geography, particularly of our own country; and of the History of the United States."

Even with this increase, the standard was still of such an elementary character that candidates were admitted to the Academy under requirements corresponding to the studies in the first or second classes of a primary grammar-school, and at once undertook a course of study corresponding to that of an advanced technological institution. This anomalous state of affairs operated injuriously, and for long the academic authorities made ineffectual efforts to secure an advance, but it was only in 1901 that Congress consented to change the law so as to place the determination of the entrance standard in the hands of the Secretary of War.

After some modifications of the subjects and methods of examination established under this authorization, and some years of experiment with the certificate system, the standard now established requires of all candidates, besides the physical examination, a written examination in the following subjects: Elementary Algebra through Quadratics; Plane Geometry; English Grammar; English Literature and Composition (very elementary); United States History (High School); General History (High School); Geography (Descriptive, Common School).

Although this standard is a very great advance over that of the early days of its career, it will be seen that the Military Academy still exacts very much less than technological institutions of a corresponding grade throughout the country, and that the requirements of such an examination are no more than should be easily met by the graduates of any well-organized high school. As a matter of fact, the greater portion of it is covered by the

earlier years of the high-school course, and some of it by the last year of the grammar-schools.

The first application of the new standard took place in March of the present year, and the results are very depressing, and afford an extremely interesting and somewhat pathetic commentary upon the general efficiency of public-school methods throughout the country. They indicate a lack of thoroughness and a weakness in methods of instruction which must result in a vast waste of time on the part of a great portion of the student body. It is a saddening reflection that a child and youth should be kept under servitude in the treadmill of mental instruction for so many years of the joyous period of life, with a result as meager and inadequate in proportion to the sacrifice and effort as that demonstrated in so many of the cases under consideration. If education is a thing worth doing, either for the individual or for the State, it is certainly worth doing well, and is defensible as an exaction only in proportion to the excellence of the results obtained. If the results obtained from these examinations are to be accepted as a criterion, the conclusion is inevitable that the ten or twelve years consumed in their production are not well spent, and that the youth in these cases have not received a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. It is to be remembered that the objective in this apprenticeship to learning has been almost wholly a mental one. The body and the character have been held to be quite subordinate and, under the system as organized, necessarily so. In fact, the body has been made subsidiary to the development of the mind, and its vitality has been drawn upon and strained in order to attain the conventional exaction of the text-book. Children and young men whose natural environment and occupation are fresh air and exercise have been cooped up for many hours in close rooms, often with inadequate ventilation and vitiated air, in cramped attitudes droning over unwelcome tasks. As a rule no attention has been given to compensating for this by sufficient systematic exercise. This is defensible only, as I have just said, in proportion to the resulting value both to the individual and to the State. What is that result? Here is one answer; and the conditions under which it has been attained have been fully explained. I give it for what it is worth.

There were 351 candidates for entrance to the Military Acad-

emy on March 1st of the current year, including alternates. Of these, 37 were exempt from the examinations, having previously passed them, leaving 314 who were examined. The papers are marked at these examinations on a scale of 100 as a maximum; 66 being the normal minimum standard of proficiency. The examinations are written, and abundant time is given for their completion, even by those of inferior capacity and preparation. Candidates who can show cause, through sickness or other interference, for failure in any or all subjects are permitted to make written statements to that effect, which are duly considered by the Academic Board. Each candidate is required to fill out a descriptive sheet in which a great variety of personal data is exacted, covering antecedents, birth, appointment, educational advantages, subjects studied, occupation, etc. It is from these sheets that I have been enabled to compile the statistics here given, which present a rather remarkable analysis of the status of the student body from which the Academy recruits its undergraduate personnel.

The theory upon which the Military Academy operates in establishing its standard of proficiency is that deficiency in one subject constitutes deficiency in the course, and entails discharge. While this is not rigidly adhered to in the course in all cases, yet cadets are frequently discharged for deficiency in one subject; and, where further examination is permitted, if not made good, discharge is the normal consequence. In the entering examinations, consequently, serious deficiency in one subject would cause rejection under normal conditions.

Out of 314 who took the entering examinations this year, 265, or 84 per cent., failed in one or more subjects (that is, made a mark below the normal minimum, 66); 56 failed in one only; 64, in two; 50, in three; 42, in four; 27, in five; 26, in all subjects. Two hundred and nine, or 66 per cent., failed in two or more subjects; 145, or 46 per cent., in three or more; 95, or 30 per cent., in four or more; 53, or 17 per cent., in five or more; 26, or 8 per cent., in everything.

Examining the failures by subjects, it appears that 154 failed in Algebra, 44 per cent.; 237, in Geometry, 67 per cent.; 129, in Grammar, 37 per cent.; 144, in Composition and Literature, 40 per cent.; 73, in Geography, 21 per cent.; 54, in History, 15 per cent.

Regarding low marks: In Algebra, 54 made from 0 to 40; in Geometry, 159 made from 0 to 40; in Grammar, 87 made from 0 to 60; in Geography, 46 made from 0 to 60; in History, 40 made from 0 to 60; in Composition and Literature, 50 made from 0 to 50.

Comparing figures by States, we have:

	* Examined.	† Failed.		* Examined.	† Failed.
Alabama	9	6	New Hampshire	6	3
Arkansas	10	6	New Jersey	8	5
California	10	8	New York	37	20
Colorado	6	5	North Carolina	4	4
Connecticut	9	5	North Dakota	0	0
Delaware	2	1	Ohio	14	10
Dist. of Columbia	2	1	Oklahoma	11	9
Florida	2	1	Oregon	3	1
Georgia	3	2	Pennsylvania	17	11
Idaho	3	3	Porto Rico	1	1
Illinois	12	10	South Carolina	9	4
Indiana	7	3	South Dakota	3	1
Iowa	8	4	Tennessee	5	1
Kansas	9	6	Texas	10	7
Kentucky	6	2	Utah	1	0
Louisiana	7	6	Vermont	1	0
Maine	2	2	Virginia	9	4
Maryland	7	5	Washington	3	2
Massachusetts	22	16	West Virginia	3	1
Michigan	10	9	Wisconsin	7	5
Minnesota	6	3	U. S. at Large	19	9
Mississippi	10	9	Costa Rica	1	0
Missouri	10	7			
Montana	2	2	Total	351	223
Nebraska	5	3			

Out of the 314 examined mentally it appears that 295, or 90 per cent., have been educated in public schools, and that the average number of years of attendance in these schools was 9 years, 11 months. Separating this into primary and secondary attendance, we find that the average attendance in High Schools was 3 years, 3 months; and in Grammar Schools, 6 years, 8 months.

One hundred and three candidates had private schooling wholly or in part; 135 had college education of one year or more; 189 studied the classics. Of the 135 who had gone so far as a college education of one year or more, 82 failed to enter.

Eighty-two failed and were rejected on physical examination,

* Includes those who were not examined mentally, but physically only, so that the percentage of mental failure is higher than indicated by figures.

† To enter. Some of those who failed mentally were admitted, the normal standard having been lowered to admit the best of the deficients.

and 18 were placed on probation; making a total of 100 physically defective, or nearly 30 per cent., out of a grand total of 351. Of this total, it is interesting to note that 206 had earned their living either wholly or in part.

Altogether, it is a sorry showing from whatever standpoint it is viewed, and it is not greatly mitigated by the fact that, owing to the recent change in the conditions, there was three or four months' less time than usual to prepare for the examinations by special cramming. This loss is partly offset by a reduction in the number of subjects examined upon. These young men are selected by the nominating powers presumably with reference to their moral, mental and physical fitness for the severe career of the Academy. Many of them secured their nominations through competitive examination; and few, if any, could have been taken haphazard, with no regard to qualification and antecedents; while all could have employed some nine months in private preparation. That 314 youths, nearly all trained in our costly public schools, with an average of almost ten years' attendance (supplemented in the case of one-third of their number by private schooling, and in the case of 43 per cent. by college training) should show 84 per cent. of failure and the various deficiencies analyzed above, is surely a state of affairs that should make the judicious grieve and our educators sit up and take notice. That about 30 per cent. of these lads were physically unfit is, perhaps, the most serious feature of the exhibit.

It will be noted that the weakness of the school system here demonstrated is by no means a function of locality or peculiar to the younger and more sparsely settled regions. It is universal. An inspection of the table of failures by States shows that New York had 20 failures out of 37 candidates; Pennsylvania, 11 out of 17; Massachusetts, 16 out of 22; New Jersey, 5 out of 8; Ohio, 10 out of 14; Illinois, 10 out of 12; while Iowa had but 4 out of 8; Minnesota, 3 out of 6; Tennessee, 1 out of 5; Kansas, 6 out of 9; Nebraska, 3 out of 5. The number of mental failures in some cases is greater for the reason given above that these figures show only failures to enter, and omit those who partly failed mentally, but were allowed to enter.

It is instructive to examine some of the cases of failure with reference to their school attendance and the locality in which

they received instruction. It is to be observed that gross failures are by no means confined to the Western and newer States, but that the East, where public-school systems are oldest and have received their highest development, furnishes a fair quota of shocking examples:

Candidate "A," from Pennsylvania, who had attended eight years at a public grammar-school and was a graduate in the scientific course of a high school—having studied Algebra, Geometry (plane and solid), Physics, Rhetoric, Latin, German, Botany, Zoology, General History, etc.—made in this preliminary examination for West Point, in Algebra 55; in Geometry 35; in English Grammar 62; in Composition and Literature 56; in Geography 79; in History 83. He was, therefore, deficient in four out of the six subjects.

Candidate "B," from the same State, with a record of eight years at a grammar-school and three years and two months at a high school, failed in four subjects, with a mark of 37 in Algebra; 14 in Geometry; 56 in English Grammar; 49 in Composition and Literature.

"C," from New York, had been seven years in a grammar-school and six years in a high school, having taken a post-graduate course in the latter. He made in Algebra 30; in Geometry 21; in English Grammar 57; in Composition and Literature 57; in Geography 73; in General History 46. He was of the opinion that the causes of the French Revolution were "jealosy"; and, of the Reformation, "that the Church and Subject and its laws be under the head or rule of the King, but which was not approved by the Pope. Later it was carried out by the King and no more tribute paid to Rome." He knew nothing whatever of the causes, outcome or effects of our War for the Union, and he could not name the seceding States.

"D," from Ohio, had attended grammar-school for nine years, and public high school for three years and three months; he had attended also a private high school. He made in Algebra .01; in Geometry 16; in English Grammar 50; in Composition and Literature 54; in Geography 70; and in History 62. He was deficient in five subjects.

"E," from Ohio, had studied eight years in grammar-school, two years and eight months in high school, and six months in normal school. He made in Algebra 31; in Geometry 12; in

Grammar 59; in Composition and Literature 76; in Geography 55; in History 68. He was deficient in four subjects.

"F," from New Jersey, had been ten years in grammar-school, and five months at a technological high school. He made in Algebra 33; in Geometry 15; in Grammar 36; in Composition and Literature 46; in Geography 52; in History 52—failing in everything. He was under the impression that the Seine is in Northern Russia; the Ebro in Western France. He writes "orbet," "gess," "orther," "cival," "barbarious," "cural" (for "cruel"), etc. He conceives of Rome as embracing "all Italy the Holy Land or Jeruselam"; and of Feudalism, as "one family making war on another in their castles"; of the War of the Roses as between Cromwell and the King; of the Reformation as the changing by the people from "the evil ways to a more christian way of living." He is severe on the Inquisition, which he reprobates as "barbarious methods resorted to in order to try and a person's religion. thees methods were very cural." As to the causes of the War for the Union, he judges that "slavery was the main aggitation. So Carolina done most of the disputting and finely ceceeded"—which cannot be gainsaid. His grammar is no less original in conception. "If—is an infinitive. It give ground to make the sentence possible and if removed causes to become inoperative."

"G," from Massachusetts, had been three years in grammar-school and four years in high school. He was also a graduate of an institute for industrial foremen, but was, nevertheless, deficient in four subjects.

"H," from Massachusetts, who had been nine years in a grammar-school and two years and five months in a high school, was deficient in four subjects.

"I," from Massachusetts, had been eight years in a grammar-school, four years in a technical high school and one year in a training-school—*thirteen years in all.* He had studied Algebra, Trigonometry, Geometry, History, Physiology, French and English Composition, Mechanical Drawing and Machine Design. He made in Algebra 21; in Geometry .03; in Grammar 45; in Composition and Literature 52; in Geography 66; and in History 53, being deficient in everything but Geography. This young gentleman knew nothing of Grecian History and very little about any other, and asserted that "Alexander the Great

a Roman Commander, conquered Gaul, North Africa, Greece, Persia and Palestine."

"J," from Michigan, after ten years and five months in the public schools, was deficient in every subject; his marks being, in order, 29, 20, 53, 49, 24, 42. In his diversified views of history, Marathon and Thermopylæ were decided in favor of the Romans, and the causes of the Persian Wars were "that Greek was starting to move up in Asia and the Persians wouldnt allow it." He goes at once to the root of the causes of the French Revolution, which were that "King Louis didn't tend to business and France was going to ruin. Then he was very mean and mobs began to form." Regarding the Reformation, we are informed that it "was in England when the trouble of the churches was over. The leader was Queen Elizabeth." Among other items, "Vera Cruz was fought with Chile"; and, in the Spanish War of 1898, "Spain was trying to work the people of Cuba but the U. S. wouldn't stand for it. Then Spain had the Maine blown up and that tapped the climax." His system of Geography is pre-Ptolemaic. "The change of season is caused by the moving of the Sun. When the Sun is at the Equator it is Spring here. When the Sun is half way between the Equator and the North Pole it is Summer here. When the Sun is at this point it moves back causing the change of seasons. The zones are divided into four different parts; hot climate, cool climate, warm climate and cold climate. The hot climate goes north from the Equator to about the southern part of Florida, warm climate goes to St. Louis or around the Meridian; and the cool climate goes to about 100 miles in Canada; then the cold climate. . . . the Equator and other lines. The principle curves that determine their location are that they either tell where the Sun is or how the World is devided."

"K," from Arkansas, after ten years in the public schools, was convinced that "Alexander the Great was an English General." He knew nothing of Greece, Rome, Feudalism, the Norman Conquest, the French Revolution or the Reformation, and named West Virginia, Tennessee and Florida as among the thirteen colonies. Gettysburg occurred in a British War.

"L," from Alabama, after ten years' schooling at the public expense and after reaching the Sophomore class in college, gave

up the ghost in four subjects—Algebra, Geometry, Grammar and Geography.

"M," a young man from Mississippi, of good family, after eight years of mental effort—five in the grammar-school and three in the high school—made a clean sweep of every subject. In a buoyant flight over the fields of general history, he finds Athens and Sparta "on the Tigress." His memorandum on the Spanish Inquisition is a model of succinct statement: "Spanish King tried to make every one join the Catholic Church, but the Spaniards protested against it and was carried as planed by the King." In Geography, he is without bias or partiality. Cape Cod is assigned to the Eastern coast of North America; Lookout, to the Northeast coast of Brazil; Hancock, to Japan. The Ganges goes to South America; the Ebro, to Austria; the Seine, to England; the Dneiper, to Canada. Hongkong does duty as the capital of Japan—a sinister suggestion; Cuba settles west of the Philippine Islands, with Hawaii just north; while the Congo River, disgusted with the performances of His Belgian Majesty, flees sadly to China.

Thirty per cent. of physical deficiency in our youth is a condition of our civilization which may well give concern, more especially in view of the increasing tendency of population to urban centres. What are we going to do about it? Does education have anything to do with it; and, if so, what does an educational system amount to that shows this percentage of deficiency in its output? If education is concerned with mental development alone, it is fair to ask: If 16,596,503 boys and girls, taught in our public schools at a cost of $376,996,472, average no better in intellectual attainments than is evidenced by the foregoing, does the result justify the outlay and the ten or more years' apprenticeship of youth it demands?

But public education surely does have something to do with the physical well-being of our children, and the benefit to the community of its systematic occupation with their development and care in this regard is in no respect inferior to the importance of its function as a mind-trainer. If the standard of mind-development is that here shown, then most assuredly ten years of systematic body-training would produce a benefit to the average child vastly superior. The millions of poor, anæmic, underdeveloped, city-bred children can be rescued from the degrading

conditions of their environment and transformed into healthy, high-minded, clean-bodied human beings, under the operation of intelligent body-training and athletic instruction. Their morals and their civic virtues will also be exalted *pari passu,* and public education will then be fulfilling its tripartite function as a trainer of character, of the mind and of the body. That this is practicable and practical has been magnificently demonstrated by the work of The Public School Athletic League. The American people owe a debt of gratitude whose value can hardly be exaggerated to the originator, prime mover and president of this great organization, General George W. Wingate, of New York City. He has not only demonstrated how physical education can be introduced, organized and made effective in public instruction, but he has proved its immense power as an agent in moral uplift and mental stimulus. Every citizen who has at heart the well-being of the community in the education of its youth should read the report of the League, co-operate in every possible way to promote its growth, and insist that its functions shall be incorporated by law in the public-school system everywhere. It is inspiring to see what wonders can be accomplished by persistent effort against discouraging conditions, and how rapidly the whole body of neglected childhood has responded to this appeal to its human nature. The result is more than reform; it is revolution, and holds a brighter promise for the future than anything that has been effected in education in modern times.

CHARLES W. LARNED.

GEORGE MEREDITH.*

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

THE recent celebration of the eightieth birthday of the dean of English novelists, and the extraordinary tributes thereby called forth from the leading men and women of letters of the Engling-speaking race, challenge the attention of thoughtful students of contemporary art and thought. The belated efflorescence of the fame of George Meredith, this sudden twilight emergence from the shrine of submerged renown to the pedestal of acknowledged fame, warrants the suspicion, and indeed quite patently provokes the question, as to whether the standard of taste and the ethical tone of our time are not at last discovering in him a true spokesman and interpreter. It is a neglected, rather than a forgotten, fact that the ideas prevailing at any particular period are of two distinct classes. On the one hand, there are the ideas which are in everybody's mind—the clamant topics of popular discussion, wide dissemination and general acceptance. On the other hand, the really fertile and germinating ideas which overleap the boundaries of the present and, being endowed with prophetic potency, herald and announce the future, are known to only a few, and are recognized by them as the ideas which the world must shortly be induced to ponder. Not ideas only, but standards of art and the laws of taste, furnish exemplification of this bipartite evolutional phenomenon. It is difficult to parry the conclusion that George Meredith's fame strengthens its claim upon posterity by reason of long-delayed acknowledgment. The educative influence of his fictive achievement, so arabesque, so fantastically kaleidoscopic, so ravishingly

* "The Pocket Edition of the Works of George Meredith." In 16 volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York.

tortuous, yet withal so clear-visioned, so intense and so hardily sane, has been imperceptibly if glacially slow and sure. It is not too much to say that, in the large sense, the discrepancy between his recognition and his deserts in the past is to be explained by the fact that he was ahead of, rather than behind, his age. His tutelage in self-discipline, his devotion to the law of the "stern-exact" and his fidelity to the instinctive integrity of his taste rather than to the clamor of popular authority, assured him a serene passage through the ordeal of public reprobation, indifference and neglect. In his own words:

"Ye that nourish hopes of fame!
Ye who would be known in song!
Ponder old History, and duly frame
Your souls to meek acceptance of the thong.

"Lo! of hundreds who aspire
Eighties perish—nineties tire!
They who bear up, in spite of wrecks and wracks,
Were seasoned by celestial hail of thwacks.

"Fortune in this mortal race
Builds on thwackings for its base;
Thus the All-Wise doth make a flail a staff,
And separates his heavenly corn from chaff."

Meredith persevered heroically in the resolution "to paint man man, whatever the issue." And while we rejoice to-day in the discovery that the "heavenly corn" has at last been separated from the "chaff," the confession remains to be made that the "thwackings" were — oh! distinctly — "terrestrial." "If the gods showed their love for Shelley by causing him to die young," Mr. Trevelyan pointedly remarks, "they have shown their love for Mr. Meredith in a more satisfactory manner, by leaving him to receive from us in old age the homage that was due to him from our grandfathers." *

The intermingled strains of Irish and Welsh blood in Meredith's veins, derived respectively from mother and father, doubtless serve to account in part for his fantastic *esprit,* as well as for his reverential attitude toward Nature. The fact that he was born and has lived in England finds equally persistent verifica-

* "The Poetry and Philosophy of George Meredith." By G. M. Trevelyan. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1906.

tion in his novels; and the temptation to attribute undue influence to German thought in his work because of his early studies at a Moravian school in Neuwied, Germany, is rather to be resisted than yielded to. If property was left him as a boy, certain it is that, when he returned to London from his studies in Germany, he found himself compelled to wage strenuous warfare in *la lutte pour la vie*. Poverty, and not vegetarianism, enforced the possibly supposititious bowl of oatmeal upon which he is said to have lived daily for several months. Unlike Ibsen, his exact contemporary, he had no first unsold edition to turn over to the street-huxter in exchange for the price of a hearty meal; and he found himself as little attached to the profession of law, to which he first devoted his attention, as was Ibsen to the profession of pharmacy. For seven or eight years, during the late fifties and early sixties, journalism claimed his services; and we find him contributing regularly to the "Ipswich Journal" and occasionally to the "Morning Post." Noteworthy connection is found between his interest in Mazzini and Austria's Italy, as exemplified in his novel "Emilia," and his service as correspondent for the "Morning Post" during the Austro-Italian war of 1866. Serving both a journalistic and literary apprenticeship, conducting the "Fortnightly Review" in the latter part of 1867 during the absence of his friend John Morley in America, and acting for many years as reader and literary adviser to Messrs. Chapman and Hall, Meredith gradually lifted the incubus of debt, and acquired that freedom for intensive concentration to which we owe his solidest contributions to English letters. In his very first work, published in 1856, appears this stanza—startling anticipation of Omar's Rubaiyat as translated by Fitz-Gerald:

> "Thou that dreamest an event,
> While circumstance is but a waste of sand
> Arise, take up thy fortunes in thy hand,
> And daily forward pitch thy tent."

So we see him "daily forward pitch his tent," and, taking his literary fortunes in his hand, seek ultimate self-realization in temporary self-sacrifice. His first great poem, "Modern Love," envisages in some sense the disappointment of his first marriage —with the witty young widow, Mrs. Nicholls, daughter of the author of "Crotchet Castle," Thomas Love Peacock. In 1862,

after her death, he went to live for a short time with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Rossetti and Swinburne, on Cheyne Walk of Carlylean memory.

Meredith was afterwards married again; his second wife died in 1885 and is buried near his present home of Box Hill. His life in his sylvan retreat in Surrey, with the immediate companionship of his wife, his two sons and a young daughter, was varied by weekly visits to London, where he carried on his affairs and enjoyed social intercourse with a coterie which numbered among its members Swinburne, James Thomson, Justin MacCarthy, John Morley and Lady Duff Gordon. Undismayed by the conviction that he was writing for an immediate audience, apathetic if not actually antipathetic to his work, he produced book after book, marked by sanity of utterance, philosophic poise and an artistic individuality which must needs ultimately compel recognition. In "Beauchamp's Career" we read:

"My way is like a Rhone island in the summer drought, stony, unattractive and difficult between the two forceful streams of the unreal and the overreal. My people conquer nothing, win none; they are actual yet uncommon. It is the clockwork of the brain that they are directed to set in motion, and—poor troop of actors to vacant benches—the conscience residing in thoughtfulness which they would appeal to; and if you are there impervious to them, we are lost; back I go to my wilderness, where, as you perceive, I have contracted the habit of listening to my own voice more than is good."

His attitude toward the public, despite an early utterance or two, is one neither of condescending superiority nor of embittered disappointment, but rather of forthright recognition of the fact that the spirit of his thoughtful laughter has not found permanent lodgment in the British intelligence. "The English people know nothing about me," Meredith once said; "there always has been something antipathetic between them and me. With book after book it was always the same outcry of censure and disapproval. The first time or two I minded it. Since, I have written to please myself." * In the America which gave the world a Howells and a James, and which to-day produces a Mrs. Wharton and a Mrs. Atherton for his delectation, Meredith found a more congenial and appreciative audience; and, only the other day, he said: "They have always liked me better

* Henry W. Nevinson, in the "Daily Chronicle," July 5, 1905.

in America. They don't care about me in England." Significant, indeed, is the circumstance that those two brilliant and whimsical examples of Celtic wit, paradox, fantasy and imagination, radical, rationalistic and *intransigéant,* George Meredith and Bernard Shaw, found their sincerest appreciation and recognition, neither in the land of their adoption nor in the land of their nativity, but in a land upon which they had never set foot. America anticipated England in her appreciation of Wagner, as to-day it outranks England in appreciation of Ibsen; and the catholicity of American taste finds further verification in its saner, more balanced appreciation of Great Britain's greatest living novelist, George Meredith.

Ibsen's reply to the charge that his "Peer Gynt" was not poetry is historic. "My book *is* poetry," he wrote to Georg Brandes in 1867; "and if it is not, then it will be. The conception of poetry in our country, in Norway, shall be made to conform to the book." While such a defiance is wholly alien to Meredith's spirit, it is nevertheless true that he has based his hope upon the alteration of public taste in regard to the function and art of fiction. He wrote to the author of an article in the "Harvard Monthly":

> "When at the conclusion of your article on my works you say that a certain change in public taste, should it come about, will be to some extent due to me, you hand me the flowering wreath I covet. For I think that all right use of life, and the one secret of life, is to pave ways for the firmer footing of those who succeed us; and, as to my works, I know them faulty, think them of worth only when they point and aid to that end. Close knowledge of our fellows, discernment of the laws of existence, these lead to great civilization. I have supposed that the novel exposing and illustrating the history of man may help us to such sustaining roadside gifts."

Meredith's purpose is to dilate the imagination, to "arouse the inward vision" to a recognition of the limitations of human character, and upon such recognition to base veracious records of contemporary existence.

It is now many years since Thomas Hardy first said that the novel had taken a turn for analyzing, rather than depicting, character and emotion. The contemporary reader is no longer allowed to cherish the comfortable feeling that a novel is a novel as a pudding is a pudding, in Mr. Henry James's phrase, and that our only business with it would be to swallow it! Physical

and material action no longer usurps the position of primary interest; the casual and the adventitious play rôles of decreasing, and ever-decreasing, importance; and the "story," once thought supreme, has come to occupy a subsidiary place in a fiction concerned less with actual events themselves, than with the subtle, and oftentimes indescribably complex, motives and impulses which prompt to action. Even passion, if unanimated by thought, or intelligent choice, ceases to hold the attention of the world as formerly: the soul has her histories as well as the body. "A psychological reason is, to my imagination, an object adorably pictorial," says Mr. Henry James, "to catch the tints of its complexion, I feel as if that idea might inspire one to Titianesque effects. There are few things more exciting to me, in short, than a psychological reason." Throughout Meredith's entire work, whether poetry or fiction, it is "the conscience residing in thoughtfulness" to which he consistently appeals. "Narrative is nothing," he frankly admits. "It is the mere vehicle of philosophy. The interest is in the idea which action serves to illustrate."

In this remark lies the germ of Meredith's philosophy of fiction, or perhaps it would be equally accurate to say, his fiction of philosophy. The strength of his position is the result of his hardy sanity in resisting both the extravagant blandishments of idealism and the morbid fascinations of realism. If at times he mounts the Hippogriff and soars lightly away to roseate regions of air, it is but a momentary prank of the Celtic troll, flirting with the Daemon of the Epoch. If at other times his justice, untempered by mercy, wrings our hearts as if in stern cruelty, it is not the naturalistic "mutilation of humanity," bitterly complained of by Brunetière, with which Meredith visits us, but a hardy lesson in the practice of self-mastery, through which his characters masterfully "find themselves." Uniting within himself the romantic instinct with the realistic sense of character, Meredith early made the discovery that fiction must be neither mere fanciful narrative nor realistically objective elaboration, but rational, clear-visioned interpretation of the facts and materials of existence. He has suffered sadly for his boldness in maintaining that fiction is more instructive than life. Even Wilde, who admired him extravagantly and showed his influence, was driven to say: "As a writer, he has mastered

everything except language; as a novelist, he can do everything except tell a story; as an artist, he is everything except articulate."

It is true in a sense that art is really a form of exaggeration; for "selection, which is the very spirit of art, is nothing more than an intensified mode of over-emphasis." Not the least significant of Meredith's claims to high consideration is his faith in, and practice of, the doctrine that Art without Thought is dead. Romance alone gives us idealization of life unfortified by the realities of every-day existence. Realism alone presents the epidermis of reality, exhibiting facts unillumined by the reasoning spirit. The function of the artist, in Meredith's view, is to inform his narrative with thought, to give consistent directive emphasis—cultural, ethical, social—to his composition. Art, to Meredith, is synthesis rather than description, interpretation rather than narration. To hold the kodak up to nature is a task accomplished automatically by every shop window in Cheapside; to integrate concepts, to envelop facts with truth, to enlarge narration through selective emphasis—this, indeed, is the glory as well as the responsibility, of the fictionist of the future. Bernard Shaw has averred that fine art is the subtlest, the most seductive, the most effective, means of moral propagandism in the world, excepting only the example of personal conduct; and he waives even this exception in favor of the art of the stage, "because it works by exhibiting examples of personal conduct made intelligible and moving to crowds of unobservant, unreflecting people to whom real life means nothing." Meredith does not look upon fiction merely as a Zolaesque instrument of moral propagandism; nor does he hold with Mr. Howells that we should write only of contemporary life. Says Meredith:

"'The fiction which is the summary of actual Life . . . is philosophy's handmaiden'; and he would animate fiction with the fires of positive brainstuff, in order to raise the Art of Fiction to a level with History. 'Brainstuff is not lean stuff; the brainstuff of fiction is internal history . . .,' he says. 'The forecast may be hazarded that if we do not speedily embrace philosophy in fiction the Art is doomed to extinction under the shining multitude of its professors. They are fast capping the candle. Instead, therefore, of objurgating the timid intrusions of philosophy, invoke her presence, I pray you. History without her is the skeleton map of events: Fiction a picture of figures modelled on no skeleton anatomy. But each, with philosophy in aid, blooms and is hu-

manly shapely. To demand of us truth to nature, excluding philosophy, is really to bid a pumpkin caper.' "

The real difficulty in criticism and appreciation of a literary artist at once critical and creative is to draw the delicate and subtle distinctions between his expressed ideal and his actual achievement. To what extent, for instance, does Meredith actually put into practice the principles he advocates with such charming reasonableness? And what is this mysterious "philosophy" to which he attributes such miraculous powers? I think we may find the clue in Meredith's claim that the brain-stuff of fiction is internal history; and the desiderated "philosophy" is the instrument for reading this internal history aright. That is to say, Meredith not unnaturally wishes to see fiction written in the light of some comprehension of human nature. And so, after all, the primary consideration is Meredith's conception of the nature of humanity and of the forces which must operate in achieving social, ethical and spiritual emancipation. The epitome of his fiction is personal history, the vicissitudes, failures and struggles of the individual to arrive at self-realization. This self-realization is the discovery that Earth is man's true mother,

> "His well of earth, his home of rest,
> And fair to scan."

Earth has her highest life in the works of man, and from her man derives his spiritual qualities. "We do not get to any Heaven by renouncing the Mother we spring from; and when there is an eternal secret for us, it is best to believe that Earth knows, to keep near her, even in our utmost aspirations." He asks no selfish, extravagant boons of Nature, desires only that he may read her aright and see "stern joy her origin," and is content to acknowledge that

> "He may entreat, aspire,
> He may despair, and she has never heed.
> She drinking his warm sweat will soothe his need,
> Not his desire."

Alongside his faith in Nature comes his confidence in the efficacy and validity of rationalistic process. Like Bernard Shaw, he believes that "to life, the force behind the man, intellect is a necessity, for without it he blunders into death"; faith in

Nature undirected by thought may well lead us astray. Instinctive feeling, guided by intelligence and fortified by genuine passion, will enable man to rise nobly to the heights of his possibilities. Brain, blood and spirit are the indissoluble trinity, three in one and one in three, of the Meredithian perfect man:

> "Each of each in sequent birth,
> Blood and brain and spirit."

Such a conception—of the "temperament of common sense fired by enthusiasm and controlled by humor"—makes comprehensible to us at once his definition of passion as noble thought on fire. And in Meredith's fictive histories the hero totters and tumbles because he obeys one of the three constituent forces to the neglect or exclusion of the others. The soul is co-existent with, and in a sense the interaction of, brain and blood. And the man who can assert

> "I am the Master of my fate,
> I am the Captain of my soul"

is he who can say, as does one of Meredith's own characters: "I am not to follow any impulse that is not the impulse of *all* my nature—myself altogether."

This is Meredith's clue to the progressive evolution of society. "Man may be rebellious against his time and his laws, but if he is really for nature, he is not lawless." In his novels, Meredith portrays the "epic encounter" perpetually waged between Man in his instinctive temperament and the laws, institutions and traditions which the majority at any given epoch accept for their governance in mutual relationship. At the beginning of the nineteenth chapter of "One of Our Conquerors" he says:

> "There is at times in the hearts of all men of active life a vivid wild moment or two of dramatic dialogue between the veteran antagonists Nature and Circumstance, where they, whose business it should be to be joyfully one, furiously split; and the Dame is up with her shrillest querulousness to inquire of her offspring for the distinct original motive of his conduct. . . . If he be not an alienated issue of the Great Mother, he will strongly incline to her view, that he put himself into harness with a machine going the dead contrary way of her welfare and thereby wrote himself a donkey for his present reading. . . . But it is asked by the disputant, If we had followed her exclusively, how far should we have travelled from our starting-point? We of the world and its prizes and duties must do her an injury to make her tongue musical to us, and her argument worthy of our attention!"

Meredith's attitude as a critic of society, finding concrete exemplification in his novels, is philosophically exhibited in that contemporary classic, the "Essay on Comedy." Meredith occupies the middle ground of sanity between the complacent adherent of current institutions and the violent Utopist, who desires to shatter this sorry scheme of things *entire*. In his novels, he "throws no infamous reflection upon life"; the Comic Spirit, as he portrays it, is in direct opposition to cynicism. Mr. Gilbert Chesterton maintains that when we want any art tolerably brisk and bold we have to go to the doctrinaires. Meredith is wholly out of sympathy with the social doctrinaires, those popular writers, conscious of fatigue in creativeness, who "desire to be cogent in a modish cynicism: perversions of the idea of life, and of the proper esteem for the society we have wrested from brutishness, and would carry higher." It is quite clear that Meredith, with all his passion for improving social conditions, his desire to place woman on an equality with man, to establish a more rational basis for the institution of marriage, wishes to build upon the foundations of our present social structure. His plea is for alterations and modifications of social conditions on the basis of hardly won reforms, and not for construction of a new social fabric after destruction of the old. His remark about the Comic Poet is perfect in its application to himself: "He is not concerned with beginnings or endings or surroundings, but with what you are now weaving. To understand his work and value it, you must have a sober liking of your kind and a sober estimate of our civilized qualities." Like his own Comic Poet, he believes that our civilization is founded on common sense, and that it is the first condition of sanity to believe it; and in this sense is Meredith the true conservative. The function of Comedy, it would appear, then, is less the destruction, than the sublimation and evolutional development, of established morals:

"If you believe that our civilization is founded in common sense (and it is the first condition of sanity to believe it), you will, when contemplating men, discern a Spirit overhead; not more heavenly than the light flashed upward from glassy surfaces, but luminous and watchful; never shooting beyond them, nor lagging in the rear; so closely attached to them that it may be taken for a slavish reflex, until its features are studied. It has the sage's brows, and the sunny malice of a faun lurks at the corners of the half-closed lips drawn in an idle wariness of half-tension. That slim feasting smile, shaped like the long bow, was once

a big round satyr's laugh, that flung up the brows like a fortress lighted by gunpowder. The laugh will come again, but it will be of the order of the smile finely tempered, showing sunlight of the mind, mental richness rather than noisy enormity. Its common aspect is one of unsolicitous observation, as if surveying a full field and having leisure to dart on its chosen morsels, without any fluttering eagerness. Men's future upon earth does not attract it; their honesty and shapeliness in the present does; and whenever they wax out of proportion, overblown, affected, pretentious, bombastical, hypocritical, pedantic, fantastically delicate; whenever it sees them self-deceived or hoodwinked, given to run riot in idolatries, drifting into vanities, congregating in absurdities, planning short-sightedly, plotting dementedly; whenever they are at variance with their professions, and violate the unwritten but perceptible laws binding them in consideration one to another; whenever they offend sound reason, fair justice; are false in humility or ruined with conceit, individually or in the bulk—the Spirit overhead will look humanely malign and cast an oblique light on them, followed by volleys of silvery laughter. That is the Comic spirit."*

Certain restrictions are inevitably imposed upon the artist, by his temperament, his attitude toward his art, and his philosophy of life. Meredith's avowed purpose of minting and putting into active circulation the gold of the philosopher carries with it the obligation to remove from the characters the stigma of abstract theory by vital and essentially human treatment. He says in "Sandra Belloni":

"Such is the construction of my story . . . that to entirely deny the Philosopher the privilege he stipulated for when with his assistance I conceived it, would render our performance unintelligible to that acute and honorable minority which consents to be thwacked with aphorisms and sentences and a fantastic delivery of the verities. While my Play goes on, I must permit him to come forward occasionally. We are indeed in a sort of partnership, and it is useless for me to tell him that he is not popular and destroys my chance."

It is a curious, and almost tragic, limitation of Meredith's art that the vitality, the verisimilitude of the characters is, perhaps not infrequently, in inverse ratio to the abstractness of the theory which they are set in motion to embody. His characters suffer in reality through the pre-conceived theory their author compels them to exemplify. One often feels that instead of opening a window into the soul, Meredith has merely opened a casement

* "An Essay on Comedy and the Uses of the Comic Spirit." By George Meredith. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1897.

of the brain; the rattling of the machinery of this *deus ex machina* persists in making itself audible, charm he never so wisely.

Meredith is incapable of final artistic self-sacrifice: he cannot resist the fascination of the rôle of ideal spectator. He ravishes us with his sense of the ironic contrast between the logic of the situation and the exhibition of the human will; but he cannot spare us the intrusion of his own charming personality. Quaint, fantastic, original, he interposes between the reader and his creations the viewless barrier of his own personality; his characters are unusual because, by some subtle alchemy of the fictive art, they assume the color of his own temperament.

It is Meredith's great achievement that, despite his theoretical divagations, his extraneous philosophic observations, his inability to resist the temptation to speak through the mouths of his characters, his unconscious faculty of imparting to his characters the tone and hue of his own nature, his characters live with a vital, a passionate energy drenched with thought for which we have to go to Ibsen to find a parallel. "It argues no lack of appreciation of his rich intellectual endowment," writes Mrs. M. Sturge Henderson, "to say that, when Meredith's achievement is estimated as a whole, it occupies a secondary place. His inspiration appears to lie in his poetic grasp, the intensity of realization with which he holds to the main issue and keeps it living, in defiance of the tangles of complexity he is forever weaving every side of it, and which might have been expected to prove fatal to the life within." *

If at times, as I have pointed out, Meredith's abstract theories give a sort of rigidity and glacial unreality to his creatures, in general his philosophical attitude toward art and life has given such meaning and significance to his fictive product that it bids fair to stand as a permanent memorial of this age of transitional social and moral values, of fantastic brilliancy and peccant individualism, of philosophic bias and ethical inspiration. His fiction points the way to, and is a permanently notable effort to achieve, the fictive art of the future, portraying our systems fortified by philosophy. In words which may with slight discount be applied to his own art he says:

* "George Meredith: Novelist, Poet, Reformer." Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1907.

"Then, ah! then . . . will the novelist's Art, now neither blushless infant nor executive man, have attained its majority. We can then be veraciously historical, honestly transcriptive. Rose-pink and dirty drab will alike have passed away. Philosophy is the foe of both, and their silly cancelling contest, perpetually renewed in a shuffle of extremes, as it always is where a phantasm falseness reigns, will no longer baffle the contemplation of natural flesh, smother no longer the soul issuing out of our incessant strife. Philosophy bids us to see that we are not so pretty as rose-pink, not so repulsive as dirty drab; and that, instead of everlastingly shifting those barren aspects, the sight of ourselves is wholesome, bearable, fructifying, finally a delight. Do but perceive that we are coming to philosophy, the stride toward it will be a giant's—a century a day. And imagine the celestial refreshment of having a pure decency in the place of sham; real flesh; a soul born active, wind-beaten, but ascending."

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

BY WILLIAM S. ROSSITER, CHIEF CLERK OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OFFICE.

IMMIGRATION has been debated in the United States ever since the adoption of the Constitution. For many years the foreigner, and what to do with him, shared doubtful honors with the slave in arousing popular excitement. He became, indeed, a political issue, and was principally responsible for the Know-Nothing Party which contested the election of Representatives in Congress, Governors, and State legislatures. In 1856, the candidate of this anti-immigration party for President, Millard Fillmore, polled nearly 900,000 votes.

It is not unlikely that the heat and violence which marked early discussion of this subject may have resulted, in some degree at least, from the presence of the immigration question in State politics; for the change in popular attitude has taken place since 1880, in which year Congress relieved the seaboard States of the jurisdiction which they had previously exercised over aliens arriving at their ports. At the present time, the opposite extreme appears to have been reached; the immigration question is at length free from politics and prejudice; and discussion of the subject, both in public and in private, is singularly calm and judicial. It cannot be assumed, however, that the assimilation of many thousands of aliens is any less vital and serious a matter than it was half a century ago, when races and beliefs were political issues over which heads were broken.

Those who dispute over this long-standing problem, either in Congress or elsewhere, are divided into two opposing, though non-political, parties, styled "Restrictionists" and "Anti-Restrictionists," terms which are self-explanatory. The argu-

ments advanced in public addresses by advocates* of each side may be thus summed up.

Point of View of the Restrictionist.—The immigrants now arriving are totally different from those whom our forefathers had in mind when they invited the world to contribute toward the building up of the Republic. Up to 1870 they were drawn largely from races similar to the inhabitants of this country, being principally English, Irish, Scotch and German. At the present time, less than one-fourth of the total number are immigrants of the old type; one-half are Slavs, and one-fourth come from the Mediterranean countries. The immigrants of to-day are poor human material, lacking in self-respect and intelligence; the great majority are distinctly unskilled—few being competent to perform even such simple work as domestic service; and, being brought over by the connivance of padrones and contractors, they belong to the category of "semi-contract labor." Moreover, they are rapidly increasing in numbers. More than a million aliens arrived during the fiscal year 1907; and, of this number, at least 800,000 must be considered as constituting a net addition to the population. Such an increase is a menace to the institutions of the United States.

The newcomers are not pushing the earlier arrivals upward in the economic and social scale. Eighty millions of people cannot all be pushed into the position of shopkeepers and employers, or even of foremen. Instead, the lower stratum is being pushed out, and a condition of chronic poverty, distressing to contemplate, is arising in many of the great cities.

Upon reaching America, the immigrant goes where his inclination leads him. His tendency is toward the most populous cities, because there he is able to secure not only the wages which he desires but association with his own race. It matters little to him that there are large sections of land in the South waiting for the laborer. He is not interested to any great extent in lonely farm lands, made stranger by an unfamiliar language, and he is not interested at all in intermittent requirements such as arise in the harvest season in the wheat-fields of the West. He prefers to become a burden upon the municipality in which he is, rather than to seek or accept opportunities in agriculture.

* From the debate of Representative A. P. Gardner, of Massachusetts, Restrictionist, and Representative W. S. Bennet, of New York, Anti-Restrictionist.

Hence the foreigners remain in herds in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, causing a congestion of humanity.

The country is entitled to protection from the immigrant. We protect ourselves against the foreign product; for, in spite of the inequalities and inconsistencies of every protective tariff, the schedules tend to equalize differences in labor cost between given articles of American manufacture and corresponding articles of foreign manufacture. But we have no protection whatever against the foreigner himself. It is the height of inconsistency to protect American cotton-manufacturers and their workmen against the competition of Belgian workmen at the Belgian looms, yet to permit the Belgian workmen to cross the Atlantic and compete with the American workmen at the New England looms.

It is claimed that employment can be provided for these people; that, in fact, they are needed, because in these times there is a great demand for labor. But the obvious answer is that there is always a demand for labor which can be secured at a lower price. It can even be claimed that many of those who are most insistent in their demand for unrestricted immigration are interested in securing cheap and unskilled labor with which to compete with the more expensive labor now in this country. The same policy could be pursued until we had secured hundreds of thousands of Chinamen to take the places of our more expensive workmen. Such cheap laborers could make additions to the assets of the country: they could build new railroads, erect factories, and assist in vast improvements. But the individuals themselves would constitute liabilities: there would be a distinct change in citizenship, a definite lowering of the standards of living, a far-reaching injury to American workmen.

In prosperous times there are business opportunities for all who come to our shores. So long as two jobs are looking for one man, immigrant competition can do no more than retard the rise of wages. On the other hand, when two men are looking for one job, the conditions will be reversed. Prosperity must ever, for long or short intervals, give place to depression. As surely as day follows night hard times come; and when they arrive, what to do with the unassimilated millions of aliens will prove to be an increasingly serious question.

The View of the Anti-Restrictionist.—It is true that the class of immigrants has changed in the last few years, the large num-

bers who are now arriving being composed mostly of the Latin, Slav and Hebrew races. But while this fact increases the problem of assimilation, it does not render that problem impossible of solution; nor does it offer adequate reason for a reversal of the century-old national policy of encouraging immigration.

The immigrants of the present day are intensely in earnest, and they are industrious and frugal. A remarkably small percentage reach the charitable or penal institutions of the States in which they settle. The objection is raised by some that the proportion of illiteracy is now considerably greater than formerly; but an illiterate citizen is often a valuable citizen, if he is industrious and honest. Moreover, the present-day immigrant learns to read and write with surprising rapidity; statistics of naturalization show that, when aliens become citizens, but six per cent. are illiterate as compared with twenty-six per cent. upon arrival. At the census of 1900, the native whites of foreign parentage—that is, the children of immigrants—showed but 1.6 per cent. of illiteracy, while the children of native-born whites showed 5.7 per cent. The foreign-born father keeps his children at school longer than does the native-born parent. In many of the schools the hardest workers and the most frequent prize-winners are the children of foreign parents. On the East Side of New York, where there are hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews, and where, indeed, most of the immigrants of that class have lingered, there are large areas in which the night schools outnumber the saloons. These people buy real estate, become prosperous, and assimilate quickly. The Italians also, for the most part, are a thrifty, hard-working class, and they also are readily assimilated.

Although it is true that the large cities may become overcongested, especially during periods of depression likely to arise in the future, still there remain 242,000,000 acres of land in the South not under cultivation; furthermore, twenty per cent. of the spindles in the cotton-mills of that region have been long lying idle because of lack of labor. If operatives could be supplied to these mills, not only would they add to the prosperity of many communities by greatly increasing the value of the cotton cloth produced, but they would also eliminate much of the evil of child labor, children being employed in many localities, chiefly because no other labor can be obtained.

Upon the immigrants the continuance of the present prosperity of the nation depends, for they now form the industrial element. Moreover, immigrants who are law-abiding, industrious, temperate, and moral, and make good citizens, will continue to be a necessary element of the population. Indeed, the only objection that cannot be completely answered is the assertion that many of the successful immigrants ultimately return to their own country, taking with them their savings. But why should they not do so? Have they not contributed their share toward building up the national wealth?

The Opinion of the Average American.—There are five broad statistical facts which, at the present point in our national development, have a most important bearing upon the whole immigration problem, and in reality form the basis of the conclusions that the average American citizen inevitably draws from his own observation and experience.

1. A record of immigration into the United States has been kept since 1820; it is thus possible to ascertain the proportion which the total number of immigrants arriving during each decade from 1820 to 1910 formed of the total population of continental United States at the close of the same decade, as reported by the Census. This proportion, as indicated in the following table, has varied greatly during the period of record:

Decade ending	*Per cent.*	*Proportion.*
1830	1.1	1 to 100
1840	3.5	1 to 29
1850	7.4	1 to 13
1860	7.9	1 to 13
1870	6.2	1 to 16
1880	5.6	1 to 18
1890	8.3	1 to 12
1900	4.9	1 to 21

An estimate of the population in 1910 and of the total immigration during the decade ending with that year, indicates that in 1910 there will be approximately 12 residents to 1 immigrant who arrived during the decade. The proportion of immigrants to residents is therefore likely to be greater during the present decade than ever before, but not materially greater than the proportion shown for the two decades 1840 to 1850 and 1850 to 1860, in each of which it was 1 to 13, and the same as for the decade 1880 to 1890, in which it was 1 to 12.

2. The fact that immigrants formed a smaller proportion of

the population in 1900 than they did in 1890 is reflected in the further fact that between 1890 and 1900 the percentage of increase for the foreign-born population was only 11.8, as compared with 22.3 for the native population.

If, however, we set off the native white population of native parentage—that is, the white population native to the country for at least two generations—against those elements which do not belong to the native white stock, we find that the increase between 1890 and 1900 was 18.8 per cent. for the native stock and 23.1 per cent. for the foreign element. A comparison between these percentages and those given in the preceding paragraph affords an illustration of the cumulative effect of immigration.

3. At the present time, the white element native in this country for two generations or more forms but little more than half of the total population. In 1900, for every 100 whites of native stock there were 85 persons who were either whites of foreign extraction, negroes, Indians, or Mongolians; that is, for each white person of native stock there was practically one person of essentially dissimilar characteristics.

If those native white persons of foreign parentage who are at least ten years of age are considered as belonging to the native element of the population, then in 1900 the proportion of whites of native stock to persons of dissimilar characteristics was 100 to 46, or about two to one.

4. Although attempts to define the cumulative effect of immigration upon the population and the material prosperity of the United States are necessarily unsatisfactory, and possess no definite scientific or statistical value, one line of analysis may be accepted as at least suggestive. In setting forth the principles which govern increase or decrease in the number of human beings, Malthus, the first modern student of population, and still easily a leader in that branch of science, called attention to the fact that at the time at which he wrote—the close of the eighteenth century—the population of the United States was more favorably conditioned as regards increase than that of any other civilized nation, and that, in consequence, it was doubling approximately every twenty-five years. In the most favored sections, he declared, the increase was even more rapid. If the population reported at the First Census, 3,929,214, had been doubled only

once in thirty years, the results up to 1910 would have been as follows:

Based on theoretical increase.		Based on actual increase.		
30 years ending with	Amount of population when doubled.	Period required to double		Amount of population at end of period.
		No. of years.	Ending with	
1820	7,858,428	23	1813	7,959,452
1850	15,716,856	24	1837	15,808,421
1880	31,443,712	23	1860	31,443,321
1910	62,867,424	30	1890	62,947,714

Since those factors which retard growth, described by Malthus and accepted by students in general, become increasingly influential as population increases, a thirty-year period of doubling is more likely to be a just time allowance for the entire century considered, than a shorter period such as twenty-five years, as specified by Malthus. It is likely, indeed, to represent an over-estimate rather than an under-estimate.

According to the above table, the population which the United States should have reached theoretically in 1910, was actually attained in 1890, when the total number of inhabitants was 62,947,714. It will be observed that in the theoretical doubling process the increase during the last thirty-year period (1880 to 1910) is equivalent to approximately 1,000,000 persons a year. Upon that basis, in 1900 the theoretical population would have amounted to about 50,000,000; whereas the actual population in 1900 was 76,000,000. Thus the total population at the last census exceeded the theoretical figure for the same year by about fifty per cent. Hence, if we accept this comparison as possessing an approximate value, that part of the growth of the United States which has resulted from immigration is possibly about equal to the progress which has actually occurred from 1880 to 1900 in population, and thus presumably in wealth, amounting in the former to from twenty-five to thirty million souls, in the latter to more than $40,000,000,000. While, as already suggested, an analysis such as the foregoing possesses no precise value, it is doubtless much more likely to be accepted by thoughtful men as a reasonable approximation, than to be seriously disputed.

5. A recent publication of the United States Census Office estimates the increase in the total population of continental United States for the period of six years from 1900 to 1906 at

7,946,935 persons, or 10.5 per cent. During the six years mentioned, the total number of immigrants admitted into the United States was 4,933,811; accordingly, if none of these immigrants died or departed, the total number of foreign-born must have increased from 10,341,276 in 1900 to 15,275,087 in 1906. But the actual foreign-born population in 1900 was only four-fifths of what it would have been if none of the immigrants entering the country during the decade had died or departed. Assuming that this proportion was maintained during the period from 1900 to 1906, the net gain to continental United States in new inhabitants drawn from other lands during that period, was 1,878,792, and the natural increase was therefore 6,068,143, or 8 per cent.

From this approximate computation of the actual increase of the population, it appears that the inhabitants of the United States are adding to their number, without the aid of migration, only about one and one-fourth per cent. annually. There are several European countries, notably Germany, in which the rate of increase is higher, and it is about as large in Great Britain, Norway, and Sweden.

Are not these general facts vaguely known to every man of average intelligence? If he were asked to state the proportion of immigrants arriving during a decade to existing population, although without expert knowledge, it is probable that he would hazard some such proportions as those shown in the table. And he would probably approximate rather closely the relative increase of the native and the foreign elements. He is aware that the division of the population between the native and the foreign elements is more or less on even terms, because he generally hires a foreigner to help upon the farm or in the shop, and, except in the Southern States, his wife secures a foreign-born domestic to perform the work of the household. If he is a resident of the city, he is daily made aware of the large proportion which the foreign-born now form of his community; if he is a resident of the country, he frequently receives impressive evidence of the increasing numbers of foreigners upon farms and in villages, by the departure of the native and the occupation of old homesteads by persons of other races and ideals. He is fully aware, moreover, of the fact that his own stock is not increasing rapidly; for his father's family doubtless consisted of half a dozen

children, while his own consists of not more than two children, probably one, and perhaps none at all.

Furthermore, the average man knows that there are already a few States and many communities in which foreigners greatly predominate. What has happened in such cases? In Rhode Island, for example, the population is composed largely of foreign-born persons and their children, while the native stock forms a minority; this is true also of many parts of Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas, in which from two-thirds to three-fourths of the inhabitants are of foreign extraction. These States are conspicuous for law-abiding qualities, for patriotism and for fidelity to the principles of the Republic. Rhode Island and Massachusetts are great manufacturing centres; Minnesota and Wisconsin are equally important from an agricultural standpoint. Few States of the Union have contributed to the national wealth more generously than these States are now contributing. Furthermore, in each the intelligent and progressive citizens of foreign birth or parentage have divested themselves to a large degree of the characteristics of their respective nationalities, and have taken on the essential qualities of American citizenship.

Thus in reaching his decision concerning the immigration question, is not the average citizen irresistibly impelled to one conclusion? If the foreigner now with us is almost equal, man for man, to the rest of the community; if the necessary increase in population can be secured only by generous contributions from foreign countries; if, because of our great total population, the enormous immigration of the present period is only a little larger in proportion than it has been at two other periods; and if the communities in which the foreigner is actually predominant are especially prosperous and successful—what is there to fear? The door has been open during the century and more of our history as a nation. We have abiding faith in the destiny of our country; why should we call a halt to these favorable conditions?

It must not be overlooked that society in the United States has been so constructed as to depend upon the continued arrival of large numbers of foreigners. In consequence, labor conditions prevailing in this nation differ radically from those which prevail in most of the countries of Europe, where all economic requirements are met by natives. In England, in France or in

Germany, for example, the man who sweeps the streets, the laborer upon public works or in mines, and the woman who cooks or performs other domestic duties, are as truly native as the ruler of the nation or the statesmen who guide its destinies. In the United States, the man who sweeps the streets, who labors upon public works, in mines or on railroads, and the woman engaged in domestic service, if white, are almost all of foreign birth. The native stock has learned to regard such callings as menial and hence as lowering to self-respect. Having accepted the education and opportunity which the Republic offers them, native Americans appear to consider that they are untrue to themselves if they do not avoid humble occupations and seek those regarded as an advance in the social scale. There is, therefore, a constant movement away from the lower callings toward the higher; and occupants for the places thus vacated are recruited from foreigners. They in their turn become imbued with the American idea, acquire confidence and develop ambition, and their children abandon to newer arrivals the callings which supported their parents. Evidence of this continued movement upward is seen in the unwillingness, not only of the native stock but of the children of the foreign element, to continue in the servant or so-called menial classes, and in the determination on the part of young women to become shop girls, telephone-operators, typewriters and shop and factory operatives, oftentimes at the penalty of severe privation, rather than to go out to service. Of all the persons who reported their occupation at the last census to be that of servants and waiters (numbering in all more than one million and a half), but one-fourth were native whites of native parents.

To instill the ambition to rise is one of the noblest missions of the United States, but it is necessary to recognize that it creates the problem of a constant shortage of workers in the humbler callings. These callings in themselves are as necessary in a republic as in an empire. Therefore workers in such occupations must in the future, as in the past, continue to be recruited from abroad, or else a large number of native Americans, and children of foreign parents, must be contented to labor uncomplainingly in the lower walks of life. It is possible that the former condition may continue indefinitely, but it unquestionably tends toward instability, for a nation which permanently

meets by importation its demand for workers is, in a sense, artificially constructed.

On the other hand, the increasing population of the Republic, now approaching 100,000,000, by its very magnitude may force a readjustment of conditions in the body politic, by which, willing or unwilling, an element of the population not suited by mental capacity to compete successfully with their abler fellow citizens will be contented to labor in the so-called humbler occupations. If this should occur, it must be accomplished by a more general recognition of the dignity of honest labor even in those fields. It is far easier, however, to continue the importation of labor for the callings regarded in American communities as menial. For a time, at least, this policy is certain to remain unchanged.

When the young United States started upon a career of independence, the inhabitants concentrated their efforts upon the development of national resources. They prayed for wealth, and Providence gave them the immigrant as the means of securing it. After the lapse of a century, our success surpasses the wildest dreams of our ancestors; the United States has grown marvellously in numbers, and has obtained a prosperity unprecedented in the history of the world.

But if the immigrant has advanced us two decades at least in population and wealth, shall we in our rejoicing at material success forget that a penalty lurks behind every blessing too freely accepted? We are saturated with commercialism; money is the standard by which most men and women in the United States judge of others. Many of our men, in urban communities at least, live brief, high-pressure lives, and frequently go down in a wreck of nerves or even of mind. Yet we continue to invoke the aid of the alien, because, instead of being content with our already marvellous prosperity, we seek greater riches with increasing eagerness. We are proving anew in our time the old truth that the pursuit of gold is not compatible with simple, deliberate, nature-loving lives. This is the result, possibly it should be called the penalty, of the immigration policy of the United States; but, until the world changes its standards, and money ceases to be the objective of humanity, the convictions, hopes and ambitions of men, and those of the people of the United States in particular, will remain as they are.

It is unlikely that our portals, thus far ever open to the aliens of all Europe, will be closed to them until it has been conclusively shown that the existence of the nation is imperilled by their coming, or until large numbers of worthy and industrious American citizens are obviously deprived of their means of livelihood by the arriving throngs of foreigners. At the present time there is nothing which points to the realization of these conditions; and, until there is, discussion concerning the restriction is in reality idle. Therefore let us be practical, nursing no delusions, and face conditions as they are. We have always needed the immigrant to aid us in amassing wealth, and we shall need him in the future, for the United States has now become the great labor mart of the world.

In the years to come, the increasing effect of immigration will doubtless appear in changed customs, realignment of religious beliefs, and some variation in national and political ideals—in fact, in the establishment of a new and composite civilization.

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfills Himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."
>
> WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

THE LABOR UNIONS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

BY HENRY WHITE.

THE labor-union vote, heretofore a menace rather than a reality, now appears a prime factor in the Presidential struggle. The labor question—that is, the legal phase of it—has been transferred to the political arena, where issues made familiar in strikes and labor controversies are to be fought out.

One of the great political parties has incorporated a plank in its platform demanded by the American Federation of Labor, a plank that politically is as critical as the closed shop is industrially. It declares for judicial exemptions in favor of labor organizations in the matter of injunction proceedings and of the Sherman anti-trust law. The rival party has also adopted a plank on the same subject, but one not acceptable to the union chiefs.

Samuel Gompers and his lieutenants, in appreciation of their obligation to the Democratic party and of the need of demonstrating the solidarity of organized labor at the polls on the issue raised, have thrown themselves into the campaign, and are devoting the resources of the organization toward the election of that party's candidates. James W. Van Cleave, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, has—though, it is claimed, in his individual capacity—declared for the Republican candidates, and is carrying on a separate campaign. For the first time in American history, organized labor figures in an important way in a national election, and an interest has been awakened apart from the contest between the parties, almost overshadowing it.

With the "Gompers party," as it is called, all is not clear sailing. It is the dream of the union leaders to marshal the

voting strength of the unions some day so that it may become the balance of power, or to control through a separate party. This dream, seemingly capable of realization, is, however, conditioned upon trust in leaders and agreement upon far-reaching speculative questions. In the present situation, there is a simplicity of issues which tends to insure the largest degree of harmony, but there are difficulties of the gravest nature.

The American Federation of Labor, founded in 1881, may be said to represent the modern labor movement. The Federation and the non-affiliated unions have since then and until two years ago kept strictly aloof from politics. Two years ago, the Federation at Minneapolis made the departure of blacklisting Congressmen opposed to its special measures, but even this movement was designed to be entirely non-partisan. The Convention took the precaution when endorsing this political move, which was prompted by the leaders, to declare:

"We hold that the solidarity of our movement must not for a moment be endangered by attempts to identify it with a partisan political movement. We must have with us, in our economic movement, men of all parties and creeds, and the minority right of the humblest man to vote where his conscience dictates must be sacredly guarded. We may properly furnish him the facts as they occur in the legislative field, the record of legislators, and then leave him to use his own political judgment. We are not a political party. We disdain political party jurisdiction. We set up no claim of authority over the political acts of our membership. We could not if we would, for all the political authority one might assume would vitiate the protection due every man from the union which grants him his card. If we are to create new tests of regularity in unionism, we must first obtain new powers from the affiliated bodies which make up the Federation. We, therefore, recommend to trade-unionists everywhere the duty of independent voting and the formation of such organizations outside the Trade-Unions as, in the judgment of the membership in each locality, may be deemed most effective."

In a most admirable phrase there was thus expressed the relation of the labor unions to political action, and which may be said to epitomize the wisdom of the labor movement.

For the studied aloofness from politics, characteristic of the unions for twenty-seven years, there must have existed a strong reason. A reason may be found in the fate of its predecessor, the promising National Labor Union, which had a membership of over 200,000. After an existence of six years, the Union at

Columbus, in 1872, nominated a Presidential ticket and never met again. A reason may be found also in the fate of its powerful contemporary, the Knights of Labor, which was torn asunder with dissension over politics, and whose disintegration was chiefly ascribed to the intrigues of politicians.

In 1886, the New York Central Labor Union organized the United Labor Party, which nominated Henry George for Mayor. In a most remarkable campaign, George came a close second to Abram S. Hewitt, with Theodore Roosevelt following. The next year, in a campaign for Secretary of State, George lost in the city more than half of his votes; and the year after the labor party went to pieces. The leaders of the party secured lucrative political offices which some are holding to this day. The brief political prestige which the unions gained in 1886 was at the cost of their integrity. Union after union went to pieces; and it was some years before the local union movement recovered. After like political successes in Chicago and Milwaukee, the unions suffered the same reaction.

In other cities, at different times, similar attempts were made, and, with an exception here and there, met precisely the same fate. A noteworthy exception was that of San Francisco in 1901, where the union labor party, acting independently, elected Eugene Schmitz Mayor. Schmitz was re-elected twice; and then followed the scandals which startled the country. The political success of the unions, there and elsewhere, divided the ranks into warring factions, and seriously weakened their effectiveness as unions.

With this experience vividly before it, organized labor steadfastly refused to be led into politics. In 1895, the American Federation of Labor adopted this clause in its constitution, which is still unaltered:

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

In 1896, after the first Bryan campaign, the Federation significantly adopted the following:

"No officer of the American Federation of Labor shall be allowed to use his official position in the interest of either political party."

In 1898, the Federation declared that it is not within its province to designate to which political party a member shall

belong or for which he shall vote. In 1903, delegates holding political office were disqualified from serving as such.

This strict non-political policy was dictated, not altogether as a protection against the design of politicians, but also as a means of keeping the movement out of Socialistic hands. At every yearly Convention of the Federation, the Socialistic elements strove to commit the organization in various guises to Socialism and Socialistic politics. The safeguards adopted against "Capitalistic" politics applied equally to the Socialists. The Socialists sought to except "labor" politics, but were defeated, and sometimes by a close margin. At New Orleans, in 1902, the vote against a Socialistic proposition of this kind stood 4,897 against and 4,171 for it.

The present Federation leaders were the bulwarks of the unions' policy. It would hardly seem possible that this policy could have withstood the assaults made upon it without their unflinching support. Representing, as these leaders do, the largest unions affiliated and controlling a majority of the votes, the destinies of the Federation were in fact at all times in their hands.

The leaders taught that the advancement of the working class was to be sought through their economic power, the control of the labor-market, and that the political power was a will-o'-the-wisp, ever luring the workers into the quagmire of partisan strife. They argued that political action could only be feasible when a long training in unionism should have developed the desired unity of purpose among working-men. So unqualified were these leaders in their opposition to politics of all kinds that they left no loophole for a movement such as the present one.

The following is from the annual report of President Gompers to the Federation convention in 1896:

"Having had the experience of occupying the presidency of the American Federation of Labor during three Presidential campaigns, I know what tactics and tricks party managers, understrappers and wire-pullers resort to in order to commit active men in the labor movement to one or the other.

"By my course—that is, in refusing to commit our organization or myself to either party—I by no means allayed personal or official criticism, or rather, abuse and slander. By the partisans of one side I was supposed to be working in the interest of the Silver Barons; by the other, I was captured by the Gold Bugs. Men were unable to realize

how one could be consistent enough or staunch enough to be governed by the single purpose to try and steer our craft of trade-unionism clear from the shoals and the rocks upon which so many of labor's previous efforts were wrecked."

Mr. Gompers in his address to the working-men of the country in April last after the celebrated decisions in the Hatters and Buck Stove and Range Company cases said:

"Hold mass meetings in every city in the United States, and at those meetings voice fully and unmistakably labor's protest against the United States Supreme Court's decision, which strips labor of the rights and liberties which we had supposed were granted by the Constitution.

"The most serious and momentous crisis ever faced by the wage-earners in our country is now upon us. Our industrial rights have been shorn from us and our liberties are threatened.

"It rests with each of us to make the most earnest, impressive and law-abiding effort that lies within our power to restore these liberties and safeguard our rights for the future, if we are to save the workers and, mayhap, even the Nation itself from threatened disaster."

The Federation's head, without recanting his former views, justifies his present course on the same grounds as those on which a people might seek to justify a revolution—as a means of averting a graver evil. He agrees with the Socialists for once as to the need of the organized workers asserting themselves as voters; but he takes the stand that, a crisis having arrived in the life of the union movement, the union must either strike a blow at its enemies at the ballot-box or submit to the thraldom of the courts. He also takes the stand (and in so doing parts company irretrievably with the Socialists) that the effective way of delivering this blow is through one of the dominant or "Capitalistic" parties. For this patent reason, the Socialists, while commending his decision to go into politics—which they treat as an admission of the error of his "pure and simple" policy—attack him for his kind of politics which they characterize as reactionary.

The whole question, therefore, of the wisdom of the political move of the Federation leaders, from the strict trade-union point of view, rests upon the matter of the provocation. Is organized labor really so imperilled by the injunction as to justify the leaders (for the Federation as a body has not acted) in exposing the labor movement to all the dangers which they themselves have conjured up as being inseparable from political action?

Mr. Gompers in an address issued by authority of a conference of labor leaders, held in Washington March 18th last, characterizes the injunction thus:

> "By the wrongful application of the injunction by the lower courts the workers have been forbidden the right of free press and free speech, and the Supreme Court in the Hatters case, while not directly prohibiting the exercise of these rights, yet so applies the Sherman law to labor that acts involving the use of free press and free speech and hitherto assumed to be lawful now become evidences upon which triple damages may be collected and fine and imprisonment added as a penalty. Indeed the decisions go so far as to hold agreements of unions with employers to maintain industrial peace to be conspiracies and the evidence of unlawful combination in restraint of trade and commerce, thus effectively throttling labor by penalizing as criminal the exercise of its normal rights and activities."

This is, perhaps, the strongest indictment of the injunction; and yet it is difficult to be awed by the terrors which, according to Mr. Gompers, lurk in this judicial proceeding. There is the obvious fact of the steady growth of the unions notwithstanding the authority of the courts. Mr. Gompers fails to show that the unions have been hampered, in any of their legitimate functions, by the injunction. He fails to explain how they can be so hampered. What he really does do, however, is to make one feel that to his real objection he discreetly avoids giving expression, that it is the intent of the unions to employ intimidating methods and that if the unions are deprived of such means they will be rendered impotent.

That Mr. Gompers should so believe is not to be wondered at, considering the prevailing notion of most unionists that the ability to overawe, to coerce the non-unionist, is vital to the existence of the unions. This is the sensitive spot of unionism, the cardinal error of labor unions, and is chiefly responsible for the distrust with which they are regarded. With this attitude in mind, it is easy to understand why the union leaders should be so concerned about the injunction.

As a matter of fact, in the upbuilding of the union the boycott, which the injunction chiefly affects, has played but a small part, if indeed any part worthy of mention. Only a comparatively few unions can use, as but few have used, the boycott. Most boycotts have been dead letters. The list of the Federation, published before its publication was permanently enjoined by

the Van Cleave suit, contained nearly two hundred names. Many of these concerns were on the list from two to five years. The writer communicated with them, and some in their replies expressed surprise at learning that their names were included. It was customary for Mr. Gompers, in his annual reports, to recommend to the Conventions that the concerns which there was small chance of bringing to terms be weeded from the "We-don't-patronize list."

There were, however, minor unions which rested entirely upon the boycott, and which, because of exceptional conditions, were able to make it effective. "Spineless unions" they were called —that is, unions which depended for an existence upon outside unionists, driving the non-unionists into the fold through the pressure of the boycott or the union label.

There were boycotts that approached the dimensions of civil wars; as, for example, the boycotts which grew out of the street-car strikes in Cleveland, Scranton and San Francisco. Their ramifications became so wide-spread as to create a reign of terror. Counter-combinations eventually followed, and these boycotts ran their course. On the whole, the boycott has not proved a helpful or a creditable weapon. The judgment of experienced union men is that the movement would have been better off without this questionable and easily abused device. Certainly, unionism founded upon free association has nothing to fear from the proscription of the boycott.

In the matter of picketing, the unions have better grounds for a complaint against the injunction. Unquestionably, as against picketing the injunction has been resorted to and has been granted more freely than the circumstances warranted. It afforded too easy a method of overawing strike-pickets who kept within lawful bounds. This abuse, however, is generally admitted, as is evidenced by the Republican platform, and more so by its candidate's letter of acceptance. This plank provides "that no injunction or temporary restraining order shall be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from the delay." The last clause, however, takes the edge off the declaration.

The Democratic plank, while not declaring against the injunction in labor disputes as a principle, excepting the vague clause that "injunctions should not be issued in any cases in

which injunctions would not issue if no industrial disputes were involved," and going no further in that respect than the Republican, yet in declaring for a trial by jury in contempt cases practically destroys the value of the injunction as an emergency measure. Gompers and his associates have, therefore, in so far gained an unqualified concession from the Democratic party, though this concession is not made as a principle.

Respecting the Sherman law the Denver platform is explicit. In declaring that "there should be no abridgment of the right of wage-earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages," it declares that under no circumstances can such organizations be treated as trusts or illegal combinations in restraint of trade. The practical and immediate effect is to permit boycotting between the States. The injunction, however, would still remain a remedy.

As to the importance of the injunction as an issue, the writer has for more than a decade directed one of the largest of the unions, and one conspicuous because of the serious problems it has had to grapple with. In no instance in his career is he aware of the injunction's having obstructed the union. Injunctions were, it is true, often issued, but they were as often dissolved. It is a game that both sides can play at. Manifestly, the injunction, as an issue, has been grossly, if not intentionally, exaggerated by the overwrought union leaders, who, through lack of a normal perspective, have created a spectre that few others can see.

But, assuming the abuse of the injunction to be as grave as charged, assuming the injunction to be the medium of the judicial tyranny alleged, would this situation call for the heroic expedient of thrusting the labor movement into the vortex of a heated political struggle? Until now Mr. Gompers and his confrères put the integrity of the labor unions before all else. Presto! we find this integrity treated as of secondary consequence. Suddenly these leaders discover that organized labor is menaced by the courts, that "fundamental principles of personal rights are involved," and all their previous reasoning is reversed. Politics, always treated as subordinated to economic action, as the breeder of discord and disruption, as a game of cunning in which the guileless wage-workers could not hope to compete, is made the medium of the union's deliverance.

On the question of policy simply what have the union leaders

done? They have staked the future political influence of the labor unions upon their ability to make a showing in this election, and upon a very precarious issue. As in the Congressional campaign of two years ago, they are again going to stand up to be counted, and to demonstrate, this time in a more striking manner, the union's power at the polls. To accentuate this blunder the leaders have cast in their lot with the side which is admittedly the weaker, universally believed to have but a "fighting chance."

The manner in which the labor plank was accepted at Denver is not likely to inspire unionists, and must further operate against a good showing by labor. Its adoption was solely a matter of accepting what the rival party had partially adopted. Transparently, the concession was purely a bid for the union-labor vote. Furthermore, the denunciation of the Republican party by the union officials loses force because of the fact that the acceptance of the labor plank alone would have changed their attitude toward that party. Then it would have ceased to be "the party of the trusts."

An important battalion of organized labor has already spoken upon the question. The International Typographical Union in convention at Boston, on August 14th, refused to fall in with Mr. Gompers's plans. This bespeaks the stand of intelligent and experienced unionists. The serious consideration by the convention of a resolution to withdraw from the Federation, for the reason that it had become a political body, is likewise a forecast of the consequences of the Federation's revolutionary policy. There are other signs equally as portentous.

Mr. Van Cleave, in declaring it to be "the duty of American business men to bury Bryan and Bryanism," has in a way repeated the mistake of Mr. Gompers. In making the injunction the paramount issue, and raising a political question as between employers and union men, he has gone far toward justifying Mr. Gompers's course in the eyes of the union men; neither employers nor unionists, however, who look beyond this controversy will allow it to obscure the greater interests in the election. The attitude of Mr. Bryan, of course, on this question should have weight.

The weakness and danger of this kind of politics are that all considerations, however weighty, become as dust against the de-

mands of a body of voters organized for self-advantage. The obligations of citizenship give way to the obligations of sect or class or division.

Mr. Gompers has repeatedly stated that the organized workers have as much a right to use their political strength for their own advantage as the employers. True; but have the employers or any other element the right to seek special advantages through their ability to influence votes? Voting with regard to one's separate interest is not an evil in itself, so long as the welfare of the whole be not ignored. This elementary proposition of government is involved in the pending campaign. As special interests, because of combination, become more influential this proposition looms up more strongly as an issue.

The political movement of the American Federation of Labor presents another aspect — that of a junta of labor chiefs directing the votes of millions. Never before has this been attempted; unions have gone into politics, leaders have used their influence for political advantage; but there is no record of leaders taking authority into their hands to make terms with political parties, and, acting upon their own judgment, undertaking to instruct or advise the membership as to the casting of its votes. In this case there exist besides, in the law of the union, express prohibitions against such use of authority. What it would mean, should the working masses assent to the political tutelage assumed by the Federation leaders, is best shown by an analysis of the source of authority of these leaders.

The last Convention of the organization at Norfolk consisted of 355 delegates from 237 National, State, local and Federal unions. The total vote represented was 14,916. Eighty-seven National Unions, with their 203 delegates, controlled 14,751 of these votes.

The basis of representation in the case of National and Federal unions is one delegate to the first four thousand, two to eight thousand, three to sixteen thousand, etc., and one vote to every hundred members. The State and local central unions have one vote and one delegate each. The eleven National unions from which the eleven executive officials were chosen controlled, in round figures, seven thousand votes, or about half the total.

Thus it is easily within the power of these eleven men to continue themselves in office at will. As changes in the personnel

of the Executive Council have rarely taken place, these officials apparently have not been squeamish in availing themselves of this opportunity.

Here we have the anomaly of an organization grounded upon the principle of democracy, in fact an absolutism, and with the power centred in the hands of eleven chiefs. To add, therefore, to the sway of this coterie over the wage interests of the million and a half workers, dominion over their suffrage, would make all forms of bossism fade before it. That such political subordination would immensely increase the effectiveness of organized labor will not be disputed, but at what a risk and at what a cost! Answering criticism, Mr. Gompers denies any intent other than to advise. These are his official words:

> "We desire to repeat that we believe that the whole mass of the workers of the country will respond in hearty sympathy with the Democratic party in the coming campaign, as a result of its action in the labor planks of the platform.
>
> "We have no hesitation in urging the workers and our friends throughout the country to support the party in this campaign, which has shown its sympathy with our wrongs, and its desire to remedy them."

This, assuredly, is more than furnishing to the members the facts as they occur in the legislative field, and then leaving them to use their own political judgment as enjoined at Minneapolis; it savors more of an appeal of party workers and comes perilously near an assumption of power to deliver the labor vote, which Mr. Gompers vehemently denies.

"Stand by your friends; defeat your enemies," is Mr. Gompers's parting slogan in every message. Truly, but which are which? For the workers to accept Mr. Gompers's judgment would certainly be the simplest solution.

Heretofore, however, for an official of the Federation to "advise" as to politics was deemed an unpardonable usurpation of power. Manifestly, no official can go farther than that. Merely to advise—not to speak of using the facilities and influence of the organization in behalf of the favored candidates or party—puts an immense power into the hands of the officials—a power of incalculable value to a political party, especially where the Presidency is the stake.

HENRY WHITE.

FOREIGN CRIMINALS IN NEW YORK.

BY POLICE COMMISSIONER THEODORE A. BINGHAM.

WHEN the circumstance is taken into consideration that eighty-five per cent. of the population of New York City is either foreign-born or of foreign parentage, and that nearly half of the residents of the five boroughs do not speak the English language, it is only a logical condition that something like eighty-five out of one hundred of our criminals should be found to be of exotic origin. In no one police precinct on Manhattan Island does the percentage of native-born heads of families reach 50—the highest, 45.44 being in the West Side district lying between Forty-second and Eighty-sixth Streets and Eighth Avenue and the North River, and the lowest, 3.12, in the densely congested East Side quarter, largely peopled by Russian Hebrews, bounded by East Broadway, the Bowery and Houston and Norfolk Streets. Wherefore it is not astonishing that with a million Hebrews, mostly Russian, in the city (one-quarter of the population), perhaps half of the criminals should be of that race, when we consider that ignorance of the language, more particularly among men not physically fit for hard labor, is conducive to crime; nor is it strange that in the precinct where there are not four native-born heads of families in every hundred families, the percentage of criminality is high.

According to an estimate made by a Federal official, there are in New York to-day (besides the million Hebrews of several nationalities, but mostly Russian, already mentioned), 500,000 Italians; from 125,000 to 150,000 Hungarians; 100,000 Austrians; 150,000 Germans; 75,000 Bohemians; 60,000 non-Hebraic Poles; 40,000 Slovaks; 50,000 Greeks; 25,000 Armenians and Syrians; from 12,000 to 15,000 Swiss; 15,000 French and Belgians; from 10,000 to 12,000 Hollanders; 25,000 Irish; 10,000 Chinese;

4,000 natives of the Balkan states, and a few thousand non-Hebraic Russians, besides scattered representatives of nearly every other nationality on the globe. Not only does it bring among us the predatory criminals of all nations, as well as the feuds of the predatory criminals of all nations, as well as the feuds of the Armenian Hunchakist, the Neapolitan Camorra, the Sicilian Mafia, the Chinese Tongs, and other quarrels of the scum of the earth, but aliens have introduced here the unspeakable "white slave" traffic, whereby our streets are overrun with foreign prostitutes, and foreign anarchists openly advocate murder and arson in our slums. Further, according to the newspapers, among other minor instances of lawlessness generated on the other side of the Atlantic, in March last Servian conspirators came to New York to organize a movement to overthrow the throne now occupied by Karageorgevitch, and last December, if we may believe cable despatches from Geneva, emissaries of the Russian Government were sent to New York to kill the editor of a revolutionary newspaper published there.

The crimes committed by the Russian Hebrews are generally those against property. They are burglars, firebugs, pickpockets and highway robbers—when they have the courage; but, though all crime is their province, pocket-picking is the one to which they seem to take most naturally. Indeed, pickpockets of other nationalities are beginning to recognize the superiority of the Russian Hebrew in that gentle art, and there have been several instances lately where a Hebrew and an Italian had formed a combination for theft in the streets, the former being always selected for the "tool," as the professionals term that one who does the actual reaching into the victim's pocket, while the others create a diversion to distract attention, or start a fight in case of the detection and pursuit of the thief. Central Office detectives recently arrested a Hebrew, a Greek and an Italian who were picking pockets together. Among the most expert of all the street thieves are Hebrew boys under sixteen, who are being brought up to lives of crime. Many of them are old offenders at the age of ten. The juvenile Hebrew emulates the adult in the matter of crime percentages, forty per cent. of the boys at the House of Refuge and twenty-seven per cent. of those arraigned in the Children's Court being of that race. The percentage of Hebrew children in the truant schools is also higher than that of any others.

Although, while the Italians are outnumbered in New York by the Hebrews by two to one, the crime percentage of the former is but 20 to the latter's 50, the Italian malefactor is by far the greater menace to law and order. Of the 500,000 Italians in New York to-day, 80 per cent. are from the south, from Naples, Sicily and Calabria; and, while the great bulk of these people are among our best citizens, there are fastened upon them a riff-raff of desperate scoundrels, ex-convicts and jailbirds of the Camorra and the Mafia, such as has never before afflicted a civilized country in time of peace. For more than ten years, not only in New York and most of the other large cities of the United States, but wherever a few Italian laborers have gathered together, whether it be at work on a railroad, or in a mine, or on a farm or an irrigation ditch, or in the vineyards of the Pacific slope, the desperadoes of the race have fastened themselves upon the honest and industrious. In New York, presumably the very centre of Western civilization, crimes of blackmailing, blowing up shops and houses and kidnapping of their fellow countrymen, have become prevalent among Italian residents of the city to an extent that cannot much longer be tolerated.

In order to understand the conditions existing among the Italian banditti in New York, and throughout the United States, the rigorous punitive supervision to which the criminal classes are subjected in Italy must be considered. On the oath of a prefect of police that he has reason to believe that a man is not honestly supporting himself, the latter is sentenced to the "*domicilio coatto,*" or restricted residence, with compulsory labor, on one of the islands set apart for that purpose along the coast, for a term that—depending on his conduct—may extend to several years. Indeed, groups of fifty and a hundred men at a time are thus summarily disposed of, no opportunity being afforded them to prove themselves innocent of wrong-doing.

An Italian who has served a prison term is, on his release, placed under strict surveillance for a period corresponding to the length of that term. On returning to civil life, he is obliged to give his future address at the police bureau of the district in which that domicile is situated, and to report at the bureau morning and evening each day. Nor is he permitted to leave his place of residence except to go to work, or to look for work.

On his return to his home in the evening, he is compelled to remain indoors until it is time for him to go to his employment, or to seek for employment, the next day; and it is particularly enjoined upon him that he may not, in any circumstances, enter a hotel, a restaurant, a café, a theatre or any other place of amusement.

The police pay visits to the ex-convict's domicile at will, not less frequently than every other day, to ascertain whether he is living in accordance with the regulations laid down for him; and, should he be detected in their violation, he is put back to the beginning of his probation—that is, if he has been subjected to the police regulations for one year, and has lived up to them for 364 days, he is compelled in case of a relapse to begin his year over again. In the event of a public celebration or any occurrence likely to bring a crowd to the city, town or village where he is domiciled, he is jailed until the ceremonies are over. The ex-convict in Italy, moreover, is likely to be asked for information as to the antecedents of any property he may acquire at any time. Should he even be noticed wearing a bit of jewelry that seems to have value, any minion of the law may stop him on the street, or in any other place, and call him to account for its possession.

The lawbreaker's life outside of prison in Italy is, in fact, passed in continual fear of the police and the *carabinieri,* the latter forming a regular army corps that patrols the entire country; and it is not at all surprising that he should take advantage of the first opportunity to get to the United States, where he is unknown to the authorities and conditions are perfect for him to live upon the more helpless of his honest fellow countrymen. The *omerta,* or conspiracy of silence, is unwritten law among the Italians who are supporting the banditti of the race in this country, and gives added confidence and security to the spoilers. Even the newspapers unwittingly assist the Italian lawbreaker. To quote a writer in an American magazine:

"The circumstance that the newspapers attribute every crime committed by an Italian in America to the Black Hand Society gives these desperadoes an advantage never before possessed by scattered malefactors; for, although they are without organization, they are enabled to make their lawless demands upon their ignorant victims in the name of a powerful society—that does not exist. So thoroughly has the press advertised such an association, however, that the individual criminal

need only announce himself as an agent of the Black Hand to obtain the prestige of an organization whose membership is supposed to be in the tens of thousands."

It is impossible to exaggerate the enormity of the offences committed by these transplanted malefactors, by whatever name they may be called. Murder, arson, kidnapping, bomb-throwing, blackmail, robbery, are matters of frequent occurrence in the Italian colonies throughout the country. There have been several cold-blooded, premeditated murders among Italians in the five boroughs of New York since the first of the year. The audacity of these desperadoes is almost beyond belief. Arrested for crimes that, proved against them, might give them capital punishment or life terms of imprisonment, they will obtain bail and return to the scene of their depredations to jeer at and threaten their victims.

As a concrete instance of one phase of Italian criminality the experience of a victim who has had the courage to stand up against a gang of blackmailers may be cited. He stated his own case to a reporter of the *New York Times* in July, as follows:

"My name is Salvatore Spinella. My parents were of honest station in Italy. I came here 18 years ago, and went to work as a painter, like my father. I married. I raised a family. I am an American citizen 13 years. My children, as they are big enough, all go to school. I educate my oldest daughter to be a teacher. I make a little money. I became a contractor-painter. Last winter I think I am prosperous. My family are all very happy. I own houses at 314 and 316 East 11th-street. I lease a house at 326 East 11th-street, where I live.

"The 'Black Hand' come and demand $7,000. I tell them to go to hell. They try to blow up my house. I go to the police and fight them as well as I can. They set off another bomb; two, three, four, five bombs. My business is ruined. My tenants leave, all but six of 32 families. I have $1,000 interest coming due next month that I cannot pay. I am a ruined man. My family live in terror day and night. There is a policeman in front of my house, but what does he do? Only my brother Francisco and myself can watch with my wife and children, who dare not go out. How long must this endure?"

It is an extremely difficult thing to catch a Sicilian bomb-planter in the act. If he thinks that the place he wishes to demolish is watched, he will come again and again — if not to-day, then to-morrow; if not to-morrow, some day next week. His patience is inexhaustible, and when he sees his opportu-

nity he will quietly slip his bomb with a long fuse into a closet, under the stairs, or in some other out-of-the-way place, ignite the fuse and quietly slip away. Moreover, Petrosino and the members of his staff are the best-known men in New York to the Italian criminals, who naturally attempt to acquaint themselves with the person of every member of the squad before proceeding to the commission of crime. In this Spinella case, after the first bomb was thrown, Lieutenant Petrosino was assigned to the case. In spite of careful work another bomb was exploded in the house. The third time the Black Handers tried it, however, a young Italian was caught red-handed in the house with the bomb in his hand. The prisoner turned out to be a stupid boy of less than twenty, who had only arrived from Sicily a few weeks before, and who had been put up to attempting to explode the bomb by some criminal of higher intelligence.

Italian children come next after the youthful Russian Hebrews in the percentage of arraignments in the Children's Court and commitments to the truant schools and the House of Refuge—the lower rounds of the ladder of crime. They are 20 per cent. of the total brought into the court, and 10 per cent. of those at the House of Refuge. There are no figures available as to percentages of commitments to the truant schools.

After the Russian Hebrews and the Italians, the remaining 30 per cent. of adult criminals is pretty well divided up among the representatives of other alien races and the native Americans. The latter incline to commercial crimes, and the less cultured among them to the higher classes of burglary as well as minor offences. In many of the smaller foreign colonies there is petty blackmail going on, whereby the immigrants victimize one another, but on the whole no other races than those already mentioned have developed particularly dangerous criminal specialties.

The "white-slave" traffic, which, while not constituting any direct menace to life and property, is yet a crime of so detestable a nature as to excite even greater animosity against its perpetrators than is engendered by the most terrible misdeeds of the so-called "Black Hand," has recently been introduced into New York and other parts of the country by the lowest and most contemptible malefactors of France and Belgium. The term "slave" is no misnomer, for the victims of this crime are as

absolutely the property of their masters, in everything except the legal sense, as were the blacks in the South before the Emancipation Proclamation—and the condition of the white slaves to-day is infinitely more pitiable. This vile trade has its agents all over Europe, and its victims are young women of the peasant class from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, Spain, the Austrian provinces, Roumania and southeastern Europe generally, with a few from Germany and Italy, who are decoyed away from their homes by promises of employment in another country as servants in respectable families, or in other capacities, and once out of their native land are relegated to lives of shame, with death as the only alternative in the majority of cases. In many instances, in which a young girl will not leave her home for the sake of employment, a good-looking young scoundrel in the slave-trade will make love to her and marry her, only to turn her over to a purchaser when she is beyond the reach of assistance. A regular business is carried on in the delivery of these unfortunates in foreign countries. London is the centre of the traffic, and the clearing-house from which the women are distributed to the Americas. South America gets sixty-five per cent. of these slaves, but there are hundreds of them already in New York, and more than 100,000 on the Pacific coast and in Mexico, who have entered through the port of New York. It will readily be understood how difficult it is to break up this traffic. The women arrive here as first and second class passengers, some with the men they have married, and are able to meet all the requirements of the immigration laws. Once in the city, those who remain are made actual prisoners in disreputable houses, and forced—more often than not by brutal corporal punishment —to do the will of their masters. Ignorant of the language and of the laws of the country, it is well-nigh impossible for them to appeal for assistance, and the lives of those who find it impossible to adapt themselves to the fearful conditions under which they are compelled to exist are dragged out in wretchedness and misery.

The story of one of these "white slaves," who was deported in July, when the man who was responsible for her misfortunes was sentenced to a long term in a Federal prison, illustrates the conditions that govern this infamous trade. The victim in this instance was a nineteen-year-old girl, born in Paris, and the man

who was convicted was an Egyptian, named Seliman Allys. He had induced her to come to America with him by promising to marry her on their arrival. They reached New York on the "Lusitania" last February, and he took her to a house which was called a club. After the girl had been there a month, Allys introduced her to a disreputable house kept by a Frenchwoman named Arturo, and there, after being frequently beaten and kept in imprisonment, she was forced to do the bidding of the other two. In an affidavit the girl says: "I was helpless. If I had been in my own country I could have refused. I could not get away because I had no money and could not speak English. I made ten dollars and sometimes more a day. I gave it all to him. . . . I was told not to go to the windows, and to stay in my room, because the detectives told Madame Arturo they were looking for a girl." The woman, Arturo, was held in $5,000 bail for trial in the case. She was able to secure bail, however, and she forfeited it and fled from the country. Of course, the above is only an outline of a terrible story that may not be told in detail.

The men who are conducting the "white-slave" traffic here, as has been said, are mostly French and Belgian, who speak little or no English. Most of them are of an inferior physical type, as they are mentally and morally, and among them are a number of the Paris "apaches," absinthe-consumed perverts, who are to the French capital to-day what the crapulous "gangs" of a few years ago, murdering and robbing when drunk, were to New York. Italians and Hebrews, whose habitat is in the slums south and west of Washington Square, are also engaged in the slave-trade in New York.

A year ago, the sensational murder of Tavshanjian, a wealthy rug merchant in Union Square, who was shot from behind as he came out of the Everett House where he had been to lunch, brought to light the existence of half a dozen alleged patriotic Armenian societies, organized for the purpose of raising money to assist the movement for throwing off the Turkish yoke, but more than one of which has degenerated into a society for the practice of blackmail, pure and simple. Investigation revealed the fact that the killing of the rug merchant, the butchery of Father Kaplan, an Armenian priest, three months before, and several other hitherto unexplained murders in the United States and on the other side of the Atlantic,

might be traced to a common cause; that for years wealthy Armenians in this country had been living in continual terror by reason of the threats of these societies, one of which, with headquarters in Cyprus, struck deadly blows in London, New York, Constantinople, wherever it would. The sentence of the actual murderer—a mere tool in the hands of others, who had crossed the ocean for the purpose of assassinating Tavshanjian—to the electric chair, and of four local accessories to the crime to long terms in State's prison, has temporarily dampened the ardor of the Hunchakist, but there is no telling when the leaders may again incite ignorant enthusiasts to another tragic outbreak.

Chinatown has been quiet for many months, but murderous eruptions in that quarter of New York always come without warning, and no one save the Chinamen themselves ever know any more what the quarrel is about than that one Tong, or society, has a grievance against another. The Chinaman never includes his American neighbors in his feuds, however, and the only risk the latter runs when the former goes on the warpath is from a stray bullet, for the yellow men are poor marksmen. Nevertheless, Chinatown is a plague spot that ought not to be allowed to exist. It is a constant menace to the morals of the children of the neighborhood, and a cover for desperate criminals. The low-ceiled rooms of the squalid buildings in Doyers, Pell and Mott streets, and facing on the Bowery, many of them opening only into inside courts, are divided and subdivided into closetlike spaces that are rented for living and sleeping purposes, and in them are housed the very lees of humanity, black, yellow and white—Chinamen, honest and dishonest, but all the others—thieves, thugs and prostitutes, with their parasites. There are a few Chinamen with their wives, white and Chinese, who live respectable lives—from the Mongolian point of view—in these teeming warrens, but the character of human existence in them is beyond description.

Americans have never been brought to consider anarchism seriously, in spite of the outrage of nearly a quarter of a century ago in Chicago that cost several lives, although President McKinley was killed by an anarchist and the anarchist assassin of King Humbert of Italy sailed from New York on his murderous errand. The "reds" in New York do not probably number more than a thousand all told, comprising principally Ger-

mans, Italians, Russian Hebrews and Bulgarians, with a scattered few of other nationalities. There is always the possibility of some crack-brained fanatic being influenced by the anarchist who only talks to a desperate deed, like that of Silverstein in Union Square last March.

So much for the criminal element that the Police Department of New York is paid to keep within bounds, and now to consider the method of dealing with it. Take the most dangerous malefactors, the ex-convicts of Naples, Sicily and Calabria and their following. It is estimated that there are at least 3,000 of these desperadoes in New York, among them as many ferocious and desperate men as ever gathered in a modern city in time of peace—mediæval criminals who must be dealt with under modern laws. In a spirited article in the number of this REVIEW for last April, in which he demonstrates that the "Black Hand Society" as a definite organization is a myth, Gaetano d'Amato quotes Robert Louis Stevenson's characterization of the gangs of thieves that preyed upon nocturnal Paris three and a half centuries ago to describe conditions existing among the Italian criminals in New York to-day—"independent malefactors, socially intimate, and occasionally joining together for some serious operation, just as modern stock-jobbers form a syndicate for an important loan." Admitting the accuracy of the parallel, what might happen if a mind capable of organizing these criminal units, as was done in the instances of the Camorra and the Mafia, were to accomplish that result? It is by no means outside the bounds of possibility. Newspapers and individuals inform the Police Commissioner that, the members of the force as at present constituted being at a disadvantage in coping with the Italian evil-doer by reason of ignorance of his language, a solution of the problem of control of Italian crime would come with the addition of a sufficient number of Italian policemen to the ranks to establish a proportion with those speaking only English. That there should be only thirty or forty Italian policemen and detectives in a city where there are 500,000 Italians, few of whom speak English, is a ridiculous state of things, we are told. The reply is that the Police Commissioner is compelled by law to select his men from lists furnished him by the Civil Service Board, and that Italian names are few on these lists because the young men of that nationality generally prefer business life

to the public service. Further, the Italian invasion of New York is so recent a matter that there are few of that race of the right age who would be able to pass the examination for probationary members of the police force.

Under the immigration law as it stands at present, a foreign criminal may be deported from the United States if he has been in the country less than three years and has committed before coming to the country a crime involving moral turpitude. After three years' residence here, he is exempt from arrest in so far as his previous record is concerned, the idea being, apparently, that three years of contact with American institutions will make him a desirable citizen, no matter how big a scoundrel he may have been on his arrival. In order to prove a foreign criminal record in the case of suspected Italians, the assistance of the Italian Consul-General was requested. The Consul-General expressed himself as ready to render the police the necessary assistance in ascertaining foreign records of Italians arrested for crime committed here, or of those now wanted for trial or punishment in Italy. He could not see his way clear, however, to assist the police by procuring any information as to the foreign record of an Italian in New York who may have committed crime before coming here, but is not now wanted on a charge here or in Italy.

The other essential to the deportation of a foreign criminal is to prove that he has been in the country less than three years. If the burden of proof could be put on the alien, the matter would be simple and no injustice would be done, since if he has been in the United States more than three years it is the easiest thing in the world for him to prove it. The present method, however, which practically places the burden of proof on the police and requires from them evidence that the former criminal has not been here three years, makes the deportation of these men extremely difficult. Owing to deficiencies in our laws, dangerous foreign criminals whom the police have sent to Ellis Island for deportation have been set at liberty there, and have of course returned to continue their depredations. And to add to the trials of the Italian squad, three Italian ex-convicts, who had been certified for deportation last July, escaped after having been given into the custody of the immigration authorities.

Although New York is thus overrun with the criminals of all nations, her Police Department is compelled to work at a dis-

advantage in the detection and punishment of crime by comparison with that of any other large city in the world, by reason of the fact that—owing to existing political conditions—the Police Commissioner is unable to employ a secret service. All of the members of the detective bureau, as it is at present constituted, are easily known to the criminals and the crooked politicians, who are to blame for the present lack of efficiency in the Police Department. The best-known men in all New York to the Italian criminals are Lieutenant Petrosino and the other members of the Italian squad. Indeed, the first thing an Italian criminal does on arriving here is to make himself acquainted with the appearance of the Italian detectives. Similarly, every pickpocket, every thief, every "white slave" master, every professional criminal in whatever line, familiarizes himself as far as possible with the appearance of the members of the police force, as they freely say themselves. With a civilian branch of the detective service, the members of which should be engaged and dismissed entirely at the will of the Police Commissioner, and who should be unknown except to two or three officials, wonderful results could be accomplished in the breaking up of criminal organizations. Such a secret service would be of particular use in hunting down the criminals among the Sicilians and Armenians, for instance, and in discovering the identity of the men engaged in the "white slave" traffic, as well as of inestimable value in the general detection of crime.

Again to quote a writer in an American magazine:

"The crowning absurdity of the entire tragic situation in New York lies in the circumstance that the Police Department is without a secret service. In the one city in the world where the police problem is complicated by an admixture of the criminals of all races, the Department is deprived of an indispensable arm of the service."

THEODORE A. BINGHAM.

THE REGENERATED OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

BY MUNDJI BEY, TURKISH CONSUL-GENERAL AT NEW YORK.

THE dawn of the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire, hailed by the re-establishment of our Constitution of 1876, may appear to be by no means free from menacing clouds of future political and internal intrigues; but I have reason to believe firmly that the surprising outcome of the short and bloodless revolution in the Ottoman Empire which compelled the reluctant Sultan to yield to the wishes of the nation has opened a clear path to the goal of freedom.

There are students of history and political science in Europe, as well as in America, who are inclined to think that a great reform movement, like the one now inaugurated in the Ottoman Empire, cannot be accomplished without bloodshed. Sooner or later, their opinion is, the world will witness the rise of reactionary elements who will induce Sultan Abdul Hamid to resume, once more, his detested rôle of autocracy. They may have reasons for their deduction, but thousands of free-minded and liberal Ottomans, knowing well the internal situation in Turkey, are assured that it is impossible for either the Sultan or his camarilla to suppress the new Constitution, and retrograde to the old reign of despotism.

In order to understand the development of the present situation in the Ottoman Empire, we must go back to the reign of Abdul Medjid, the father of our present monarch. The readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will perhaps recollect that, when Sultan Abdul Medjid granted the famous charter of 1853, the Ottoman Empire was in a state of utter decay and the independence of the State was in jeopardy. The "Hatt-i-Humayoun" of Sultan Abdul Medjid, promulgated from the Gulhane Palace, saved Turkey from dismemberment and partition, and

renewed our friendly relations with Great Britain and France. The integrity of the Empire was saved, and it remained on the political map of the world unmolested.

Sultan Medjid's charter, for some reason or another, did not bring about the desired results within the country, and when his brother, Abdul Aziz, the unfortunate Sultan, ascended the Ottoman throne, the situation was full of peril.

The Empire's vital forces—her army, her navy and her financial credit abroad—were in a critical condition. The rumblings of revolutionary movements were being heard from all corners of the Empire. The political testament of Sultan Abdul Medjid, elaborated by the celebrated Grand Vizier, Moustafa Reshid Pasha, was doomed to become a dead letter. The European Powers, hopeless of the Ottoman independence and regeneration, were eagerly looking forward to the approaching day of our disintegration.

Statesmen of world-wide fame, like Ali Pasha and Fouad Pasha, did their utmost to save the Empire from its downfall, and to reinforce the rule of Sultan Abdul Aziz; but, in spite of all their patriotic zeal and statesmanship, their efforts failed. Although our navy was decidedly strong, and the army equally so, the two forces did not prevent Turkey from losing a large part of her territory in 1877, in the war with Russia.

During the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz, the situation appeared to be encouraging. The press was free, public education was making headway, and our commerce and agriculture progressing. But, unfortunately, the microbe of decay proved more powerful than our statesmen's efforts toward regeneration.

In consequence of this state of affairs, internal disturbances and revolution in the European provinces, together with a financial crisis, became so menacing that the Cabinet decided to put an end to the rule of Sultan Abdul Aziz. He was dethroned in 1876, to the great satisfaction of the Ottoman nation, as well as of Europeans.

Sultan Mourad V succeeded his uncle. He was liberal, progressive and generous, but the opportunity was denied him of putting into effect his reform schemes. His opponents proclaimed him insane, and entrusted the throne to his brother, Abdul Hamid, who hastened the country toward final ruin and downfall.

The independence of a State means the freedom of the nation. A progressive, liberal and constitutional government, beyond any doubt, is stronger and better than an absolute monarchy, where the will of one man can rule and ruin a country. Midhat Pasha deserves the credit for the initiation of the Constitution in Turkey. His prudence and his patriotism were well represented in the great work which he accomplished, in inducing Sultan Abdul Hamid to proclaim a Constitution on December 19th, 1876.

Unfortunately, to put it briefly, Sultan Abdul Hamid was not in sympathy with the progressive programme, and he was not sincere when he consented to grant the Constitution. But Midhat Pasha had set his hopes on the Parliament, as the means of checking the despotic rule of the monarch and of reforming the country.

The war with Russia was declared in 1877, and Sultan Abdul Hamid seized the opportunity to abolish the Parliament and do away with all patriots. Some of them were murdered, some imprisoned, and others exiled. They were men of enlightenment and ability, and the Ottoman nation will always mourn the loss of its best sons, the fathers of our liberty.

The war was disastrous for us. Much territory in Europe and in Asia Minor was lost. The pride and dignity of the nation were lowered. But this caused no regret to Abdul Hamid. He felt no shame to see the throne of Osman Khan Elghazi, so dear to Ottoman hearts, exposed to the scorn of the world. The hostility, antagonism and detestation of his subjects did not disturb his peace; he was satisfied that they feared him.

The terrible war, its consequences, the despotic rule, tyranny and persecution, exhausted the natural resources, strength and energy of the nation, and initiated a period of struggle and revolution. Turkey grew weaker and weaker day after day, left an open door for foreign intervention and put the control of the country's independence into alien hands. During the last thirty-two years, our navy has lost its importance, while the army became stronger and well organized; it was led, however, not against our enemies, but on the contrary against the nation, against the peaceful inhabitants. Brother was led against brother, and public officers sought their promotion by spying upon each other. The corruption reached such a degree that even Sultan Abdul Hamid himself came to hate his own rule.

The result was the decay, the ruin and destruction of the Empire. During this period, we lost all our national fortune, our commerce went into foreign hands; it had been previously in the hands of our fellow countrymen—Armenians and loyal Greeks. The nation was subjected to humiliation, poverty and destitution.

The power and vocation of the Sublime Porte were transferred to the Yildiz Kiosk. The Grand Vizier was humiliated to play the rôle of a valet in the hands of the palace officials. And the helm of state was in the entire control of a small circle of minions and parasites. In matters concerning the relations with foreign Powers, the Sublime Porte became nothing more than an office of registry.

Our representatives in foreign lands, instead of looking after Ottoman interests, in order to strengthen our economic and friendly relations with foreign countries, became simply police agents and spy lieutenants to watch innocent political refugees, and send to the Yildiz reports of imaginary plots and revolutions.

The Sultan, fearful and suspicious, trusting no one, believing in no one, created the spy system, the most expensive and most complex of all institutions in Turkey. Every move of everybody was watched. Even three persons could not gather around a table. They were spied upon. If there were seven hundred and fifty thousand Mohammedan inhabitants in Constantinople, five hundred thousand of them were spies.

In such a state of affairs it was very natural that the Ottoman financial standing should fall, and credit vanish. It was impossible for the Ottoman treasury to negotiate loans. This brought about the necessity of handing over to the Germans our customs duties, our waterways, railroads and other sources of revenue and production, not only in the capital, but in Asia Minor and at other points of the Empire.

The annual allowance of the Sultan was one million Turkish pounds, but he spent between seven and eight millions a year, most of it wasted in fighting imaginary plots and revolutions. Corrupt palace officials around him found a means of accumulating a fortune just by whispering a few words in the ears of their master. The country's annual expenditure was twenty-five million Turkish pounds, while the revenue never exceeded twelve millions.

The people year after year lost their confidence in the Sultan, and discontent increased with speed among Turks, Armenians, Macedonians and Albanians.

The wholesale butchery of three hundred thousand Armenians, directed by the Yildiz Kiosk clique, is too well known to be recapitulated here. We lived for centuries with the Armenians. Through their native industry and intelligence they had been always most useful subjects of the Empire, and no cause was given by them for the cruel persecution. It was only a conspiracy, the scheme of a few palace grafters to make a fortune out of Armenian blood.

The Sultan, mindful only of his personal safety and absolute rule, ignored entirely all consideration of what the future consequences might be. Like Louis XV, he believed in "After me the Deluge." He wanted to rule and rule alone, and his Machiavellian policy made no discrimination as to race or religion. During his thirty years of reign, at least one hundred thousand Turkish families have suffered his cruel persecution. Thousands were exiled, imprisoned, poisoned, sunk in the sea or murdered at midnight in the Yildiz.

This misrule in Turkey became a by-word among the nations, and lowered the dignity and pride of the nation. It was not only enlightened Ottomans who became dissatisfied with the situation; but soldiers and officers also, whose salaries were neglected for months and even years, joined in the march of the reformers' army. Had Turkey remained in the same situation a decade more, it would have been wiped out of Europe and Asia. Her corruption paralleled that of the old Roman Empire.

The Young Turkey movement, led by able patriots, men trained in Western civilization, although in existence for a score of years, spread within the last year with great rapidity and became the dominant power in the country. The fact that Young Turks joined Armenian and other revolutionary organizations, made their cause common, and strengthened their fighting force for liberty.

The Armenian revolutionists, after looking for a quarter of a century to the Signatory Powers of the Berlin Congress for the administration of reforms in Armenia, came finally to the conclusion that their hope of freedom lay in co-operation and union with Turkish and other liberal movements.

While history will record the discipline, the thorough organization and the courage of the Young Turks in achieving Ottoman independence, the Armenians will always be credited with the prudence and the diplomacy of the step they took.

The fuel for the final conflagration came from the Macedonian question. For years that unhappy spot of European Turkey had become a guerilla camp of various races — Bulgarians, Greeks, Servians, Wallachians and Albanians. Each race had its national prejudice against the others, and each its national ambition. Bulgarian Macedonians were supported by Bulgaria, Greeks by Greece, Servians by Servia and Wallachs by Roumania. All wanted to rule and separate the province from Turkey.

The situation in Macedonia became menacing. The Austro-Russian action failed, and after Sir Edward Grey's note of last March, Russia and England came to a final understanding. The Reval meeting of the Tsar and King Edward made the Macedonian question more acute, and our patriots, Young Turks, whose programme is to save the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, grasped the situation and hastened the revolution to avert the loss of the Macedonian province and the fatal consequences thereof.

"The Committee of Ottoman Union and Progress," as the Ottoman Revolutionary Committees are named, directed the Revolutionary Committee in Macedonia to sound the bugle of revolt. The signal was given before the time designated, and the insurgent army at Uskub, Monastir, Salonica, Adrianople, all at the same time, demanded of the Sultan the re-establishment of the old Constitution and the banishment of the obnoxious camarilla at Yildiz—the real instigators of the country's misfortune and misrule. The Sultan had in all circumstances depended upon Albanian support in time of trouble, and the news of their revolt fell upon the Yildiz Kiosk like a thunderbolt.

The Constitution was granted, or rather was forced to be proclaimed, on July 24th, the day of the dawning of the new era of the Ottoman Empire. Although this Constitution is substantially the one inaugurated in 1876, and many changes are to be desired in the near future, it assures in its present form the integrity of the Empire, individual liberty, the freedom of all creeds, of the press and of education, equal legal taxation; a

Senate and a Chamber; general elections by ballot every fourth year; permanent tenure of office by judges; and many other reform measures so long desired and so urgently needed.

I do not need to dwell at length here upon the welcome benefits which will accrue to the country from the new régime. The Ottoman Empire, comprising Mohammedan and Christian races, has within itself the ability to enlighten, to uplift, to civilize the country, and to bring it to the high level of Western nations. The new regenerated Turkey will not follow the footsteps of the fighting soldiers of the sixteenth century, but will settle down to rebuild the ruins of the old days; we will study science, history, economics and all the modern resources of civilization.

Our industries, agriculture and other means of production, till now sold to foreigners by corrupt officials, will pass into native hands. Within a decade, the country, rich in natural resources, will develop from its present destitution and bankruptcy, into a land of happiness and prosperity.

The greatest change, as a consequence of the new régime, will, I am sure, be the abolition of the religious question. For centuries fanaticism has brought misfortune to our land; hereafter we will let religion abide in the mosques and in the churches and in the individual conscience, and all of us will unite under the banner of civilization, and work for the welfare of all.

Till now the Turks were the dominant and ruling race in the Empire; hereafter the country will be ruled by her citizens. The Turk, the Armenian, the Greek, the Syrian, the Jew, the Kurd, the Circassian, all will have equal opportunities; all will represent the Empire. The preference will be given not to the race or religion, but to individual ability and integrity.

Hereafter there will be no more Turkey, but a regenerated Ottoman Empire. Hereafter, instead of fighting each other, instead of brigandage, instead of slaughter of innocent human beings, we will build temples of civilization, of peace, of brotherhood and of progress.

As to our relations with our neighbors and foreign Powers, they will be friendly, and there will be no need of capitulations, which since the fifteenth century have been a means of interference in our internal affairs, and have suppressed our independence in our own country. Instead, treaties and *ententes* with other countries will safeguard our interests as well as theirs.

Our representatives in foreign countries, instead of being spies and police agents, will represent the dignity and the integrity of the Ottoman nation and will work for the economic interests of their Fatherland.

The Ottoman Empire, regenerated and reconstructed, instead of being a target for foreign intrigues, will enter the field of international politics.

Most of all I am confident that Great Britain will regain her lost prestige in Turkey; and, through her friendly relations, the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire will be assured. France was the historic friend of Turkey, and there is no reason why anything should be in the way of renewing our old amicable relations with her.

The United States of America will begin intimate relations with Turkey. Hundreds of Ottoman subjects have been educated in the universities and colleges of this country. Some of them will, no doubt, be important factors in Ottoman politics, and they will always look back to the land where they took refuge and where they obtained their education. Thousands of Ottoman subjects who will return to their homes will carry with them American ideas and American ways of living. Will not this make a good bond between the two nations?

Having all due respect for the German race, in view of the peculiar situation of our industrial and economic relations with the German Government, I will say that I hope the regenerated Ottoman Empire will peacefully settle all the economic troubles and see the return of the productive enterprises into native hands, where they rightfully belong. For to strive in order that we may realize "The Ottoman Empire for Ottomans" is our right and our duty.

The Macedonian question being settled through the establishment of the new Constitution, Austria will have no cause for interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Nor is there any cause to fear serious trouble in the direction of the small Balkan States.

Russia for the present is too busy with her internal affairs to mingle in Ottoman politics. Her neutrality is already assured. Probably it will take Russia twenty years for the final settlement of her new régime; moreover, her ambitions in the Far East cannot be said to have died away. She will not forget the repulse

she encountered in Manchuria. If the great Muscovite Power is still looking forward to the fulfilment of the will of Peter the Great—the conquest of Constantinople, where the Ottoman Parliament will meet hereafter—she may rest assured that it will remain the centre of the Ottoman nation and of Ottoman progress.

The younger generation of Turkey are looking forward to a strong, regenerated, reconstructed, enterprising and progressive Ottoman Empire. If not to-day, we will make it a reality to-morrow. We are striving to fulfil the wishes of the civilized world. Peace was demanded of us, we have peace now. And we are sure, with all our true friends, the liberty-loving people of America will extend their sympathy to the reformers in their fight for the final establishment of Ottoman freedom.

MUNDJI.

SELF-EXPRESSION AND THE AMERICAN DRAMA.

BY PERCY MACKAYE.

From age to age, and in every peopled land, a vital instinct, imperishable as fire, appears to be reborn; a bodiless principle, peremptory as some vast genius of the elements, seeks embodiment. Under that yearning Spirit's touch, the institutions of men are as clay; the stubborn neck of custom is docile. Stung by his voice, the nations and the communities awaken, grow articulate, freshly comprehend one another and themselves; moved by his imperious smile, they do his bidding wonderingly. That unwithstandable spirit is the Will-to-Express.

In our own land to-day, that instinct is seeking an old instrument for freshly vital ends; it is seeking the drama to render articulate the American people. In so doing, however, it is only revealing anew its perennial nature. More than once on our soil that instinct has asserted itself. Especially at about the middle of the last century, chiefly in New England, the American genius became eloquent in the forms of literature through the self-expression of men like Hawthorne, Emerson, Whittier, Thoreau, Poe, Whitman, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes; and the seed of that self-expression has borne hereditary fruit in the works of our American literary artists during the generations since then.

Not until very lately, however, has that same seed—the incentive to self-expression—lodged itself in the heart and mind of the American dramatist. Indeed, so little is such a motive associated by the general public with their conception of the drama's function, so seldom is the dramatist himself considered in the light of an integral artist, that it becomes the somewhat anomalous task of one who would seek self-expression through

the drama as a fine art to elucidate and justify his alleged right to so unprecedented a vocation. That a writer of plays should assume the same independent position in art as that which has long since been yielded by public approbation to the writer of novels or essays or poems, is considered by an astonishing majority of intelligent persons as an untenable assumption.

Why, we may ask, is this so? Why are intelligent persons thus strongly convinced that the dramatist is fundamentally differentiated as an artist from the novelist, the poet, the essayist?

An interesting light—historical and contemporary—is thrown upon this question by a recent interview in the "New York Times" with the late Mr. Bronson Howard, long honored as the dean of American dramatists. Referring to the contemporary drama in English (which he classed as "the work of English and American players and authors collectively"), Mr. Howard is reported as saying:

"All English dramatists are groping in a blind alley. They have stepped aside from the avenue, which I shall designate as the natural growth of the English drama. *The dramatists are ignoring their public. They are writing to please themselves.* They are promulgating work which the people do not want. The proof thereof is the colossal percentage of failures both in New York and London. *There are no logical reasons to account for the present poverty of the stage.* With an increasing population and a growing interest in the stage, the playwrights should be plentiful and their brains should be fertile. I attribute the *present degeneration* of the English drama to the *alluring influence of the Continental playwrights who are providing their own stage lavishly with successful plays.*"

This opinion, expressed by an American dramatist of honorable achievement, represents a very extensive public opinion in America; and, because it is representative, I will take the liberty of trying to analyze Mr. Howard's utterance with a view to answering the question put above: Why is the drama, as a mode of expression, differentiated fundamentally in the public mind from other forms of literature?

"*The dramatists are ignoring their public. They are writing to please themselves.*" This statement (which, for our purposes, I will take as applying simply to this side of the Atlantic), made by one who has been intimately familiar for many years with our native drama and its conditions, corroborates my statement to the effect that not until lately has the incentive to self-expression

lodged itself in the American dramatist. From the stated tendency, however, I would draw a different inference from Mr. Howard's: not the "degeneration" of the present drama, but its regeneration. In support of this inference, I would cite a comparison—an American comparison—between the present period of our native drama and the New England period of our native literature in its beginnings. And in this connection I would suggest the following queries:

If Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his own day, had *not* sufficiently ignored his contemporary public to write to please himself, how much would the public of this day—how much would the public of to-morrow—desire to read his works?

And again—what is, perhaps, even more to the point: If he had *not* written to please himself, would Hawthorne have written at all? Would his genius have expressed itself?

If Emerson, Whittier, Whitman, Lowell, in their noblest and most successful utterances, had not been moved to expression by an inner necessity, but, instead, had been moved by the outward necessity of ascertaining what their public wanted them to say, would the public of their day, of this day and of to-morrow, be the richer or the poorer?

And again: If by some miraculous dispensation those same poets, reborn with the instinct and knowledge of stagecraft, were to-day writing for our stage to please themselves, would their writings be, therefore, degenerative to our drama?

Such queries, and the deductions they suggest, may ring strange in minds unaccustomed to correlate the drama with literature.

In any event, it may be retorted, the times of those American poets were different times from these. In those days, the American public was attentive, far more than to-day, to the voice of literature for leadership and counsel and inspiration, and therefore it behooved those literary leaders to remember their responsibility and maintain their highest personal standards of expression accordingly. To-day, things are different; to-day, "with an increasing population and a growing interest in the stage," the public is turning yearly more and more away from literature proper toward the theatre as the seat of a great and vital public influence. Times are changing. The vehicle of national expression is different.

To be sure, it is different: but *how* different? Doubtless, the drama is an *other* vehicle than the lyric, the poem or the novel; but is it, of its nature, *so* different from those forms of literature that it is functionally unfitted to become an instrument for leadership, and counsel, and inspiration? And if it is not unfitted, what then of its leaders? Does it not behoove them all the more to remember their responsibility to their own time and to maintain their highest personal standards accordingly? In other words, does it not to-day behoove our dramatists, for the public's sake, "to please themselves"? "to ignore their public" to the extent of wisely serving it?

For in this phrase "to ignore the public," what precisely do we mean by "the public"? The demands of the public, of course. Yes, but do we mean the reasonable demands of the public, or the foolish demands of the public? One or the other of these, of course, we *must* ignore; but can there be any hesitancy as to which? Or if the public, by the nature of its theatrical education, persists in making only foolish demands, shall we therefore be sceptical of human nature, or of the nature of present theatrical education? No; our dramatists cannot believe too staunchly in the inherent human worth of the public: But it is precisely because they have so long ignored in the public the fine and beautiful instincts which are potential in it, and catered instead to the petty and ignoble instincts which are actual in it, that our dramatists have expressed so little of lasting service to the public. Yet, if we are to uphold in American drama standards of American achievement in literature, this custom of ignoring potential fineness in the public must be rejected.

"Times change" is, indeed, a potent proverb, which is, however, modified perennially by another: "History repeats itself." As the stimulus to self-expression, which, at the beginning of our New England literary period, bodied itself forth in the works of Hawthorne, Emerson and "The Transcendentalists," had its origin in the influence of independent Continental thinkers, so in the present decade the initial impulse to self-expression in the awakening art of the drama is, doubtless, traceable (to quote Mr. Howard conversely) "to the alluring influence of the Continental playwrights," who are not only "providing their own stage lavishly with successful plays," but are doing this *because* they are independent thinkers writing to please themselves.

The chief contrast of their Continental conditions to ours, of course, is this: that their Continental public has long since been educated (by the endowed nature of its theatres) to *demand* of its dramatists that they shall please themselves; in other words, to demand of their dramatists *leadership,* in taste and art and ideas; and the most potent and convincing leaders there are followed most loyally by the public. In brief, the Continental public has gone dramatically to school for several centuries; it is artistically "grown up" reasonable, mature. Ours has been left to shift aimlessly for its schooling—practically unprovided by our theatres with formative discipline in art, good taste or ideas; while it has spent its time crying for meaningless diversion, with which (for a consideration) it has been provided *ad nauseam,* to the result that, like the spoiled child, it has lost all idea of what it is crying for. Yet this principle of humoring the spoiled child, frankly admitted as such, is the basic principle on which our dramatists are asked—nay, required—like it or lump it (if they are able), to upbuild a modern national drama commensurate with that of Europe. Obviously, in such an international contest, there is involved a handicap. In fine art, or football, a fair start is part of the real game. How, then, before our game begins, to achieve the fair start?

Mr. Howard says we must not "ignore" the aimless cry of the public; otherwise our work will "degenerate." We must not adopt the Continental principle of pleasing ourselves as artists; otherwise our plays—unlike the Continental plays—will fail. But Mr. Howard probably meant something different: namely, that we must not *imitate the technique nor appropriate the message* of Continental art; but that we must express ourselves in our own way. With this I beg leave heartily to agree. But if he meant this, he (and with him a large public opinion) strangely confused in utterance the real issue of our dramatic problem, which is—the necessity for self-expression by our dramatists, as leaders, not as followers, of the public.

Leadership: here is the heart of our discussion, and the answer to its question: Why is the drama fundamentally differentiated in the public mind from other forms of literature? Here is the answer.

Literature in all ages has been the voice of leadership. Whether in art, or scholarship, or religion, or æsthetics, or statecraft,

self-expression, the voice of independent contemplation, the utterances of leadership, and alone of leadership, have raised themselves to the rank of literature. As such they have gained the reverence of time for large public service. The speech of Lincoln at Gettysburg, the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," the Comedy of "The Tempest," each is an utterance of self-expression, without which none of them would be literature.

Literature, then, by charm, and exhortation, and delight, has uplifted, has *led* the public. The drama is filled with potential charm, exhortation and delight; but in our country (which is our present concern) the drama has failed to enlist those its puissant capacities in the cause of leadership. By neglect, or refusal, or prohibitive circumstance, it has failed to lead the public. Rightly, therefore, public opinion has cast the drama forth from literature; naturally, the public mind has dissociated the theatre from all relationship to institutions for the public weal.

Nevertheless, the public mind has not done this consciously, by thoughtful analysis of the drama and the theatre in their real nature. Instead, the public mind, from habit considering the theatre a concern merely of its leisure moments, has simply not considered the nature of the drama at all—except in its transmogrified aspect as a kind of varicolored cordial wherewith the public is recommended to aid its after-dinner digestion—or dyspepsia. In this capacity, it receives notorious attention in the daily newspapers, where it is diligently exploited and advertised, being, according to its various brands and samples, vouched for or condemned by expert tasters and epicures.

We have referred, however, to the drama in its true nature and function. Doubtless to the interests of that, a submerged minority of the public is already devoted. But likewise that minority tends to differentiate the functions of drama and literature. Why? Have we wholly accounted in our discussion for this fact? I believe not. The reason, I think, lies in a certain real distinction between the nature of drama and that of other literary forms. It is this—an obvious distinction, yet frequently ignored in critical estimates of plays.

The completed work of the dramatist is not the completed work of the theatrical producer. Unlike the finished manuscript of the writer of novels, lyrics or essays, which has only to be

mechanically copied and printed, in order to serve its public purposes, the finished manuscript of the playwright must be bodied forth and interpreted, physically and psychically, by a considerable number of living personalities—actors, scene-painters, stage-managers, etc. Indeed, we must seek an allied art, not of words, but of music, in order to cite an adequate analogy.

The composer of a symphony completes his task when he completes his score: the public purpose of his score, however, is consummated by the director of a symphony orchestra, by means of his musicians and their instruments. Thus the printed manuscript of Shakespeare is *functionally* more closely related to the printed score of Beethoven, than it is to the printed manuscript of Milton.

Yet the mere outward likeness of the printed texts of dramatists to those of other writers has been a perennial occasion for unsound literary comparisons. So far, however, have the standards of just musical appreciation already exceeded the standards of dramatic and literary criticism, that the musical critic who should confuse the accomplishment of a First Violin with that of Beethoven would probably attract public remark; whereas the unfathomable identification of Garrick and Sir Henry Irving and Mr. Sothern with Shakespeare continues to pleasurably confound the unconscious readers and play-goers of the generations.

It is in this regard that the growing custom of publishing the texts of modern plays is serving a useful purpose of public enlightenment. By this, of course, I do not refer to the more widespread custom of publishing, in connection with the production of a play, a novelization of its plot, usually designated as the "Book of the Play," for this custom, by a confusion of ideas, only obscures more darkly than before the ends and means of dramaturgy. But the actual naked text of the play itself serves to inform the reader, who is also a play-goer, in the first principles, so to speak, of the anatomy of the dramatic idea; to train him, as a reader, to forecast in his own mind the play's production, and, as a play-goer, to criticise the play as the naked image which production is truthfully to clothe. It is this unusual demand upon the imagination and understanding of the reader which makes the reading of plays, as yet, somewhat unpopular; but it is this same reaction of mind upon text which causes play-reading, as a pleasure, almost never to pall, but increasing the

appetite by custom, to dissatisfy one thenceforward with all less imaginative kinds of reading. Consulting the play's text as the score, so to speak, of the dramatist's symphony, the reader becomes familiar at once with the creative idea and with the essential requisites of its interpretation.

The beneficial results of this more intimate understanding of the ends and means of dramaturgy are, with time, likely to be far-reaching. For with the resulting enlightenment of his public, the dramatist himself will be held inevitably to higher and higher standards of execution; for there in his text he may not hide a poverty of ideas behind the riches of theatrical production, nor sterility of imagination behind the stage carpenter, nor defective characterization behind the resourceful genius of the actor; but, instead, any false slip in his human construction, any distortion in technique, any shamming of ideal, will become the more glaring to his vigilant critic, the reader of his text.

So, too, a skilled reader of plays becomes an informed playgoer; he will judge a theatrical performance as the interpretation of a dramatic idea; he will judge acting as a mode of objectifying the creative art of the dramatist. So, from having been merely a layman, he will—by clarification of his standards—become an artist, and his art will be criticism. Thus, by a strong spiral of mutual enlightenment, the actor too will mount to ever higher standards of his special art—interpretation. No longer receiving applause for the substitution of personality for impersonation, and prevented, by informed public opinion, from assuming an irrelevant dictatorship for subordinating the dramatic idea to his own caprice, the actor in his proper function will fall newly in love with his vocation as the subtlest and noblest of symphonic players—the artist of the human instrument.

In such a rational harmony of functions, there should at last be basis for the existence of a vocation now practically non-existent, save as it is temporarily assumed, with deficient powers or training, by dramatist, actor, stage-manager, theatrical-producer, or by these in succession, or by all at once, to the consequent confusion of the dramatic idea: I mean, the vocation of *theatrical director,* into whose hands—as into the hands of the orchestra director, the composer submits his score—the dramatist should be able to submit his text, with secure confidence of

its being properly rendered to the public. Over all the multitudinous factors and instruments of theatrical performance, this director, trained thereto as his special life-work, should be absolute master, and his function and responsibility would be to effect by those instruments the harmonious interpretation of the dramatic idea—the play.

So much for a glimpse toward rational conditions which do not exist. The contrasted existing conditions of maladjustment between the play and its theatrical production constitute a second powerful reason why the drama is divorced from literature in the minds of intelligent persons. For these persons, from constantly viewing the production of plays by a theatre unqualified to produce plays without distortion, become accustomed to view the distorted result as the dramatic idea, mistake the production for the play itself, the actors for the *Dramatis Personæ*. The manner of acting or producing a play becomes for them no longer a means, but an end in itself. Thus they come to misconceive the end and object of dramaturgy, conceiving that object to be interpretation instead of expression. Because a play, unlike a novel or essay, must, by its nature, be interpreted to fulfil its function, they conceive its function to be interpretation. But interpretation of what? Why, of the actors, scenery, etc. And so a great number of our plays themselves have actually come to coincide with this distorted conception. Thus the art of the drama is turned wrong side out, the functions of play and actor are reversed, and the play itself becomes a mere vehicle for interpreting to its audience the personality of an actor, or the ingenuity of a stage-manager.

Obviously, intelligent persons will not view such an interpretative vehicle as a form of literature, since literature primarily is expression. How, then, shall these persons be persuaded that such vehicles are not true plays? How shall they be enlightened as to the true function of dramatic art?

As a means to this end, I have referred to the publication of the texts of plays; but I would not, of course, be construed as meaning that printing and reading plays can alone produce the desired effect. Many other factors of knowledge and emancipation must contribute to that. I mean only that the custom of publishing plays will become at least a real drop in the great empty bucket of public enlightenment concerning these things.

For the printed play will gradually accustom the American public to realize, as the public in France and Germany has long since realized, that the dramatic form is a legitimate form of self-expression, so that the universal publishing of plays will become as normal a custom as the universal publishing of novels. At the same time the public will become expert in the special art of reading plays, and thereby it will learn to judge them by standards not of the so-called "closet-drama" (whose hybrid standards are corruptive of sound dramaturgy), but by those of the theatre.

But—I hope it will be retorted—by standards of *what* theatre? By standards of the theatre, discordant, uncorrelated, misdirected, as we know it to exist, or by standards of the theatre as we have glimpsed it above,—harmonious, symphonic, directed by a rational unity? The answer to this question is all-important to the subject we are discussing.

To one who seeks authentically to express himself in the forms of drama, it becomes sooner or later a temptation to ask himself: Shall I express the dramatic ideas which are demanding utterance within me, because I consider them beautiful, or critical of life, or otherwise worthy of communication and adapted to stagecraft, albeit they are better adapted for interpretation by unrealized rational conditions of the theatre than by irrational existing ones? Or shall I, rather, choose to express only those dramatic ideas within me, or seek elsewhere at second hand for those without, which are readily adaptable to existing conditions and the open market? In words appropriate to our analogy: Shall I try to write a symphony because I like to, albeit if produced there is only a leaderless, disorganized orchestra to perform it? Or shall I write a popular march, albeit I do not like to, because it is likely to be performed by the said orchestra?

However the dramatist may answer these questions for himself, it is certain that only one answer can result in literature and in real contribution to art. For the work which is not the utterance of an inward creative joy is not a work of leadership, nor of large public service. No; it is far better that our playwrights should remain sterile, than that they should supply a meaningless demand of the public. There is far less need of so-called "practical" plays that may be easily produced by a theatre misqualified in the art of production, than there is need of a

really practical theatre which shall stimulate and fulfil the demands put upon it by plays comprehending the entire dramatic scope of self-expression. For such a theatre there is precedent—the much-cited *Théâtre Français,* for example—yet what need is there of precedent, when the issue is plain?

Either there can be no adequate self-expression in our drama, or there must be a theatrical institution adapted to interpret and stimulate such expression.

In America, the unprecedented promise of our people, the nature of our human resources comprising the world's inheritance, give sound reason for believing in the practical establishment of such a theatre—unprecedented in efficacy of high public service. To this end, it is incumbent upon all citizens and artists to whom the theatre is a living influence, to consider the above issue and help to solve it rationally.

But as the seat of the initial creative power of the theatre, it is perhaps most incumbent upon the mind of the dramatist to emancipate its powers. That it will do so there is no reasonable doubt. The continuity of American literature will not cease at the theatre's doors. A new century, beautiful and terrible in portent, charged with unexampled passion and delight, waits to be expressed. Already the tide of ordained expression sets toward the art of the drama: the result is inexorable. An institution which shall fail, or refuse, to become the responsive instrument of such an art will decline in power, and another shall rise in its place, and subserve the Will-to-Express.

PERCY MACKAYE.

ITALY AND THE TRIPLICE.

BY SALVATORE CORTESI.

"ITALY is now going through a difficult but valuable period for her future; she has become the Don Juan of diplomacy—that is to say, she is in the embarrassing position of having to choose between Donna Anna and Donna Elvira, or, to be more exact, between her allies and her friends." This is how one of the most prominent diplomatists of Europe has defined the present situation of the peninsula. The truth is that Italy, without having the ambition to be a real Don Juan in her foreign policy, has always aspired to protect her interests by being in good relations with all her neighbors. She understands that it is only through a long period of peace that she can develop her internal resources, many of which are still in a virgin state, and bring about that resurrection of her gifted sons of the Southern provinces which will prepare the way for further greatness to come.

The present young Kingdom was not yet entirely united when, in 1869, she was asked to participate in a Triple Alliance with France and Austria to oppose Prussia, whose aspirations towards supremacy in Europe were already evident. The scheme failed through the refusal of France, due especially to the influence of the Empress Eugénie, to withdraw her troops from Rome and therefore allow the Italians to occupy their historic capital. When Count Nigra, then Italian representative at Paris, made the solution of the Roman question a condition *sine quâ non* to the conclusion of the alliance, Emile Ollivier answered that to abandon the Pope would be cowardice of which France would never be guilty. Count de Beust, Austrian Chancellor, insisted to the very last moment, and General Türr went purposely to Paris, but received, on July 29th, 1870, the definite answer from the Duc de Gramont, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that

the least concession about Rome was impossible—"*si l'Italie ne veut pas marcher qu'elle reste.*" Less than two months thereafter, France was defeated and Italy entered Rome.

From that moment the whole of Europe has been—although no Power will publicly confess it—under the constant preoccupation of a new war, the war of *revanche*. Italy at first thought she might be able to balance herself between the two rivals, trying to especially propitiate France, which, more than any other country, could be injurious to Italian interests in the Mediterranean; and, at the same time, she did all in her power not to come to a rupture with Austria, notwithstanding the Irredentist agitation which claimed the completion of the Kingdom by the occupation of Trent, Triest and Dalmatia. She hoped that a favorable occasion would arise on which that rectification of frontier which would have been one of the conditions of the proposed Triplice in 1869 would be possible; but a first great disillusion awaited her at the Berlin Congress of 1878, when she was practically the only country which, being isolated, obtained no advantages, while to Austria was granted the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Italians thought should have brought in exchange the cession to them of a portion of the Province of Trent. More than ever, Italy's hopes turned to France, so much so that she refused to intervene with England in Egypt so as not to hurt the susceptibilities of her neighbor, as all the statesmen of that time, Menabrea, Nigra, Corti, Visconti Venosta, Cairoli, Mancini—the last being legal adviser of de Lesseps—thought that neither Italy nor England could do anything in the Mediterranean without France, and, of course, much less against her opposition. The dream most cherished was a triple co-dominion in Egypt between England, France and Italy, and such an understanding as to guarantee to Italy the possession of Tunis, which, with its 50,000 Italian inhabitants, was considered a continuation of Sicily, while its occupation was for the peninsula of greater strategical importance than for the Republic.

In 1877 Prince Bismarck had already informed Count di Robilant, Italian Ambassador to Vienna, through Count Andrassy, that, while Austria would have a free hand in Bosnia and Herzegovina, no obstacle would be raised by the Central Empires to an Italian occupation of Tunis. Rome, however—always not to offend France—rejected the idea even during the Berlin

Congress, when the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count von Bülow, father of the present Chancellor, confidentially informed Count Corti, Italian Delegate, that he was himself disposed to submit to discussion the question of Italy's going to Tunis. Then Prince Bismarck, who was working to separate Italy from France, made the same proposition to the latter; and, notwithstanding the assurances the French Cabinet had given on this subject to Premier Cairoli, the Republic occupied Tunis in April, 1881, arousing a storm of indignation throughout the peninsula. Strong remonstrances were attempted by Rome; but France made it understood that she was ready for any event, including the capture of Sardinia and the landing of troops at Civitavecchia, while Italy was far from being prepared for warlike enterprises. Contemporaneously, Prince Bismarck frightened Italy with a threat to reopen the Roman question, remarking that, after the constitution of the new Kingdom, the Pope was in Rome either as a prisoner, if he maintained an irreconcilable attitude towards the State, or in a kind of subjection, if he came to an understanding with it. It was, therefore, in the interest of all Powers with Catholic subjects to make their voice heard as to the position made for the Pontiff. It is even asserted that, when Dr. Busch, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, came to Rome, he had the secret mission from Bismarck of proposing to the Pope to temporarily go himself and transport the Papal Court to Fulda. Very likely in all this there was nothing but the desire to produce a certain effect, a design which was perfectly accomplished, as Italy, to escape so many threats, sought refuge in an alliance with Germany, receiving as answer that to go to Berlin it was necessary to pass through Vienna. This led, in October, 1881, to King Humbert's paying the Emperor Francis Joseph that visit which has never been returned, as Italy insisted that any return visit should take place in Rome, while the Vatican decided to excommunicate any Catholic ruler who should visit the Eternal City as guest of the Quirinal. Thus on May 20th, 1882, the first treaty of the Triple Alliance was concluded, consisting of a guarantee of reciprocal territorial integrity among the three contracting parties.

I have recapitulated the principal facts which brought about the Triple Alliance in order that the atmosphere of the international situation of that time might be understood. France,

still burning with the defeats and humiliations she had suffered, was so sure of the attachment of Italy, bound to her by historical, racial and economic ties, that she neglected her and gradually treated her as a French Prefecture. This attitude and the entire disregard of Italian interests, which culminated with the occupation of Tunis, created between the two countries the abyss which Prince Bismarck had for long been preparing, in order to isolate the Republic, and form round Germany such a union of Powers as would render vain any attempt to disturb the organization of Europe as established after 1870. Italy was, therefore, to a certain extent, obliged to enter the alliance which Germany and Austria had already concluded on October 7th, 1879.

This first treaty of the Triple Alliance was in reality to the entire advantage of Germany, although it had the appearance of recognizing perfect equality between the three Powers, as it guaranteed the territorial *status quo* to each. It must be considered that for Germany the territorial *status quo* was the supreme, indeed unique, interest she had in Europe; was the reason for which the last war had been fought, and for which a new one had been threatened; was, in other words, a question of life or death for her, of maintaining or losing her supremacy on the Continent. On the contrary, the interests of Austria and Italy were not, and are not, limited to the maintenance of their territorial *status quo*. Austria is threatened by what may take place outside her own territory, chiefly in the Balkans; Italy, independently of the maintenance of her territorial *status quo,* has her paramount interests in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic; so, while in the original Triple Alliance Germany had the sum of her interests guaranteed by the other two Powers, the latter could not count on Germany if their interests were threatened or injured outside their frontier. Italy entered the Alliance after Tunis and because of Tunis, showing that her chief object was her interests in the Mediterranean, and to avoid a paramount French preponderance, which would have been inevitable if she had remained attached to France. This last purpose was attained; but, when her other interests were not assured, the alliance lost fifty per cent. of its value in the eyes of the Italians.

Another equivocal point in the Triplice was the statement that its only object was the maintenance of peace and that, therefore, it could not give umbrage to any one. The patriotic

atmosphere of France, anxious for revenge after Sedan, must be thought of to understand what the real meaning of peace was for her. It represented a coercion more hateful than war, as it prevented her from again facing her rival, whom, if alone, as in 1870, she thought she might meet with great probability of success. The Powers co-operating in rendering this conflict impossible could not be considered by France but as enemies, almost as much so as if the Alliance had been concluded for aggression against her. Signor Crispi, the strongest supporter of the Alliance, speaking of it before Parliament, on February 4th, 1888, said that it was powerful enough to "impose peace." In conclusion, Germany had nothing more to take from France and her only object was, and is, to continue to defeat her with peace. It was under Crispi that the rupture between France and Italy culminated, making even a war seem probable. It was under him that a military agreement was planned between the three allies, by which, in case of France attacking Germany, Italy pledged herself to send part of her troops through Austria into Baden to fight the invaders. France, however, did not move, understanding the impossibility of fighting alone a combination of nearly 150,000,000 people, not to speak of the *entente* between England and Italy which, under Lord Salisbury, took the character of a real alliance.

These circumstances led to a change in the Triple Alliance which is not generally known, and which was especially urged by Count di Robilant, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Depretis Cabinet, from June, 1885, to July, 1887, and who had never been favorable to the union with the Central Empires. His idea was that Italy, being the weakest, should not have run after the Central Powers, that she should be placed in the alliance on a footing of perfect equality with the others, and that she should insist on having all her interests adequately protected. When Bismarck asked Count di Robilant if he was disposed to renew the Alliance, he let a considerable time elapse and then gave an uncertain answer, making it understood that according to his opinion the special interests of Italy were not sufficiently guaranteed. Bismarck wrote again inviting the Count to formulate the Italian desires, and the note of the Italian Minister was taken both by Bismarck and Kalnoky as the basis for the renewal of the Triple Alliance, for which instead of one single treaty,

as in 1882, three different ones were concluded, one of the most important additions being the agreement that neither Italy nor Austria can undertake any action which might alter the *status quo* in the East without being in accord with the allies.

The Triple Alliance originated in Bismarck's mind when the rivalry between him and Gortchakoff rendered the continuation of a Russo-German understanding impossible. Russia, however, at that time was not yet ready for an alliance with France, and Bismarck in 1884, immediately after the change in the Russian succession and the retirement of Gortchakoff, at the meeting of Skierniewice, concluded a secret understanding with St. Petersburg, which was never communicated to the allied Powers and lasted until the retirement of the Iron Chancellor, who had thus succeeded in completely isolating France.

The Vatican, the policy of which was then directed by Cardinal Rampolla, participated considerably in bringing about the understanding between Paris and St. Petersburg. Indeed, the Secretary of State of Leo XIII had conceived what, from the point of view of the Papacy, aspiring to reconquer the Temporal Power, was a vast and ingenious plan. The Holy See had lost its States as a consequence of the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, and through the defeat of France by Germany. France, thought the Sicilian Cardinal, is too grand, too proud, too rich a nation to remain passive under the humiliation inflicted upon her. Let us put our diplomacy, our influence throughout the world, at her service; let us identify ourselves with her cause to such an extent that the inevitable day on which her *revanche* comes that of the Papacy will come also. The Vatican archives contain documents which prove that Cardinal Rampolla had grounds to consider it sure that, should the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph occur, his successor, then Archduke Rudolf, would not continue in the Triple Alliance, being impatient of what he considered a kind of subjection to Germany, and the constant irritation of Italy's *Irredentism*. Rampolla, therefore, dreamed of another Triple Alliance between France Russia and Austria, helped, if necessary, by Spain, where his influence was great, he having been Councillor at the Nunciature there in 1875, and Nuncio in 1882. The tragic death of Archduke Rudolf, in the beginning of 1889, did not change the plans of the Vatican, as they always believed that on the disappearance

of the old Emperor they would have his heir and the Court in their hands. It was this policy which cost Cardinal Rampolla the tiara in the Conclavé of 1903. What they had not calculated upon was the change which meanwhile took place in France, where the attempt of Leo XIII to transform the Monarchical and Nationalist parties into good Republicans was a complete failure, and where the feeling against Italy gradually softened.

Especially in Signor Crispi's time the Republic fought Italy in all possible ways, wishing to demonstrate that, France being practically the only commercial market of the peninsula and her only financial centre, Italy could not live without her. For ten years, the young Kingdom went through one of the most disastrous of crises, but it came out in a better position, as its products, instead of being dependent on France, had found new outlets in Germany, in Austria, in the Balkans and in South America; and Paris, which had had the illusion of being able to starve Italy, saw her gradually prosper. The renewal of the Triple Alliance by the Marquis di Rudini, in 1891, before it expired and for a double period of time, did not create in France the resentment of past times, it having been explained that all clauses which might have appeared hostile to the western neighbor had been eliminated, and that the Roman Cabinet would be ready to publish the treaty if the other parties agreed. The second Rudini administration, in 1896, has the merit of having laid down the basis of a *rapprochement* between the two countries, through the negotiations for a commercial treaty, ably conducted by Signor Luzzatti, to take the place of the tariff war which by that time was more injurious to the Republic than to the Kingdom. France had learned that Italy would not allow herself to be treated under any aspect as a *quantité négligeable,* while the successful way in which she emerged all the stronger from her difficulties gave her a greater importance in the European concert. Marquis Visconti Venosta, when Minister of Foreign Affairs, took advantage of this fortunate situation to conclude a special agreement with Austria regarding Albania, the two countries pledging themselves to respect the *status quo,* and, on the desire of Italy, the institution of a national Government should the Turkish dominion cease there. He also concluded an understanding with France, so much talked of during the Algeciras Conference, by which Italy disinterested herself in the settle-

ment of Morocco and received in exchange the assurance that France would not put any obstacle in the way of an eventual occupation of Tripoli by her.

By this time, the relations between France and Italy had resumed such cordiality that many politicians in Paris and in Rome, favorable to a Latin union, hoped that the end of the Triple Alliance had come. Instead, Marquis Prinetti, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Zanardelli Cabinet, the most friendly to France since the occupation of Tunis, renewed it in May, 1902, for ten years, without altering a single clause, but with the option of denouncing it after five years. The work of the enemies of the Triple Alliance continued indefatigably with considerable success, attaining the Anglo-French *entente* and the Franco-Spanish convention about Morocco, to such an extent that M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, thought he was on the point of realizing France's chief object, the isolation of Germany. Although the project failed, the procedure of the Algeciras Conference, its conclusion, and the attitude maintained there by the Italian Delegate, Marquis Visconti Venosta, so tactfully seconded by Mr. Henry White, the American Delegate, aroused intense resentment in Germany, where Italy was accused of being a traitor. Contemporaneously, the eternal differences between Austria and Italy over the Italian provinces still subject to the Hapsburg Empire, assumed so acute a phase as to make a conflict between the two allies appear not improbable. Again the end of the Triple Alliance seemed approaching, when Herr von Tschirschky, then German Minister of Foreign Affairs, went to Rome, and left after a few weeks, with the assurance that Italy would not denounce the Alliance in 1907. It was after this agreement, and after the explanation by which it was reached, that Prince von Bülow, in his speech of November, 1906, stated that the attitude of Italy and her Delegate at Algeciras had been correct, considering her difficult position through the agreement between her and France on Morocco, which is not in contradiction with the Triple Alliance.*

* The Chancellor, on the contrary, complained strongly of the attitude of the Italian press, which, he said, did not comply, during that period, with their duties towards the Alliance. And he was right, but he should have added that it was Germany's fault. With the exception of the United States, the "Associated Press" having formed at Algeciras a special office for the occasion, the world was provided with news of the Con-

What now everybody, friends or adversaries, must understand is that the Triple Alliance, with Italy in it, is quite different from what it was a quarter of a century ago, when the Alliance was first concluded. This also appears from a recent speech which Senator Tittoni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered before the Chamber, the best statement of the kind ever made in the Italian Parliament. Italy practically remains in the Alliance because it protects her from a war with Austria. The resurrection of the Roman question, which twenty-five years ago Prince Bismarck could still wave as a red rag before Italians' eyes, is no more possible, although Vatican and Quirinal are officially enemies; indeed, they are officially so in order to be able to maintain in reality the best relations. Senator Tittoni made it openly understood that Italy remains in the Triple Alliance on the condition that it shall never compel her to fight England, which, considering the present grouping of the Powers, may also mean not to fight France. In fact, Germany, since the re-establishment of good relations between Paris and Rome, has often expressed the fear that if a conflict should take place between her and the Republic, the Italian Ministry would not send troops against France, or, even if they were willing, they would be prevented from doing so by public opinion manifested in so unmistakable a way as to assume the form of a rising, especially in Milan, where the soldiers, instead of going to the frontier, would be required for internal purposes. Nor can this situation be changed by the threat of an Austrian invasion of Italy, and the "promenade to Milan and Venice" of which the officers of the Dual Monarchy are so fond of speaking. At Italian headquarters, the plans of Austria in case of a war with Italy are well known. They propose, as Admiral Montecuccoli showed in the last Austrian naval manœuvres, to take possession of Ancona, making it the base of their naval operations, while Austrian troops

ference through the French "Havas Agency." Even Germany at the beginning was dependent on Paris, and it was only after a certain time that the German "Wolff Bureau" sent a representative there, but the Italian "Stefani Agency" and the Austrian "Correspondenz Bureau" had no one. Indeed the Austrian press was in no way represented, to the disgust of Count von Welsersheimb, the Austrian Delegate, who considered it almost as a condition of inferiority for his country. So Germany was asking too much—even from impartial press agencies—in expecting to have a Germanophil tone when everything came from a French source.

would land in Apulia, and taking advantage of the still unsatisfactory economic condition of the Southern provinces, would try to make them rise and march north to join with the forces at Ancona, thus threatening the heart of the peninsula and its capital. It is supposed that Italy has entered into certain agreements with the Balkan States, such as the Italo-Servian military Convention, which leaked out and which was, of course, immediately and officially denied, by which she could foment a rising of the Italian provinces subject to Austria and military action in the Balkans which would ensure her the help of half a million rifles.

All these complications will very likely never occur, but it was necessary to mention them in order to come to the conclusion that, in case of conflict between Germany and France, the most that can be obtained from Italy by her allies will be a benevolent neutrality.

SALVATORE CORTESI.

THE PARADOX OF RESEARCH.

BY JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, PROFESSOR OF LOGIC IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

BECAUSE this is a practical age, and also pre-eminently an age of extensive investigation, it might seem that the chief incentive to research would be the possibility of adding to the store of practical knowledge, and thereby increasing the general efficiency of human endeavor. But, as we read the history of scientific discovery, from the first strivings of primitive thought to the present time, we are impressed with the fact that utility is not always the mother of invention. This is the paradox which confronts us throughout the whole course of the development of scientific thought: If man interrogates nature for the purpose merely of wresting those secrets which shall minister directly to his needs or comfort, he fails to attain his end, or he attains it only in a meagre way; but if, on the contrary, he goes to nature with a desire to know her secrets for their own sake, the revelation often brings with it a wealth of knowledge which, in turn, admits of untold applications as regards the practical conveniences of life. If utility is the sole incentive to research, the results will range on a lower level; if, however, utility is forgotten in the passion to get at the heart of things for their own sake, it sometimes surprises us upon the way. And the reason of this is obvious; for utility, in all practical relations, results from the application of certain underlying principles to the concrete problems of life. The more central and comprehensive the principle, the wider will be its scope of practical application. The principles most fertile in products of utility are often most deeply hidden. They lie at the centre of things; it is only the most searching inquiry which will disclose them. The practical, however simple it may be, is always the embodiment of some theory.

The telephone, the incandescent light, the electric car—these are simply the concrete expression of a great electro-magnetic theory. The bridge swinging free and secure over the stream, self-supported by the exact calculation of its own stress and strain, is merely a set of mechanical laws objectified. If you start in your research with the sole object of solving a specific problem of practical significance merely, the result, if successful, is limited in all probability to the special end in view; on the other hand, if you set yourself the larger problem of investigating certain phenomena which have peculiarly attracted your interest for the purpose of discovering their nature and understanding their laws, then the revelation of a comprehensive principle carries with it a whole world of possibilities. A principle is not one, but many, for it admits of a multiplicity of application which knows no limit. Nature thus sets a premium upon the study of her mysteries for their own sake. There is such a thing as disinterested knowledge as well as disinterested benevolence. There is a scorn of consequence in the intellectual world as well as in the moral which tends in like manner to provoke unhesitating approval and admiration. There is an adventurous spirit in the pursuit of truth, which is under a natural compulsion to explore the undiscovered country. When the challenge of the unknown is once heard, there is a restlessness which is impatient of ignorance, a natural impulse to seek the reason of things, an instinctive curiosity which is not content to see, but which must also understand, and which is a perpetual spur to perseverance through all the exactions of laborious research. Whenever there is this inner constraint, there is a largess of spirit which has no thought of placing a patent upon the output of its brain. The glow of discovery is a sufficient reward, to which nothing can be added save the satisfaction that others share it.

It has been urged, however, that the natural origin of knowledge is to be traced to the effort which is put forth in order to satisfy some felt need. With the conscious and pressing necessities of hunting and fishing, of warfare, of cooking, of domicile and of raiment, man was quick to invent the first crude tools and weapons,—a covering for his body, a roof over his head and utensils in which he might prepare his food and which would prove indestructible when exposed to fire. Later, the pursuits of agriculture and the early beginnings of the arts of commerce

and manufacture gave rise to the implements and machines representing an infinite variety of inventive skill. It is, however, a primitive age wherein knowledge arises solely in response to the demand of utility. Truly, a higher stage of civilization is reached where there exists a class, however small, which is able to devote its time and energies to the pursuit of truth for its own sake. Such a body of men has been styled the "leisure class." It is a leisure not merely from manual labor and commercial pursuits, but it is above every other thing a leisure from the servitude of utility. Such is the class of philosophers and mathematicians in the early history of Greece. Such is the scholarly class in every age, provided the appellation of "scholarly" is justly merited. The scholar, in his devotion to his subject, in his consecration to the high vocation which he follows, must be one who is emancipated from the domination of the utility idea. Then only is he a free man in the kingdom of knowledge. Bacon has said that the end of all scientific investigation is "the gathering of fruit"—that is, the turning of all discovery to some practical account. The true produce of the scholar's brain, however, is of the nature of seed rather than of fruit, and that of incalculable variety and possibility.

Although the investigator may not have sought that which is useful, yet his discoveries often admit of a direct practical application to the every-day needs and comforts of life; and so the practical value, which, throughout the whole course of his investigations was never sought and never dreamed of, may become realized, nevertheless, in full measure. The secret of nature once discovered becomes the ground of a new form of reasoning; new minds busy themselves with the practical problems which may be suggested by it. Thus in the wake of the discoverers in pure science follow the inventors. The men who were the pioneers in the field of electricity and magnetism labored with a keen interest born of a constraining love of nature, and with no thought of gain save in the discovery of that knowledge which is its own reward. And yet the work of such minds as Oersted, Ampère, Faraday and Henry opened the way to the electric telegraph and the innumerable applications of their electromagnetic discoveries, to the benefit of the race and the progress of civilization. Also, in our own day, the investigations of Hertz in Germany and of Thomson in England, incited and sustained

by an interest purely scientific, have made the system of the wireless telegraphy possible. The discovery of the rays of Lenard, Becquerel and Röntgen was the result of research which was conducted in a like spirit; moreover, they have led to practical applications in the field of therapeutics and surgery which are of incalculable service; nor is the possibility of their further utility by any means exhausted. The practical value of a truth is often a kind of by-product which direct research does not reveal. The great science of modern chemistry has been built upon the foundations which were laid by the genius of Lavoisier, who brought to his labors a spirit fired by a love of nature for her own sake. However, the practical output of those labors has modified essentially every phase of our modern industrial, domestic and commercial life. The application of chemical truth to the problems of agriculture and physiology, through the brilliant work of Liebig, was possible only because of the toil of the many whose eyes were never upon the goal either of general utility or personal reward. In a quaint old writing of one of the pioneers in chemistry, Beccher, called the *"Physica Subterranea,"* the author speaks of chemists as a "strange class of mortals, impelled by an almost insane impulse to seek their pleasure among smoke and vapor, soot and flame, poisons and poverty." "My kingdom," said he, "is not, however, of this world. I trust that I have got hold of my pitcher by the right handle, the true method of treating this study: for the Pseudo-chymists seek gold, but the true philosophers, science, which is more precious than gold." Such men may be nobly doomed to lives of unrequited sacrifice; but they leave to their fellows what they themselves never possessed,—the means of increased wealth, health, comfort and power.

If utility were the sole incentive to research, that most admirable of all graces, the patience of hope, would often fail; for the practical value of knowledge is slow of revelation. Knowledge, to be practically available, requires in many cases to undergo an aging process. The new wine of truth needs also the touch of time. The most beneficent ends are often so remote that they can be disclosed only after a long series of discoveries, which lead up to them by a natural sequence, but which afford in the process of their unfolding no intimation whatsoever of their ultimate utility. When the utility is not obvious in the first stages of an investigation there is need of a deeper incentive,

so that research may not be abandoned in a moment of discouragement. And discouragement will come very soon if no evidence of practical results is forthcoming.

It is to be observed also that the utility of any portion of knowledge depends, in many instances, upon its combination with other portions of knowledge. Alone, it is barren. It has no utility in itself. But it may contribute certain elements which, in conjunction with others, make for utility of singular value. Darwin, in the line of his own investigations, has drawn attention to the fact that utility in most cases depends upon the co-ordination of various elements which are separately useless. It frequently happens in other fields also that the labors of many minds must be brought together in order to produce practical results of any real significance and value. The solitary toilers may not be able to discern any promise of utility in their separate labors. Their particular contribution is only a fraction, after all; and yet, nevertheless, it may prove to be an essential part of a combined whole whose resultant effects may possess practical value of a high order. The efficiency of the methods of physical science and ultimately the application of its results to practical affairs have been increased incalculably through the brilliant speculations in the field of pure mathematics of men who knew not the language of utility. Others, however, are able to combine their results in such a manner as to give a practical turn to considerations primarily theoretical.

The inventor stands at that point of advantage where many lines of discovery converge. The several independent results he is able to unite and embody in a new machine, a new method, or a new process. Many inventions appear as the outcome of collaboration; the co-workers are not always contemporary; the lapse of time alone may serve to efface their memory. Seldom known and less often appreciated, they nevertheless through their patient efforts contribute those essential elements of knowledge without which the inventor's skill would surely fail of success. We are accustomed to think of the inventor as commanding the forces of nature to do his bidding. He, however, is not dealing directly with the forces of nature, but rather with the ideas which other men have formed of these forces, which they have so interpreted that they can be made plain and be put into words and reduced to the expressions of law and

formula. The inventor is not merely engaged in the task of fitting part to part of a machine; he builds with rarer material. He is building an idea which is a composite. The elements which enter into its texture are the thoughts of men.

It is to be noticed also that a mind exclusively bent upon the idea of utility necessarily narrows the range of the imagination. For it is the imagination which pictures to the inner eye of the investigator the indefinitely extending sphere of the possible,—that region of hypothesis and explanation, of underlying cause and controlling law. The area of suggestion and experiment is thus pushed beyond the actual field of vision. But, if utility is the sole end of research, the scope of imaginative inquiry is thereby narrowed. There is no comprehensive sweep of the thought, no power of divination, no compelling fancy. Whatever fails to show a face value of utility does not arrest and hold the attention. Significant facts and relations are overlooked. The byways of knowledge are left unexplored in the hot pursuit of the immediately useful. But where there is absorbed and sustained interest in a subject of research for its own sake, the imagination broods over its tasks with a delight and passion which tend to provoke the hidden truth.

In the prevailing tendency in certain quarters to direct research according to the lead of utility, there is a vicious theory of education which is being urged to-day with all the enthusiasm of a new gospel: "Teach the child that all knowledge can be disposed to some useful end. Cultivate early the habit of looking for the practical worth of everything that he learns, and let the student of later years bear constantly in mind that knowledge is power." Such is the doctrine of a bread-and-butter theory of pedagogy. But why push the child out into the current which tends to draw every one into its precipitate flow? In this age of materialistic drift, the idea of practical values and utility considerations need not be taught, nor even mentioned. The fact is, it cannot be escaped; its influence is all-pervading, inevitable. While it is undoubtedly true that the student must be interested in the subject which he is pursuing, let us not, however, confuse as some have done the two radically distinct ideas, of an interest in a subject for its own sake, and an interest in the practical utility which it may be seen to possess. It is possible, and indeed absolutely essential, in my opinion, that the student's

interest should be stimulated directly by the rich material which certain subjects present, and so the thought be withdrawn, to some extent at least, from the exclusive consideration of present or future application of the knowledge which he seeks to the practical affairs of life. It is true that knowledge is power; but that should not be held out continually to the student as an alluring bait. Knowledge can compel homage and devotion without stooping to offer a bribe, or to cry the value of her wares in the street. There are, moreover, certain indirect uses of knowledge which can never be consciously in the thought of student or teacher during the actual process of instruction. They are too subtle, too far-reaching in their effects, too complex, too cumulative for any one to define, and name and put into the form of a maxim or rule. They cannot be specified and pointed to as the obvious rewards of industry in the pursuit of truth. They constitute not so much the results which knowledge can attain as the atmosphere which knowledge permanently creates,—the finer flavor of thought, the sound reason, the true judgment and the sane appreciation, which are the marks of a richly stored and accurately trained mind. He who lacks in these particulars fails to realize the full measure of his efficiency. And yet it often happens, strangely enough, that this added power in a man's life is missed simply on account of his restricted interests and his impatient haste to acquire only that kind of knowledge which may seem to him at the time to be of some obvious use and advantage in the direction of his life.

This, then, is the paradox of knowledge that he who regards knowledge as his servant is never completely master of that knowledge; but whoever regards himself as the servant of knowledge, he alone is master in the world of thought. There can be no higher standard of scholarship, or a more alluring reward of research than that which is expressed by the old Greek author, Isocrates, in his appreciation of Athens and the part which she played in the history of thought: "So far hath our city passed beyond the rest of men, both in thought and speech, that her disciples are become their teachers; and she hath made the name of the Greeks seem no longer to be the name of a race, but of knowledge. They rather are to be called Greeks who share our training than they who share our descent."

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

LABOR AND THE TARIFF.

BY LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN, FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.

LABORERS are convinced that they fall far short of getting what they earn. Because of this opinion they have sought, in addition to unceasing individual efforts, to increase their wages by combined action. But, notwithstanding the existence and energy of the trade-unions, the belief continues that the workers are insufficiently paid. With this view I fully concur, and feel prepared to assert, as a conservative statement, that the laborer gets less than half of the real wages which are his due. By "real wages," of course, is meant, not the money received from the employer, but the purchasing power of a day's pay as measured in the necessaries of life.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, when Director of the United States Labor Department, in his report of 1903, estimated that a laboring-man in the United States must work 225 days in order to pay for the absolute necessities of life used in one year by an average family. Manifestly, in such a calculation it is necessary to consider prices as well as money wages. If, for instance, one's pay were reduced by one-half, it would not lessen real wages should all prices also be cut in two.

The laborer ought to be interested very deeply in solving the questions: Why must I work hard for forty weeks in the year in order to keep myself and family from suffering with cold or hunger? If the wages of twenty weeks should easily supply these needs, why is it that I am compelled to slave twenty more weeks for nothing at all? It is to this very natural query of the laborer that I would indicate the correct answer.

Natural Obstacles to Trade.—Intelligent working-men have arrived at the conclusion that production ought not to be impeded. They see the advantage of having a stable government

rather than anarchy; of light taxes rather than heavy ones; of inventions and improved machinery. The time was when many laborers objected to the introduction of improved processes of manufacture, but most of them have learned better.

But fishing, farming, manufacturing and mining constitute only one step in the task of supplying mankind with needed commodities. The distribution of the things produced is almost, if not quite, as important as their production. The famines which have decimated many nations, two of the worst within the past three years, have been due to lack of transportation rather than to lack of production. In a word, production and distribution are parts of the same process. Both should be as free as possible from obstructions.

In many ways, this self-evident truth is recognized. In the removal of sand-bars and snags from rivers; in the tunnelling of mountains; in the improvement of harbors; in the reduction of freight rates; in the invention of better cars, ships and other means of transportation—a like zeal is exhibited in overcoming obstacles to the distribution of wealth as in promoting its production. The object of all these removals of obstructions is to cheapen commodities to the consumer.

An Artificial Obstruction.—But after an outlay of a tremendous amount of labor and ingenuity in getting rid of natural impediments to freedom of trade, these same shrewd people of the United States have allowed artificial obstructions to be set up. That is to say, thousands of articles, when imported, receive an augmentation in price of something like fifty per cent.

The desire for the necessaries, comforts and luxuries of life has no limit. The purpose of production and distribution is to supply that demand as fully as possible. Is it not plain that, just as every removal of obstacles facilitates sales, so every kind of obstruction diminishes sales? A reduction in the number of sales necessarily lessens the demand for labor and consequently reduces money wages. This is proved by the very fact of the existence of trade. In the early history of this country, as of others, nearly every family built its own house, made its own furniture, chopped its own fuel, manufactured its own clothing, and raised its own food. This condition of things would have persisted, had it been profitable. Now it would be hard to find a family which produces more than a very small percentage of

what it uses. Trade is the order of the day, and this is because it is cheaper to have a division of labor, the worker doing one thing well and exchanging the product for other family needs.

Few persons in any section of this country could be found in favor of interposing a tariff between it and other sections. New England, for instance, would reject as unworthy of consideration a proposition to place custom-houses along the line dividing it from the State of New York. Admittedly, free trade between the States is to their mutual advantage. Just so would be free exchange between Canada and the United States. Equally true is this of the whole world.

Measured by the cost of producing a ton of steel, a case of shoes and a given quantity of a multitude of other commodities, the United States has the cheapest labor in the world. Even now, with raw material, machinery and buildings made costly by tariff taxes, we can, and do, with many of our products, undersell in European markets every other country.

Although the United States furnishes a great market, it is insufficient to take what we produce. By doubling and quadrupling the amount we send abroad, our manufacturing establishments would be kept busy and would multiply in number, thus increasing the demand for labor and its money wages.

Effect on Wages.—But, we are told by interested parties, without a tariff wall this country would be flooded with pauper-made goods. Such an outcome would be very nice for our people, if only it could be brought about. It is the good things of this world that everybody wants. Too many of them are beyond the reach of the laborer. Now, if he could get what he needs in the way of shelter, clothing and other comforts for a mere song, his hours of labor could be reduced and his wages would go much farther. It is not more work, but more commodities, that we are anxious for and need.

Unfortunately for us, no such flooding would occur. True, articles would be cheaper by about the amount of the tax. Clothing, for example, would be reduced in price thirty to fifty per cent. But, in order to import larger values than now, we should be obliged to export more abundantly. This means, of course, more manufacturing, greater demand for labor, and higher wages.

The story which has been impressed most diligently upon the

American laborer is that the tariff kept wages high. A few considerations will show the utter folly of such a claim.

1. Wages were always higher in this country than in Europe or Asia, and relatively much more so before we had any tariff at all. The original argument for a tariff was that wages in this country were too high.

2. Wages are much higher in "free trade" England than in Germany, France and the other tariff-ridden countries of Europe.

3. Wages are higher in the factories of Great Britain than in those of our Southern States, notwithstanding our tariff.

4. Most of the industries which New England has lost have gone West where money wages were and are higher. High money wages mean cheap production; low wages, as a rule, mean costly production.

Hence it follows, without any question, that the sure result of our tariff has been, and now is, to cut down the money wages paid to laborers in the United States.

All Prices Affected.—Not only do the taxes upon imports, which obstruct our trade with other countries, keep down the pay of the American laborer, but they also add greatly to the price of nearly everything he buys. So, by a double process, the tariff lowers real wages.

Our fifty per cent. tariff increases the price of imported articles by just that amount. Woollen goods which we buy for a dollar and a half a yard could be had, if the tax were removed, for a dollar per yard. In many instances, owing to the fact that the duty is imposed at so much per yard or pound, rather than wholly according to value, the cheaper articles of a class are taxed one hundred per cent. and therefore are doubled in price to the laboring man.

And not only are imported goods increased in cost by the tariff, but home-made articles of the same kind are sold at a price almost equally high. Combinations of manufacturers in this country, brought about by the removal of foreign competition, have succeeded in maintaining prices here far above the cost of production. Mr. Carnegie and other manufacturers of steel were enabled at times to make a net profit of one hundred per cent. in their business. And to-day, steel rails made in the United States, in whose cheapness every laborer is interested deeply, are selling abroad for twenty dollars a ton and here at

home for twenty-eight dollars a ton. A like statement is true of many other important commodities. Home-produced copper, lead, sugar, farming implements and almost everything else, of which, directly or indirectly, the mass of the people are most in need, are enhanced greatly in price. In so-called "prosperous" years, money wages may be increased twenty-five per cent., but the necessaries of life, on the average, advance fifty per cent.

An Indirect Bounty.—Nor is all this strange. It is the logical result of granting special privileges. For that is exactly what the tariff does. It is nothing more nor less than a bounty to a few. By shutting off in whole or in part the competition of manufacturers of other countries, it enables persons here who have capital invested in the same business to form trusts. With foreign competition excluded by law and home competition excluded by mutual agreement between corporations, prices have been put up outrageously.

Owing to the tremendously increased output of gold, the standard of value, prices have risen all over the world; but in this country they have augmented twice as much as in England, thus proving that at least one-half of the advance here is due to the tariff-created trusts. Of necessity, a bounty can be conferred upon a few only, and must be paid by the many; and this is equally true whether the special privilege be a direct subsidy, or an indirect one bestowed by the shutting out of foreign competition.

It has been argued that the trusts, being enabled to make large profits, will pay high wages. Experience, however, shows that such is not the case. They enter the labor market and pay as little as they can. Investors want as big a return as possible, and never show any disposition to divide their profits with labor. As a matter of fact, additional laborers are coming in from foreign countries all the time.

Even were it true, which it is not, that the money wages of laborers employed in industries subsidized by the tariff were augmented by it, ninety per cent. of the labor of this country would receive no benefit. Farm-laborers, employees of the railroads, men engaged in the building trades, and many others, would not be favorably affected; but by reason of the tariff all of these would suffer when they became buyers.

A Silly Argument.—Is any laborer taken in by the so-called

"balance of trade" argument? It seems too silly to influence anybody, and yet it is paraded by tariff beneficiaries and their spokesmen on all occasions.

They tell us that in foreign trade our exports are far in excess of our imports, and that this is of great financial benefit to us. On the contrary, if in the course of trade exports really exceeded imports, it would be a great misfortune. We should then be in process of becoming a second Ireland, from which the non-resident landlords export the produce to be spent by them outside of the island which they so largely own. On the other hand, England, whose capitalists have investments in Ireland, the United States, India, Egypt, South Africa, and all over the world, imports far more than she exports. In so far, therefore, as our exports actually exceed our imports we are falling into the condition of Ireland, rather than rising into the commercial supremacy of Great Britain.

The excess of our exports over our imports is not nearly so great as it is represented to be, and it is due to our payments of interest abroad, to the purchase by our own capitalists of securities held or issued in foreign countries, and, finally, to the enormous expenditures abroad by travellers from the United States as compared with the small expenditure of foreign visitors to us. Aside from the exports required to pay these and similar expenses incurred abroad, commodities exported year by year just about equal in value those imported. In other words, trade between any country and the rest of the world is by barter, and is a pecuniary advantage to both parties concerned. In so far, therefore, as our exports exceed our imports we are worse off financially, but in reality the excess is unimportant. The real trouble is that our foreign trade as a whole, our total exports and imports combined, is not one-fourth of what it ought to be, and would be were it unobstructed.

Enlightened Self-Interest.—The truth, then, is that a multitude of laborers work hard, individually and through trade-unions, to get as large wages as possible, and then vote in such a manner as to reduce their real wages fully one-half. It is amazing that men who work for a living should fail to use their reason in so vital a matter. The trusts are putting up prices every day; the customs tariff, as Mr. Havemeyer has said under oath, "is the mother of trusts"; the trust magnates keep a

strong lobby at Washington working to maintain the tariff; then many laborers, instead of trying to destroy the oppressive trusts by removing the tariff, do just what the trusts want them to do, namely, vote for the tariff.

Of course, the trust magnates know that the tariff injures the working-man, but they are looking out for themselves and not for him. Those who suffer from the tariff, probably ninety-nine per cent. of the whole people, can very properly vote in their own interests—unless they have arrived at the conclusion which some of the monopolists boldly proclaim, that the people are not capable of self-government, but must allow the captains of industry to rule over them.

"British Free Trade."—But, the laborer may ask, if free trade is so beneficial, why are not real wages in Great Britain higher than in this country? The answer to this has already been given in part, and it may be summarized as follows: Real wages are somewhat higher in England than in this country or on the Continent of Europe. A laborer in England can make a bare living by working 205 days, whilst here he must work 225 days, and in the other countries of Europe even more days. Again, Great Britain's exports must pass over tariffs in order to reach her own colonies as well as the rest of the world, whilst our trade is free throughout the better part of a continent. Finally, Great Britain has a tax upon some imports, and, by means of these and other unjust and foolish methods of taxation, creates monopolies somewhat analogous to those which abound and flourish in the United States. What both Great Britain and the United States need is the abolition of all custom-houses, of every kind of obstruction to freedom of trade.

The tariff is an evil, not merely because it obstructs trade, but also because it is a tax which falls upon consumption. Almost all taxes in this country, National, State and municipal, rest upon the consumer. They fall most heavily, therefore, upon the poor, who consume almost all of their earnings, and most lightly upon the rich, whose outlay for consumption comprises but a minute fraction of their income.

How Support Government?—It follows, therefore, that all taxes upon consumption, as well as upon production, should be abolished. How, then, are the expenses of government to be borne? In a very simple and thoroughly scientific manner.

We have a fund, which belongs to all the people, because it has been created by all the people—a value attaching itself to that which was the free gift of Providence to all the people. Already, nominally, in this country, and in less degree in Great Britain, some of this fund is taken in the form of a tax and applied to public uses; but only a small part is so taken. Most of it goes to private individuals, to whom it does not in equity belong, and in whom it vests a wicked monopoly.

The fund to which I refer is the total annual value of all the land in this country which is the property of private corporations or individuals. In other words, all ground rent, including in that term the value of the use of public highways by street-railway companies and other utilities, constituting, as these do, an easement upon the land—that is to say, a partial monopoly.

The total annual value of the land in the United States amounts to a sufficient sum to pay all National, State and municipal taxes; consequently, by turning that into the public treasuries, everything produced by labor can be exempted from the burden of taxation. The removal of taxes from personalty and improvements would lower the prices of all commodities; the imposition of all taxes upon land would lower its price to a nominal sum, thus forbidding its monopoly and opening it up for use, so that, because of the immensely increased opportunities for the self-employment of labor and for the investment of capital, money wages would be greatly enhanced. As we have seen, both the lowering of prices and the raising of wages count as factors in the expansion of real wages. The inordinately rich and the miserably poor would be absorbed into a great middle class, composed of the industrious masses reaping and enjoying the fruits of their own labor.

First Steps to Freedom.—Such is the end at which labor should aim and which it should ever keep in mind. Practically, the first thing to do is to get rid of the tariff. Revision is a step towards repeal and should be encouraged. Genuine reciprocity is another. Every step will increase real wages and will prepare the way for longer strides, and for that complete abolition of custom-houses and other instruments of burdensome taxation, which now transfer the earnings of labor to the pockets of monopoly.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

THE NEW IRELAND.—VII.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE forces that I have so far touched upon—the new forces that are gradually shaping what is nothing less than the regeneration of Ireland—have been mainly political, like the Sinn Féin movement, or ethical and linguistic, like the Gaelic League. In this article I propose to deal with an older and in some ways a more fundamental movement, the movement towards agricultural co-operation; and in doing so I shall hope to throw a certain light upon the realities of Irish politics and of Irish economic character.

The chief, almost the sole, credit for introducing agricultural co-operation into Ireland belongs to one man, Sir Horace Plunkett. In the whole area of Irish public life there is no more attractive figure than his. The younger son of Lord Dunsany, with an ancestry that stretches back in an unbroken line for seven centuries to the early days of Anglo-Irish relations, educated at Eton and Oxford, a Protestant and a Unionist, Sir Horace has broken completely loose from the normal prejudices of his class and creed, and has initiated a revolution which, in my judgment, will have a permanent influence on the economic thought and action, and indeed on the whole character, of the Irish farmer. Too big a man to be squeezed within the narrow ferocities of the ordinary Unionist, too practical and clear-sighted to be satisfied with the froth of Nationalism, he has been abused with equal animosity by both parties. But Sir Horace is triply armed in the qualities of mind and temperament without which even the smallest fraction of the Irish question were best left alone. He has an unconquerable faith, and the sanguine perseverance that goes with it; he is compact of tolerance and practicality; almost alone among Irish public men he mixes his

politics with humor; a singular sweetness of disposition, a reflective, philosophical mind, and an utter incapacity and contempt for the dissimulations of the average politician have combined to make his position, his influence and his labors altogether unique. The great trouble with Ireland is that no Irishman will say what he thinks. In all politics one has to allow for a certain difference between private and public utterances, but in no politics is the difference so profound as in Irish. For bodies to pass resolutions to which all present are secretly opposed; for Irish politicians to deride in conversation and in letters pretty nearly everything that they are engaged in upholding in Parliament and on the platform—these are the every-day phenomena of Irish affairs. Make-believe, a conscious insincerity and the miasma of moral cowardice permeate the entire country. A great deal of Sir Horace Plunkett's influence is due to his habit of candor and truthfulness. He is never bitter or personal, but he is always honest. At times, indeed, his honesty seems almost to have the courage of recklessness. But I am not at present concerned with him as a moral force. He has achieved in himself that synthesis of the practical and the ideal towards which all Ireland is slowly moving. There is, of course, no such thing either as the "Celt" or the "Saxon"; but I shall not, I think, be misunderstood if I say that Sir Horace Plunkett has the sensitiveness, the quick-moving mind and the charm of the one, as well as the directness, the courage of word and deed and the invigorating driving-power of the other. Equally strong and sympathetic, a Wyoming ranchman and an Irish aristocrat, he sees Ireland steadily and whole, and has served her with a loyalty and a fruitfulness that will ultimately rank him among the greatest of her sons.

All he has striven for, all he has accomplished, and the reasons why he chose the precise course he did, are to be found set forth in his memorable book, "Ireland in the New Century." Sir Horace was the first to see and to proclaim that the Irish problem at bottom was not a racial, political, economic or religious problem, but a human problem—a problem of the Irish mind and character. He admits altogether—no Nationalist could do so more completely—the results of history, of long centuries of English persecution and misgovernment and of the failure of either people to understand the other. But he holds that "great

as is the responsibility of England for the state of Ireland, still greater is the responsibility of Irishmen"; that the Irish through their absorption in a peculiarly rhetorical form of politics, their habit of living in the past, their overconfidence in legislation as a cure for economic ills and the defects of their character and temperament—their "lack of moral courage, initiative, independence and self-reliance"—have aggravated the results of English misrule; and that their duty now is to overcome these defects, to cultivate a salutary individualism and to turn their thoughts to the ways and means of immediate and practical improvement. To do this what was needed was a positive Irish policy, springing from the people, and dependent for its success upon their own powers of application and energy. The form such a policy should take was prescribed by that characteristic of the Irish people which Sir Horace was the first both to appreciate and to utilize—their clannishness. It is a trait which shows itself not alone in their politics, but in their conception of home—witness the Irish colonies in the American cities—and in their instinctive organization of society. They have pre-eminently the associative qualities; then let them associate. The Irish problem on its economic side is predominantly agricultural; then let them associate in agricultural work. Such was the central idea, simple as all great ideas are, of the Plunkett policy. It suited the national genius; it established a connection between economic fact and inherited instincts; it filled a great material need.

For consider what was the position of the Irish farmer twenty years ago. Alone, or all but alone, among European producers, he had made no effort to adjust himself to the changes that had transformed agricultural economics. Within the last half century the whole business of farming has been revolutionized. Competition is no longer local, but world-wide—I am writing, of course, from the European standpoint. Vast tracts of virgin soil have been opened up in the uttermost parts of the earth. Methods of production, of preservation and of carriage have been so marvellously improved that to eat in one hemisphere what has been grown in another is an occurrence too familiar to be even realized as a constant fact. Huge and hungry towns have sprung up, insistently demanding produce in bulk, at regular intervals, in fresh condition and of uniform quality. On the Continent, these new conditions have been met by a free and intelligent use

of co-operation. The farmers—of Denmark, particularly, but to some extent of all European countries—have banded themselves together for the purchase of all the raw materials and mechanical requirements of their industry at the lowest cost and of the best quality. They are thus enabled to produce more abundantly and more cheaply. They have combined for the improvement of all classes of live-stock, for the manufacture of butter, bacon and many other products. They have organized themselves for the purposes of insurance at the lowest rates and for the yet more vital purpose of creating, by mutual support, the credit required to bring in a large and constant flow of capital. Above all, co-operation, besides increasing the volume and lowering the cost of production, has made it possible for them to control the whole process of modern marketing, to collect in bulk, to regularize and standardize their consignments, and to forward them at a minimum expense for transit and distribution. State aid, too, has assisted them, but less by direct subsidies than by providing them with opportunities for scientific and technical instruction. Now, of this great movement, which, as I have said, has literally transformed the practice and possibilities of agriculture in all the chief European countries, there was hardly, twenty years ago, a single trace in Ireland. The Irish farmer remained an isolated unit. While his rivals on the Continent were forming organized, pliant and cohesive trusts, he stuck stolidly to the ancient ways. Paying as an individual the highest price for his seeds, manures and machinery; without capital or credit or any chance of getting any; at the mercy of the railways and the middlemen; unable to profit by improved appliances; wasteful, unscientific and unsystematic—he lost one by one all the advantages that his nearness to the English market should have brought him. There could be but one end to so unequal a struggle. He was fast drifting into a position as helpless as that of a small American refiner in the grip of the Standard Oil Company. The ruin which in the dark days of restrictive legislation England had deliberately wrought for Irish manufactures was now being invoked upon Irish agriculture by the Irish farmers themselves.

It was in 1889 that Sir Horace Plunkett launched his co-operative movement. The press jeered, the politicians swore, the priesthood sat on the fence and the people presented a solid mass

of sceptical, suspicious and hidebound apathy. There were years of thankless and heart-breaking work. Sir Horace addressed fifty meetings before a single society was formed. Gradually, however, economic truth filtered through, a creamery sprang up here, a poultry society there, an agricultural bank somewhere else. By 1894, the movement had got beyond the control of a few individuals, and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society was formed for its further direction and expansion. This society owed nothing to Government support. All the cost of its offices, organizers and lecturers was borne at first by private individuals and by subscriptions from the societies it formed. These societies have multiplied till they now cover Ireland with a network of co-operation. Their number to-day is 953; their turn-over exceeds $11,500,000; their membership totals 96,500 — representing, I suppose, over 400,000 persons. Their organization is simple and uniform. The basis of membership is the possession of one or more shares; the liability of members is limited to the number of their shares; all members, whatever their holdings, have an equal voting power; an elected committee is responsible for the management of each society; interest is limited to five per cent.; and the remaining profit is distributed among the members in proportion to their trade with the society. Of the 953 societies, 356 are co-operative creameries, the members of which receive the full market price for their milk all the year round, have all the advantages of modern science in dealing with their dairy produce, and themselves pocket all the profits from the output of butter. There are, besides, 172 Agricultural Societies which purchase artificial manures, seeds, feeding stuffs and machinery at wholesale prices and of approved quality. Some of them have bought expensive machinery for joint use; others have rented grass farms which are grazed co-operatively; several have purchased premium sires for the improvement of their live-stock; all are now turning their thoughts to the co-operative sale of produce. There are 270 Credit Societies, whose value to the small farmer may fairly be called incalculable. By joining one he is able to raise money at five per cent. on the joint and several unlimited liability of all the members, so long as he can show to the satisfaction of the managing committee that the money is to be spent on productive purposes. In addition, there are Poultry Societies for

the disposal of eggs and chickens; Bee-keepers' Societies; Flax Societies for the cultivation of the raw material of the great Belfast factories; and a crowd of miscellaneous societies for the promotion of home and cottage industries. Indeed, the co-operative movement has found in Ireland a soil so congenial that it has already begun to pass into the second—the federating—stage of its growth. In this stage the societies themselves, to prevent them from cutting one another's throats, and to promote their economic efficiency, are banded together into Federations. Three such Federations already exist, one for the combined sale of the butter produced by the co-operative creameries, the second for the joint purchase of seeds, manures, machinery, etc., on behalf of the Agricultural Societies and for the sale of their products, and the third for the disposal of the eggs and chickens of all the co-operative Poultry Societies. But the field is not yet by any means filled up. A splendid and inspiriting beginning, but still a beginning only, has been made; and it may need another twenty years of unremitting effort before Ireland becomes, like Denmark, a vast national trust for the production and sale of all agricultural produce.

But the beneficence of Sir Horace Plunkett's work is not to be estimated in numbers and money alone. The increase in the farmers' revenue, and especially the increase in its stability, have, of course, been very great; and it is an immense achievement that the aggregate turn-over of the movement from its beginning should have amounted to well over $60,000,000. But, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, the merely material benefits conferred by co-operation are far from being the most important. It is a great thing that co-operation should now be accepted as a fixed part of Ireland's rural economy. But it is a greater thing that it should have been the means of bringing together men who had either never been united before or were united only for purposes of political agitation. It has given the Irish peasant almost the only business training he has ever received. It has taught him responsibility and self-confidence; it has conquered his distrust of himself and his neighbors; it has both brightened and enlarged his horizon. To a very real extent it may be said to have filled the gap so scandalously neglected by a system of education that is still far from acknowledging Ireland to be, above all things, an agricultural country. Moreover,

the thousands of meetings that have been held in connection with it, meetings attended by men of all classes, creeds and parties, have mitigated the asperity of social, political and sectarian strife, have made for comradeship, mutual understanding and tolerance, and have opened up a new and non-contentious sphere for united, constructive effort. It was the first movement that suggested to the Irish mind that work could achieve what agitation and politics could not. Its success and the spirit of self-help it was founded on and fostered led directly to the formation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the youngest and by far the most useful of all official institutions in Ireland. All the movements, indeed, that are to-day seeking constructive ends by non-political and non-sectarian routes derive the impulse that alone made them possible from the gospel of self-reliance preached by the co-operators. It is the solitary public enterprise in Ireland that foreigners study, not as a warning, but as a fruitful guide and example.

There are two reasons why the development of co-operation is to-day more than ever necessary to the greatest of all Irish industries. One is that the Department of Agriculture can only achieve its best results if it is enabled to work with farmers, not as isolated individuals, but as organized bodies. The other and far more momentous reason is that Parliament has decreed that Ireland is to be a land of peasant proprietors and must ultimately pledge the Imperial credit to the extent of about $750,000,000 in order to transfer the title-deeds in the soil from the landlord to the tenant. Now, the ultimate security for the repayment of this colossal loan is the capacity of the Irish farmer and the Irish peasant to make agriculture pay. The whole success of the Land-purchase Acts rests fundamentally on that. If the new owners cannot derive sufficient profit from the soil and from the farm to provide for the punctual remittance of the instalment-money, bankruptcy and chaos are the inevitable results. For the first time, Ireland is brought face to face with the realities of a competitive agricultural existence. For the first time, the question for her is not who is to own the soil, and how little he is to pay for it, but how much can he get out of it. Throughout most of the country, the struggle over the rent and ownership of the land has ceased or is ceasing. The infinitely more momentous struggle for a living on the land has just be-

gun. Hitherto, the Irish agrarian problem has been mainly social and political. Henceforward, it will be mainly technical and economic. The prosperity of the peasant proprietors, on which everything, literally everything, depends, cannot be secured by agitation, or by politics of any kind, but simply and solely by work. The difficulties are immense. The Irish, as I have before insisted, have never been an agricultural, but always by instinct and tradition a pastoral people. Their bent is not towards farming and tillage, but towards stock-raising. The new proprietors, taken as a whole, have neither the technical skill nor the education nor the capital nor the business experience to equip them for their responsibilities. Large numbers of them, too, are in debt to the local "gombeen-man"—the Irish rural money-lender,—and the great peril of the future is that, after exhausting the soil by inefficient tillage and after dabbling unsuccessfully with stock-raising, they will be forced out of an independent existence, and their lands will pass into the hands of the money-lender and the publican. "And if that happens," said to me an experienced land-agent, who firmly believed it would happen, "God help Ireland! Talk of the cruelty of the English to the Irish—it is nothing compared with the cruelty of the Irish to one another. The gombeen-man, turned landlord, will be ten times more avaricious and mean and tyrannical than the worst member of the old type of English absentee. He will wring the very vitals out of any man he has in his power. Let me tell you frankly, there is still a chance that the tragedy of Ireland's future may equal the tragedy of her past."

One thing, and one alone, can avert so hideous a disaster and can establish the new order in the prosperity which is the condition of agrarian peace—co-operation. Without co-operation other agencies must inevitably fail. As a community of small stock-raisers the peasant proprietors are doomed. As a community of small isolated farmers, vainly struggling against Transatlantic competition and the highly organized societies in which the producers of the Continent have enrolled themselves, their fate is not less certain. Ireland ought to be, and might be, a second and more prosperous Denmark. She can only become so if the new owners are taught to organize every detail of their business along co-operative lines. Co-operation in Ireland, however, has to encounter obstacles such as nowhere else exist. In particular, it has to face

the hostility of the political machine which elects four-fifths of the representatives of the country. The Irish Nationalists have a trade, a personal and a political objection to agricultural co-operation. The personal objection is simply that Sir Horace Plunkett originated the movement and still guides it. Sir Horace is obnoxious to the Nationalists on several grounds. He is a Unionist who has often with playful satire pricked the bubble of Nationalist rhetoric. He is the author of many books and pamphlets on Irish affairs, in some of which he has disputed the favorite Nationalist contention that British misgovernment alone is responsible for Irish ills, and that to lay even a fraction of the blame upon the Irish themselves is little less than treason. Finally, his outspokenness shames their plausibilities; and, by the side of his reasoned and constructive achievements, the scum and fury of their rhetoric seem like the ineffectual beating of a tom-tom. Then, again, the Nationalists resent the building up of an organization of nearly 100,000 farmers on a non-partisan basis and for other than political ends. It looks suspiciously like an attempt to regenerate Ireland from within, and their case has always been that Home Rule alone can effect that miracle. It looks like an attempt to substitute practical work by Irishmen in Ireland for the magic properties of political agitation, constitutional readjustment and English-made laws. It looks even like an attempt to maintain that the agrarian question at bottom is a question of productivity and not, as the Nationalists have declared it to be, of rent and ownership. Moreover, when nearly 100,000 farmers, practically all of whom are Unionists, organize themselves to promote their material well-being in spite of the opposition of their political leaders and on the advice and persuasion of a Unionist, the inference to the Nationalist type of mind is clear, that the whole movement is a subtle attack upon the Irish party. These co-operative societies, that pass no resolutions against the "Saxon tyrant" and offer up no addresses to the champions of "a noble but oppressed race," but quietly attend to business, are a new and disturbing phenomenon. They hint at limits to the influence of "politics," at a reaction against the policy of postponing everything to the constitutional issue, at the possibility even of revolt from the cause and its leaders.

And, besides all this, there is the trade objection, or the ob-

jection, to put it more accurately, of the small country trader. It is easy enough to understand why he is opposed to co-operation. As middleman, he buys the farmers' produce at the cheapest rate and supplies them with their agricultural requirements at the dearest. As money-lender, he advances them loans on more than Asiatic terms. As publican, he scores again by sealing every transaction with a drink. The only form of rural prosperity he is able to conceive is that of isolated, inefficient, unorganized farmers, living from hand to mouth under a perpetual load of debt, and lorded over by himself as gombeen-man and middleman. He is the instinctive enemy of co-operation, because co-operation releases the farmers from his grip, enables them to raise money through their own societies on easy terms, to purchase cheap and to sell dear. Co-operation, in fact, eliminates the country trader in his capacity of agricultural middleman and money-lender, and reduces him to his legitimate business of domestic shopkeeper and publican. And even here it threatens to invade his province. It is as easy to deal in tea, tobacco, clothing, groceries and furniture on the co-operative system as in seeds and manures; and the village trader conceives himself threatened with ultimate ruin by the spread of the movement. The experience of all countries that practise agricultural co-operation is there to prove that his fears are baseless, that you cannot increase the farmer's power of production without also increasing his power of consumption and that whatever benefits the farmer must in the end benefit the shopkeeper also. But the small village trader in Ireland sees the immediate loss, but cannot see the ultimate and much larger gain; and being, in addition to his other activities, the political boss of his neighborhood, controlling the local press, overrunning all the local elective bodies and acting as local treasurer for the United Irish League, he is able to bring to bear upon the Parliamentary representatives an amount of pressure that they have neither the ability nor the inclination to resist. The consequence is that the Irish party has from the first fought co-operation and done its utmost to thwart and cripple it.

Nor has its animosity been without effect. The co-operative movement has had its ups and downs, as any movement must have that is dependent upon private generosity and enthusiasm. The expenses incurred by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society in

carrying the gospel of co-operation through remote and backward districts and among a lethargic, uneducated and distrustful people, have been very heavy. The society has had to shoulder all the preparatory work that in other countries is done by the State through the medium of technical instruction. It has not received the support it should have received from the societies it formed, those farmers whom it had not organized being unwilling to contribute towards the cost of being experimented on, and those farmers whom it had organized being equally unwilling to furnish the funds for organizing others. This may be human nature; it is, at any rate, human nature as one encounters it in Ireland. Moreover, when the Department of Agriculture came into existence, it took over a portion of the society's work, annexed some of its officers—there being none others to be had who at once knew Ireland and knew agriculture—and granted it a subsidy. Official financial assistance always and everywhere kills private generosity, and for the last few years the Irish Agricultural Organization Society has only been able to extend its beneficent work by the help of the subsidy. With the close of the current year, the subsidy comes to an end. The Nationalists, after attacking it for years, have recently succeeded in getting it withdrawn. That does not, however, mean the demise either of the society or of co-operation. The assaults upon it have rallied all its friends to its support. The enthusiasm of the early days of the movement is stirring again, and the farmers, who are at last realizing that if they want organization they must pay for it, are subscribing to the society's exchequer as they never subscribed before. I have myself no doubt whatever that if it is enabled by the generosity of its friends to tide over the next few years, the society will find itself presiding over and developing a self-supporting movement. Its work is the best that is now being done in Ireland and deserves and should receive the backing of all who wish well for the prosperity of the island.*

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be continued.)

* In the hope that some reader of this article may feel inclined to forward the work described in it, I add that the President of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society is Sir Horace Plunkett, and that its address is 84 Merrion Square, Dublin.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON AND CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

"THE GOLDEN HYNDE."*

THE main difficulty in attempting to estimate the value of the work of Mr. Alfred Noyes is that we are likely to be bewildered by his manifold and eager productivity. "The Golden Hynde and Other Poems," though it is only the third volume of his verse to be published in America, is the sixth of his volumes to appear in England; and Mr. Noyes is at present only twenty-seven years of age. His fecundity is amazing, and his variety is even more so. He has written poems in innumerable measures that have heretofore been used in English verse, and has invented many measures of his own. He has sung to the tune of masters as diverse as Swinburne, Blake, Rossetti, Tennyson and Heine, with a reckless facility and joyous grace, and has informed all his work with an individuality of charm. He can write a ballad or a lullaby, a song or a symphony, a light lyric or an ode; and he writes them all with the same extraordinary technical accomplishment and dauntless ease. He has not yet developed a blank verse of his own that is completely organized, and his spontaneity of rhythmic variation seems as yet inconsonant with the restrictions of the sonnet form; but he has written no verse that is bad, and much that is very, very good. Perhaps he is most at home in the triple measures which Mr. Swinburne has taught him how to wield.

It is safe to say that even the master himself has seldom surpassed the fluent melody of such lines as these, from "Orpheus and Eurydice":

* "The Golden Hynde and Other Poems." By Alfred Noyes. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908.

"And they that were dead, in his radiant music heard the moaning of doves in the olden
Golden-girdled purple pinewood, heard the moan of the roaming sea;
Heard the chant of the soft-winged songsters, nesting now in the fragrant golden
Olden haunted blossoming bowers of lovers that wandered in Arcady;

"Saw the soft blue veils of shadow floating over the billowy grasses
Under the crisp white curling clouds that sailed and trailed through the melting blue;
Heard once more the quarrel of lovers above them pass, as a lark-song passes,
Light and bright, till it vanished away in an eye-bright heaven of silvery dew.

"White as a dream of Aphrodite, supple and sweet as a rose in blossom,
Fair and fleet as a fawn that shakes the dew from the fern at break of day,
Wreathed with the clouds of her dusky hair, that kissed and clung to her sun-bright bosom,
On through the deserts of hell she came, and the brown air bloomed with the light of May."

There can be no doubt whatever of Mr. Noyes's ability to versify. Although he is still very young, he has already mastered the mechanism of his art, and is prepared to say with permanence of form whatever may be given him to say. The deeper question remains to be considered whether or not the things he has to say are of sufficient importance to warrant the hope that in him English poetry may find a successor to the great Victorians. The evidence as yet is incomplete; but a thorough study of his recent volume gives me faith to venture an affirmative prediction. To be sure, it is not yet possible to formulate his message,—much less to weigh and measure it. We can do that in the case of Keats: all that is necessary is to quote the last two lines of the "Grecian Urn," and explain them with sufficient fulness of understanding. Shelley also said one thing all his life; and it is conceivable that his message might be formulated in a single sentence,—though Matthew Arnold failed to do it in his famous glittering phrase. But Mr. Noyes, who has said so many different things, has as yet not said the one thing he was born to say. That very diversity which so amazes us in his work is

probably a penalty that he pays for not yet having found out precisely who he is. He will not be truly great until, like Keats and Shelley, he shall succeed in revealing unity beneath his multiplicity.

But whatever may be the one thing that shall constitute his message, after his genius shall have found the centre around which it must be destined to revolve, I have faith that Mr. Noyes will say it; and the reason is that I have faith in the man himself, as he stands exhibited in all his work. His productivity and his variety are indicative more emphatically of his strength than of his incompleteness. He is productive because he is healthy; and he is various because he is divinely capable of being interested in "a number of things,"—to quote the "Happy Thought" of the Poet Laureate of Childhood, whom in many wise ways Mr. Noyes resembles. His healthiness of spirit is a boon for which to thank the gods. Nothing is the matter with his body or his soul. In this age of morbid introspection, he never looks upon himself to curse his fate. He never whines or whimpers: his sadness is the deep great sadness of a happy man. He religiously believes in being happy; and his triumphant youthfulness is a glorious challenge to the sort of maunderers who are forever saying, "Ah! but wait till you have suffered!" After all the moanings and the caterwaulings of the sorry little singers, we have found at last a poet to whom the world is not a twilight vale of tears, but a valley shimmering all dewy to the dawn, with a lark song over it.

Only two things, so far as I can see, may stop him. There is, of course, a certain peril in his facility. He writes so easily and well that he may be tempted sometimes to write merely for the joy of the working. Some of his poems are already just a little thin: they are done beautifully, but they did not of necessity have to be done at all. But his other danger is more considerable. In several of the poems of this latest volume, he shows a tendency to intellectual dogmatism. He expresses good thought in good verse, instead of writing poetry. This is especially true in the pieces in which he inveighs against war, with a deliberate reversal of Mr. Kipling's thunderous imperialism, and in those other pieces in which he translates his general truth into the too particular terms of Christian dogma. He is least representative of his England when he strives consciously to deliver a laureate

utterance. When an intellectual or moral purpose gets in his way, he usually misses that perfect emotional fusion of content and expression which is poetry.

But these are, after all, only the defects of his qualities. Mr. Noyes is by far the most promising of all the younger English poets, because of his vigor and variety, his freshness of personality, and his ease of art. His career should be watched hopefully by all lovers of literature. We cannot now say what the future has in store for him; but it seems safe to predict that if any poet now writing is to inherit the mantle, it is he.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

GÉRARD DE NERVAL AND THE FRENCH SYMBOLISTS.*

THE unhappy German poet Gutzkow, who, after having tried suicide ineffectually, finally in a chloral stupor overturned his lamp and burned himself to death, wrote a somewhat too long novel, "*Die Ritter vom Geist*" ("The Knights of the Spirit"). In a certain sense the brief book of Mr. Symons with its studies of the symbolists might better wear that title, and whatever one may think of its doctrine, its charm of style and the interest of its contents will certainly recommend it. The strange group of literary figures there presented were for the most part dreamers of millennial dreams who failed altogether when brought *aux prises* with reality. Vagabonds of foot and mind they wandered through their century, and doubtless no movement and no epoch can show so pathetic an array of lives as are those of Gérard de Nerval, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Arthur Rimbaud, Paul Verlaine and Jules Laforgue. They were convinced with that old prophetic Abbot, Joachim of Flora, that the Age of the Spirit was at hand. They belonged to that race which believes that those who lose their lives shall save them, and they found fame, as therefore most of them would have desired, posthumously. Gérard de Nerval is the spiritual father of French symbolism. It is now just a hundred years since he was born, and the publication of a revised edition of Mr. Symons's book following closely upon the biography of Gérard by M. Ferrières will possibly

* "The Symbolist Movement in Literature." By Arthur Symons. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. "Gérard de Nerval" Par G. Ferrières. Paris: Lemerre.

give a certain impetus to the study of a movement which has not yet found much favor on this side of the seas.

The book of M. Ferrières is evidently the book of a poet about a poet, and it is written with sympathy and understanding. It is not so much a study of the works of Gérard as it is a chronicle of those fairly rare interims in his life when his whereabouts and actions were known.

Gérard Labrunie, for such was his baptismal name, may in a sense be said to have been born an orphan, for his parents left him when but an infant to follow the fortunes of Napoleon. The child was given over to relatives in the Valois, and he grew up therefore with but little care and less love, surrounded by the forests through which Louis XIV and Condé so often rode in that old-fashioned romantic country which had seen the loves of Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées. Near by was Ermenonville where the aging Rousseau dreamed and died. It was this quiet corner of the world which Gérard was to call his home, and hither he often returned when weary of the outer noises. Here, too, he has laid the scene of one of his most perfect stories, "*Sylvie,*" and here among the peasantry he gathered those poignant old folk-songs, two of which have come into English literature through the translations of Rossetti. A dreaming lad, he was given the freedom of an uncle's library and made his thorough and lasting acquaintance with the literature of the mystic and the occult. For him the "Kabbala," Nostradamus, Cazotte and St.-Martin held the keys of spiritual freedom, and it is natural, therefore, that when still a boy of nineteen he should have turned eagerly to Goethe's "Faust" and have given his compatriots that splendid translation which Goethe in his last years read in preference to his own original.

With this remarkable work Gérard stepped before the world in the heyday of the romantics. For the second time in its history the making of French literature had been turned over almost exclusively to young men. The golden age had dawned again. The cycle had been completed, and men were entering once more into *la jeunesse du temps et le temps de la jeunesse.* Even names dared not be prosaic, and the homely Gérard Labrunie became the poetic Gérard de Nerval. Yet while his romanticist friends with loud cries were demanding emancipation only from the dead hand of the past and the supposed tyranny

of the bourgeois, Gérard was quietly hunting his way to that beauty which is above time and to that realm of the spirit in which there is only freedom.

He started now gradually to make his home in that other world in which everything is gained and nothing is lost, and with this begins the strange story of his own extraordinary romance. His child love, Adrienne, had entered a cloister and had died, but for Gérard, as for many mystics, there was a law of the conservation of energy in the spiritual world. He believed that his first love had been reincarnated in the person of Jenny Colon, an actress, in no sense spiritual, of the Variety stage. In vain his friends remonstrated with him and tried to break his illusion. What they told him of Jenny's rather interesting if unconventional past concerned him no more than what they might have told him of the Princesses of Elis or the Queen of Trebizond. Too timid to seek an interview, he watched his idol for a year across the golden haze of the footlights. Nor did nearer acquaintance seem to lessen the distance between them. They were two worlds apart. The bewildered Jenny, so accustomed to suitors, could yet not understand the lofty language of adoration.

With unabated faith in his illusion for all his unsuccess, Gérard at last sets out for Italy, where he meets a charming English girl who "did pity him." Mr. Symons does not quite seem to understand that it is this beautiful rencontre after his hopeless love which lies behind the strange sonnets of "*Les Chimères.*" In them we see the beginnings of the symbolist movement in French poetry, the haunting new magic of Verlaine and all the manner of Mallarmé. Without a knowledge of this story the sonnets become mere beautiful riddles, enigmas and logogriphs. But even with this clue certain of the poems will remain sufficiently unintelligible for those who are unwilling to admit with Schopenhauer that the so-called solid realities of the world are a mere "cerebral phantasmagoria." Conjuring with his two loves, Gérard de Nerval was creating a hymn to the beauty which he worshipped through them. The poet was not attempting to tell a story nor yet to lay bare his heart; he was attempting rather to give us the movements in his own spirit and soul.

He returned from Italy, in Catullus's phrase, with cobwebs in his purse, but bringing with him nearly a car-load of carved Renaissance mantels. In his own beautiful words, "his brow

was still red with the kiss of the queen, and he had dreamed in the grotto where the siren swims." He was near madness. Jenny Colon had become for him now not only the reincarnate Adrienne, she was also the Queen of Sheba. Gérard's friends had always recognized that he was one of those who have that slant "ray of moonlight in their brains," but when now one day they met him leading a lobster by a blue ribbon through the Place du Carrousel, because, as Gérard said, "he did not bark and knew the secrets of the sea," they felt it necessary to have him conveyed to the asylum of the famous alienist, Dr. Blanche. He remained there nearly a year, and the remainder of his life was spent alternately in such retreats or in travel, now an expedition into Egypt and Asia Minor, which he has so entertainingly described, or again a tramp, afoot and penniless, in the environs of Paris, or even occasionally in one of the outer countries of Europe.

One of the successors of Icarus, living in a century disinherited of its illusions, it had been his pleasant duty to create and live in his own world. In this world of his illusion he had come to be so much at home that to his friends in these last years he seemed almost an emissary from another. More and more he had lost touch with what men call reality. He dreamed standing, and the flat calm of reality was to him the "dead water which the swan disdains." The world of dream, as he himself puts it, began to overflow into his life, and it is the story of this flooding of his life by dreams which he records in that marvellous recital of hallucination composed in the quieter intervals of his last period of mental disease, "*Le Rêve et la Vie: Aurélia.*" He would never admit his madness, and on his own insistence he was dismissed from the asylum of Dr. Blanche in the fall of 1854, manifestly uncured and unfitted for the world. That state of narcosis in which alone, according to Nietzsche, the artist creates, with Gérard was now perpetual. He had eaten drums and drunk cymbals, as they said at Eleusis.

A lamentable death, however, was soon to close this life of whimsy and illumination. He eluded his friends and refused their offers of assistance and lodging. He was thinly clad, and his pockets were filled only with strange mementoes. After two winter days of blizzard he entered, long past midnight, into the poorest quarter of Paris and seems to have knocked at about three in the morning on the door of a two-sous lodging-house in

the Rue de la Vieille Lanterne. There was no response. He drew from his pocket a bit of écru which he had exhibited to his friends as the girdle which Mme. de Maintenon had worn when she watched the performance of Racine's "Esther" at St.-Cyr. Drawing this about his neck, he hanged himself to the grating, and was found by laborers in the morning with his knees drawn up and a great tame raven perched upon his shoulder. In his pocket was that record of his madness, the manuscript of "*Aurélia,*" two sous and a passport for the Orient. What passed through the mind of the dream-besieged star-gazer in those last hours we do not know. Because of the character of the place there was for a time vague talk of assassination. We are inclined to believe, however, what Dr. Blanche wrote to the Archbishop of Paris before the funeral: "Gérard de Nerval hanged himself because he saw his madness face to face."

It is the story of this man's life that we are given in the biography by M. Ferrières. It is excellently well written and reads like a novel. Now and then he has not quite succeeded in disentangling the truth from the old legend. In one case he quotes apparently verbatim a letter from Goethe to Gérard de Nerval. It has been quite conclusively proved (Goethe Jahrbuch, 1897) that Goethe never wrote this or any other letter to his translator. Gérard himself never mentioned it, and it is the pure fabrication of later hands. In the main, however, M. Ferrières has given us a sympathetic, sincere and interesting account of the known facts.

Mr. Symons's book, on the contrary, is a critical interpretation, and nowhere has he penetrated more deeply into the spirit of a literature which he knows so well, and nowhere has he written with greater charm. His little studies are relevant and illuminating. We think he is wrong, however, when in his conclusion he attempts to fuse his pessimism and mysticism. The two, to be sure, often go hand in hand, but the pessimism which leads to mysticism is the pessimism of unfulfilled desire and not Mr. Symons's *genre,* which is the pessimism of satiety. We feel that his espousal of mysticism is, after all, momentary and half-hearted, a mere *pis-aller.* For him mystic beauty is not yet, in the words of one of Mr. Symons's late friends, "dressed like a bride illustrious with light."

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *August, 1908.*

SPENDING a few hours the other day in the gallery of the House of Commons, I grew interested in comparing its appearance, manners and procedure with those of the House of Representatives. The differences really began to be felt before the Chamber itself was reached. To gain admission to the national legislature is not in England the simple business it is in America. You cannot stroll into the sacred precincts, wander at will through the lobbies and corridors and take a seat in the galleries whenever you please. There are formalities to be observed. You must first importune an M.P. for a ticket, and no M.P. can undertake to furnish a ticket for any specific date. He has to ballot for it, and as the applicants are many and the galleries small, whole days not infrequently pass before the necessary vouchers are forthcoming. Even when you are armed with them, your liberty of movement, to one used to American generosity in such matters, seems strangely limited. You ascend a narrow spiral staircase leading from the outer lobby, with a functionary at the foot to scrutinize your credentials. There is a sort of reception-room at the head of the stairway, where your cards of admission are again examined, where you enter your name and address in a book and where you are conscious of an air of official disappointment at being obliged to let you in. Some rather pompous attendants, who seem to have all of George the Third's contempt for the mere voter, marshal and shepherd you to the gallery itself, indicating the seats you are to take. The gallery faces the Speaker's chair—filling one of the shorter sides of a parallelogram. It is steep, uncomfortable and always crowded. Unless you are in

the front row or near it, nearly one-half of the House is shut out from your view. Opposite you, and above the Speaker's chair, is the Press Gallery; on either side of you, running the entire length of the House, are special and reserved galleries —for peers, distinguished strangers, diplomats and so on. These galleries, as a rule, are empty or only very sparsely occupied, and the contrast between their void expanse and the congestion of the public gallery suggests at once a contrast between Parliament and Congress, and between British and American democracy. It is absolutely consonant with the spirit of the two countries that in the House of Commons the public gallery should be a rather mean contrivance and the reserved and privileged galleries broad and inviting, while in Congress the conditions are precisely reversed.

But if in its building and in its arrangements for visitors the House of Representatives is superior to the House of Commons, in interest, in dignity and as a human spectacle the former falls, I think, very considerably below the latter. One great difference between the two bodies is that in the American House the seats are arranged in curved concentric rows. It follows from this that the two parties do not face one another squarely, and that much of the effect of a good set-to between them is lost by reason of their oblique approach. Then, again, Representatives are provided with desks at which they write letters and read books and newspapers, with the result that the floor is quickly littered with *débris*. Moreover, the House of Representatives being a purely legislative assembly, the executive heads, the Cabinet Ministers, who, after all, are the men best known to the nation, do not sit in it. This in itself deprives a debate in the American House of much of the interest it might have for a casual visitor. He sees below him several hundreds of undistinguished gentlemen, with whose names he is barely even acquainted. Add to this that the really important business under the American system is transacted in Committees and that the House for the most part is a merely ratifying chamber; add again that the scurrying of the pages up and down the gangways, the rustling of papers, the banging of desk-lids and the thump of the Speaker's gavel make it the noisiest and most headache-y assembly in the world; add, finally, that its members faithfully reflect the average American's indifference to exter-

nals, and to the smaller points of decorum, and are constantly to be observed lounging between the Speaker and the orator who is addressing the House, or enjoying the luxury of a dry smoke, or indulging in the Great American Habit—and it is not surprising that the House of Commons should at certain points present a more attractive appearance.

At Westminster, the benches run lengthwise in parallel rows, the Government being to the right of the Speaker and the Opposition to his left. The Irish members, whatever party may be in office, always sit on the Opposition side of the House, below the gangway, to emphasize their independence of English parties. In the present Parliament, the arrangement is spectacularly fortunate, as the Opposition forces are so exiguous that, in the absence of the Irish Nationalists, they would barely fill one half of the space allotted to them. Even as it is, they have to yield a portion of their normal territory to accommodate the overflow from the Government benches. There are no desks in the House of Commons and no revolving armchairs. The members sit on green-leather benches with elbows all but touching — actually touching when an important debate is on and the House is full. They cannot, therefore, use the House as a writing-room, nor are they permitted the relaxation of newspapers. Except the clerks at the table, who are wigged and gowned, nobody who is not a member is allowed on the floor of the House. If a constituent wishes to see his representative, he sends in his card, which is handed to the nearest member that the messenger can get at, and then passed from hand to hand along the benches until it reaches its destination. There is, of course, a constant going to and fro of members in and out of the House, each with his little bow to the Speaker as he enters or leaves; but the fretful clamor of the House of Representatives is wholly lacking. You do not see at Westminster, as you often do at Washington, small disputatious knots of members carrying on an animated discussion among themselves with a complete indifference to the business of the House. On all such matters, the British Speaker is rigorously punctilious and the unanimous sentiment of the House of Commons backs him up in punishing the slightest breach of order. There seems to be a general consensus that it is only by a rigid observance of the small points of behavior that the intimacies of daily conflict in a pugnacious assembly

can be kept on a high plane and that the House can preserve its reputation as a businesslike Chamber. It is certainly one of the first impressions one receives at Westminster, that the House of Commons is more concentrated on its work than the House of Representatives and tolerates far fewer distractions.

Then, again, the British governmental system invests the proceedings of the House of Commons with an air of reality that an observer does not readily detect at Washington. Some at least of this is due, as I have hinted, to the fact that the two parties confront one another face to face across the centre gangway. Debate is far more effective when honorable members can shake their oratorical fists all but in the faces of their opponents, when the thunderbolts of eloquence can be launched direct, when the serried masses on either side seem to strain in the leash. The House of Commons, moreover, is not yet devitalized by committees. It really does transact business in its own person. Its debates are not mere make-believe. It is still competent to hammer out the details of a complicated Bill in brief pertinent speeches across the floor. Its divisions have a weight denied to the divisions in the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives makes legislation, but the House of Commons has the further privilege of unmaking Ministries. A hostile vote and out goes the Cabinet. This does not, of course, often happen, but it is always a possibility and a possibility that lends to the result of every division a genuine importance. A Government whose majority falls below its normal figure knows that, for some reason or other, it has offended a section of its supporters, and that it has received a warning to mend its ways. Thus, even if the House does not often actually turn out a Ministry by rejecting one of its leading measures, it is at all times able to influence the course of legislation and to bring home to Ministers a sense of the risks they run in persisting in an unpopular course.

But what most adds to the interest of the House of Commons is that the most prominent men in the country sit in it. One great secret of its efficiency as a legislature is that the Ministers who devise the laws are also the Ministers who enforce them. England has no belief in a system that separates the executive and the legislative functions; and, as a casual frequenter of the House of Commons, I trust she never will have. From the spectator's standpoint, it enormously enhances the interest of the

House to find therein the men who are household names throughout the country. If Mr. Roosevelt and all the members of his Cabinet sat either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives, if one could rely any day on hearing Mr. Root expounding foreign policy or Mr. Straus debating the economic questions of the day, Congress would be a far more enthralling body than one can pretend to find it at present. The other day when I visited the House of Commons, I heard a long speech from Mr. Balfour, and a briefer, impromptu reply from Mr. Asquith, while on the two front benches were to be seen all the leaders of English politics. That was an entertainment of a kind that the House of Representatives cannot afford. It is only made possible, of course, by overworking Ministers and by having the House meet late. All morning the members of the Cabinet are administering their departments. All afternoon and evening they are in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords answering questions, making speeches, taking a hand in the business of lawmaking. It is a strenuous, a too strenuous life, but the chance visitor, as well as the conduct of affairs, gains by it.

The House of Commons is still, I think, the best-dressed assembly in the world. Its members reach, on the whole, a very high standard of appearance. The House of Representatives looks at first glance like an assembly of dissenting ministers on low salaries, and its manners are scarcely those of the drawing-room. The House of Commons, drawn from higher social strata and composed very largely of men of wealth, is undeniably more presentable. One sees, indeed, costumes to-day that would have been held heretical ten years ago, and the sack suits and Derby hats of the Labor members would, I imagine, considerably astonish Mr. Gladstone could he revisit Westminster to-day. But the sartorial average, like the average of good looks and physique, is still remarkably high; and the influx of Labor men, so far from lowering the tone and manners of the House, has, in my judgment, improved them. Lord Morley was saying, only a few weeks ago, that in all the qualities that make for greatness in a popular legislature the present Parliament is the best he has ever sat in. Coming from him, that is a tribute worth having, and it is, I believe, well deserved. Advancing democracy, however, has not been without its marked effect on the House. It has, for instance, profoundly changed the style of Parliamentary eloquence.

I doubt whether an orator will ever again be tolerated at Westminster. The influence of the Labor members is altogether against the long harangues of the old days and altogether in favor of brief, matter-of-fact, unadorned, conversational discussion. The capacity for public speaking is scarcely an English gift, but most English M.P.'s are able to make plain businesslike statements; and the modern style of oratory is really better suited to the national genius than the style it has superseded.

Being at Westminster, I naturally paid a brief visit to the House of Lords, that imposing, languid, decorous Chamber, where noble lords may still cultivate the arts of eloquence at their leisure, and where, as a matter of fact, you will hear far better speeches than in the House of Commons. I also, and quite as naturally, took tea on the Terrace. The Terrace runs by the side of the Thames for the entire length of both Houses, and after the mephitic atmosphere of either Chamber affords a welcome and soothing change. On a bright summer afternoon, dotted with tea-tables and relieved by the dresses of admiring women, with the endless life of the Thames flowing peacefully before one, with cigars and cigarettes to humanize talk, the Terrace well deserves to rank among the pleasantest of London's attractions. Congress has nothing to show that one can at all compare with it; and its popularity is a visible proof of that intimacy between politics and society which is perhaps the greatest of the many differences that distinguish public life in England and in America.

BERLIN, *August, 1908.*

THE interval between the adjournment of the German Imperial and State Parliaments, in the spring or early summer, and their reassembling in the autumn is long and tedious, and the monotony is only in part relieved by the congresses and conferences, national and international, political, social, religious and other, which meet at irregular intervals for the promotion of their various objects. The Emperor William, after an extended cruise in Norwegian waters, annually takes up his residence at Wilhelmshöhe, and attends the Grand Manœuvres of the German army; while the Imperial Chancellor with equal regularity repairs to the Island of Norderney, in the North Sea, there to commune with Nature and with the leaders of recalcitrant

Bloc parties. The special problem which calls for discussion this year is the question of a reform of the Imperial Finances. No details of the Government's proposals have leaked out, but it is generally believed that the imposition of new taxes, to the sum of $100,000,000 a year, is in prospect. This thorny and delicate topic is likely to have interfered to a very serious extent with Prince von Bülow's well-merited repose. While the captains and the kings depart, the press and public opinion in the capital are left to their own devices, and they employ their respite from supervision as seems best to them. Upon this occasion, after a perfunctory attempt to grapple with the financial problem, some have fallen to discoursing upon high Imperial themes, while others have proceeded to indulge their taste for introspection and self-examination. *Mutatis mutandis,* the process seldom varies from year to year, but certain aspects of its desultory development repay observation.

Dissolving views of this kind are haphazard in their origin, and examples may therefore be selected at random without regard to their relevance or connection.

The Navy League is in the throes of a critical domestic conflict, with the result that its enterprise and initiative are for the moment paralyzed. But the fervent apostles of German world-dominion have had the irksomeness of enforced inactivity, to some extent, mitigated by Count Zeppelin's achievements in the sphere of aërial navigation, and in a less degree by the alleged success of a German car in the New York to Paris automobile race which claims to have thrown a girdle round the earth in fewer months than any of its competitors. This dual triumph has given the requisite fillip to the unemployed agitators, who have founded an "Aërial" Navy League for the purpose of impressing upon the German people the absolute necessity of Germany's making sure of the "command of the air." The example of this new society will no doubt be followed by the foundation of other Jules Vernian organizations, so that the retired generals and other promoters of this "national" pandemonium will have their hands pretty full. The German is a gregarious animal, as Americans who contemplate the multifarious German "*Turn-*," "*Gesang-*" and "*Schützen-Verein*" in the United States have cause to know. If this activity can be flavored with a spice of politics, so much the more is it to the German taste.

At home in Europe the Polish *Sokols,* for example, are regarded by all good Prussians as hotbeds of treason and of everything that is subversive of established order, while America and other countries are expected to exhibit an intelligent sympathy with the professed aims of the confederated Germans among them. But this by the way. In Germany these associations have no fighting chance unless they can secure official patronage, and the measure of prosperity which they enjoy furnishes a by-no-means untrustworthy guide to the workings of the official mind.

The motives which inspire these movements are not always clear, although they are no doubt entirely laudable from the German point of view, but the methods by which they are promoted are in every sense conspicuous. A few concrete instances will illustrate this characteristic. In a beer-garden at Leipzig, a few weeks ago, Professor Lamprecht, the author of a work entitled "What is History?" addressed a crowd of 10,000 workmen, and told them that Germany's destiny and honor were bound up with the Macedonian and Morocco questions. With regard to Morocco, it is sufficient to say that the German Government has an uncomfortable suspicion that too forcible an appeal may perhaps have been made to German "national" sentiment in this much-vexed question, and that German prestige has become involved more deeply than is convenient. Far from being warned by the lessons of the anti-British campaign at the time of the South-African War, the authorities have allowed popular passions and misconceptions to grow until now a stage has been reached at which blind leaders of the blind, like the author of "What is History?" can command the plaudits of the multitude by asserting that the destiny of the German Empire is at stake in North Africa. Fortunately, recent developments in Turkey have rendered it for the moment impossible to test the theory that German honor is involved in the appointment of *gardes champêtres* or in the organization of flying columns to deal with the rival bands in Macedonia. Other instances of this dangerous spirit could be indefinitely multiplied, and its manifestations are all the more ominous because of the plausibility of the arguments by which it is fostered.

To take another and more insidious example. A German translation has recently appeared of a book by Dr. Archibald Cary Coolidge, Professor of History at Harvard University, on

"The United States as a World-Power." The book has received due attention from the German press, which is impressed with the judicial spirit in which this study of American political development has been composed. In its review of the work, however, the chief organ of the Prussian Conservatives and Agrarians, the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*," takes exception to Professor Coolidge's account of the vicissitudes of the relations between Germany and the United States in recent years. While admitting that American mistrust of Germany ever since Admiral Diederichs's squadron played so questionable a rôle in Manila Bay has not been entirely overcome by demonstrative Prussian royal visits and gifts of statues, the Berlin Conservative journal contends that the residue of suspicion in the United States with regard to Germany is based upon a superficial misapprehension as to her aims and objects. Professor Coolidge argues that the pressure of Germany's rapidly growing population must inevitably compel her to expand beyond the limits of her European boundaries, and in the southern half of the American continent alone can he discover a suitable field of sufficient extent to absorb the surplus population of the German Empire. The author recalls the fact that the three southern provinces of Brazil already contain nearly half a million Germans who have hitherto steadfastly maintained their national characteristics, and he suggests that, if the German Government should identify itself with the aspirations of the Pan-Germans, the United States might some day be compelled to appeal to the Monroe Doctrine against an act of German intervention in South America. The Berlin journal endeavors to refute this proposition by means of the usual arguments, and declares that, if Brazil is the only possible cause of conflict between Germany and the United States, the likelihood of a war between the two Powers is not only remote, but altogether out of the question.

In these controversial days, short memories are apt to prove inconvenient to their owners. Barely six weeks before this review appeared in the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" the same journal published a pretentious article in which it endeavored to show the importance of sea-power in history, and incidentally to trace the development of Germany from an agglomeration of petty Continental States to a World-Power. The process by which Germany is to be transformed into a World-Empire is thus described:

"We have learned to understand that the position of our Empire and our Nation in the future will not depend merely upon whether we preserve intact our boundaries in Europe, but also upon the question as to how many millions in every part of the globe will some day speak, think and feel as Germans. In order to achieve this consummation, it is necessary that we should keep our emigrants German in their speech, their mode of thought and their national sentiment, and this result can only be attained upon soil over which flies the German flag."

Professor Coolidge himself could scarcely have stated his initial premises more concisely and explicitly. If he considers that South America is the only region which can satisfy the required conditions he is entitled to his opinion, and, in the face of its own statements, the Berlin journal has no excuse for attacking a legitimate conclusion.

If the denial that South America is the objective is to be accepted, it is reasonable to inquire what other regions of the globe the Berlin journal considers suitable for the plantation of the surplus millions of the German Empire, and at whose expense the German flag is to be hoisted for their protection. There remain only the over-sea dominions and dependencies of Great Britain and France, against neither of which Germany, as the world has so often been told, harbors any ulterior designs. China seems out of the question, and in any case other Powers have prior claims in the Far East; while any hopes which Germany may have entertained of promoting wholesale emigration from the Fatherland to Asia Minor and the Nearer East, have for the moment been blighted by the unexpected self-assertion of the Turkish people which has suddenly manifested a national spirit of its own. Those who profess to tell the truth about German expansion invariably reiterate that nobody in Germany except those wicked and uninfluential Pan-Germans contemplates any of these hare-brained schemes. But the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" is not a Pan-German organ. On the contrary, it condemns the hyper-Teutons, presumably because their agitation is calculated to put other people on their guard. This Berlin journal is the organ of the Prussian *Junkers,* who are the pillars of Church and State, and its readers are to be found in court and camp and grove. When, therefore, a journal which is not a mere hole-and-corner sheet sets up a proposition of this kind as a matter of course, it is scarcely wonderful that mistrust of German professions should be wide-spread and profound. And yet Germany

herself, with her vast tracts of woods and forests, and her extensive *latifundia,* is by no means overpopulated, quite apart from her still undeveloped colonies, which are perfectly capable of absorbing the surplus population of the Empire for many years. Great Britain first developed her colonies before she developed her navy to its present pitch of power. In the case of Germany, the process seems likely to be reversed.

Anxiety to be something before having done something is not entirely a latter-day feature of German life and character. In one of his letters fifty years ago Bismarck wrote:

> "We Germans are a vain people, and it is painful for us if we have not something to brag about; we forgive a great deal to a Government which invests us with importance in the eyes of other countries, and if we can only achieve this we can put up with a great deal, even if it touches our pockets."

The inspiring achievements of the great wars of last century, and the unparalleled growth of national industry and commerce, have imbued the German people with a profound sense of the importance of their country. This feeling is legitimate and just. But it is barely a generation ago since this wonderful transformation set in, and the Germans have yet to prove that they know how to administer the trust which has been placed in their hands, to the best advantage not only of themselves, but of mankind. There is still a large and influential section in Germany which rattles the sabre upon the slightest occasion, and intimates that "Germany is ready, let them all come!" The excuse for this conduct is partly to be found in the peculiar conditions of the European situation, and this circumstance must be taken into proper account. Nevertheless, the Germans claim to have kept the peace, sometimes under considerable provocation, for nearly forty years. But this argument is entirely beside the mark, since Germany has never been so strong as she is to-day, and with the continued growth of the German navy the temptation to put any given issue to the test of the sword must immeasurably increase.

This prospect becomes more disquieting in view of the fact that prosperity is beginning to produce moral and social evils which have hitherto been unknown in Germany. Unless the country makes a determined effort to steady itself, this deterioration of the moral fibre of the nation may be fraught with disastrous results. The scandals of the last two or three years

have revealed an abyss of depravity, the existence of which even the most experienced German observers had never suspected. Not only Germans, but also German-Americans, have admitted the growth of these corrupting influences. The rapid accumulation of wealth has fostered a spirit of restlessness, materialism and Chauvinism. The moral tone of the German metropolis has long been a source of anxiety to those who were acquainted with the facts, and the disclosures of the last year or two have amazed and disgusted the whole world. Pornography has been raised to the level of a fine art, while much of what is accounted art is unworthy of the name. The natural concomitant of these manifestations is the "terror from below," and the Socialism of the masses finds a powerful ally in the utter want of religious feeling which pervades so large a proportion of all classes.

This, of course, is only one side of the picture, but it is by no means exaggerated, and the other side is so well known that it seems desirable that the perspective should from time to time be readjusted. Criticism of these developments is too often apt to be brushed aside by the average German as "Anglo-Saxon cant," but the facts speak for themselves. In many quarters it has been suggested that the German body politic is in a condition in which a little judicious blood-letting would be beneficial, and that a "national" war is what the German people needs in order to be purged of its distempers. The remedy is mediæval, and even if it were effectual it is clear that Germany still has a very long way to go before she can fulfil the aspirations which are entertained on her behalf of becoming the salt of the earth and the salvation of the world. These reflections and some others have made the summer one of discontent.

WASHINGTON, *August, 1908.*

A PRESIDENTIAL campaign seldom, if ever, begins to get under full headway before September, and this year there has been, as yet, rather less political activity than usual. Meanwhile, thoughtful persons have had an opportunity of comparing the platforms of the two principal parties, and of studying them in the light of the speeches of acceptance delivered by the candidates for the Presidency. As yet, the issues are not sharply defined, though, of course, the differences between the Republican and the Democratic programmes will be emphasized as the cam-

paign proceeds. For the moment, it looks as if the outcome of the contest might be affected to a considerable extent in certain States by personal predilection for one or the other nominee.

A striking feature of Mr. Taft's speech of acceptance was the large amount of space devoted to a fervid eulogy of President Roosevelt, and to an undiscriminating approval of his aims and methods. We do not say that the pronouncement of such a panegyric is unique in American political history: like expressions of enthusiastic admiration and loyalty were uttered by the immediate successors of Washington, of Jefferson and of Jackson. The analogy, indeed, between Van Buren's position in the campaign of 1836 and that now occupied by Taft is perfect. In each case the nominee knew that he owed his nomination exclusively to the favor of the President then in office, and each considered it a duty to proclaim the obligation. If, indeed, Mr. Taft had said nothing about the present Chief Magistrate, he could hardly have counted on the enthusiastic support of the Roosevelt wing of the Republican party. Nothing is more certain, however, than that Mr. Taft will obtain the votes of tens of thousands of citizens who, had they been compelled to choose between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan, would probably have refrained from going to the ballot-box. If what may be termed the conservative section of the Republican party, the section that desires to put the brakes on the prosecution of the Roosevelt policies, has decided to do all it can for Mr. Taft, this is because confidence is placed in his sober and equable temperament, as this has been exemplified in his judicial and administrative record. Nobody questions Mr. Taft's sincerity in applauding and adopting Mr. Roosevelt's ideas, but everybody believes that the former would find it constitutionally impossible to reproduce the latter's headlong methods. Nobody who knows him personally, or who has followed carefully his public career, believes Mr. Taft capable of using the tremendous influence possessed by a Chief Magistrate to glut spite against individuals or to endanger the present and future status of a great national industry. The impression is continually gaining ground that moderation, deliberation, an open mind and an equitable spirit would characterize the words and acts of a Taft administration. That, however, is a deduction drawn almost exclusively from the emotional, intellectual and moral quality of the nominee.

Mr. Bryan, in his speech of acceptance, and in the many public declarations that have preceded or followed it, has endeavored to adjust himself to the difficulties inseparable from the position, which he began by taking when he heartily praised and endorsed the views propounded and the efforts made by President Roosevelt during the latter's second term of office. From this point of view, the present contest differs from almost every one that has preceded it. As a rule, denunciation of the course pursued by the party in power and by its official head forms the staple of the campaign material relied upon by the Opposition. Under existing circumstances, on the contrary, the utmost that Mr. Bryan can promise is that he will go forward in the path opened by Mr. Roosevelt, and that he will go further in it than would his rival, Mr. Taft. The obvious answer is that, inasmuch as Republican preponderance in the Senate is assured for many years to come, Mr. Bryan would find himself unable to accomplish anything of importance during a Democratic administration, whereas Mr. Taft, if elected, would be in a much more favorable position for securing legislation.

We would not be understood to mean that there is no material difference between the Republican and Democratic programmes, as these have been interpreted and supplemented by Mr. Bryan. Although both parties are committed to a revision of the tariff, nobody doubts that the Democracy, if it had the power, would go further in the direction of transforming a high protective tariff into a tariff for revenue than would the party now in office. It will prove difficult, however, to get the voters excited over this purely academic truth, for the reason that everybody knows that, for at least four years to come, no essentially Democratic revision of the tariff would have the slightest chance of obtaining the sanction of the Federal Senate. The same thing may be said of the proposed prolongation of the Rooseveltian campaign against trusts and railway corporations. What Mr. Taft thinks about this matter is a question of great public interest, but Mr. Bryan's opinions on the subject are, for all practical purposes, negligible, since he could never carry out his ideas in the teeth of a hostile majority in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature.

If, now, we come to the third issue, namely, the degree in which the equity powers of Federal courts should be restricted

in the matter of injunctions, we must recognize that the Democratic platform favors a more aggressive policy than that proposed by the Republican National Convention, and that it is mainly, if not solely, on that ground that Mr. Gompers urges not only the members of the American Federation of Labor, but union workmen in general, to support Mr. Bryan. The indications are, however, that next November, as in other Presidential years, organized labor will not evince political solidarity, but that each trade-unionist will vote in accordance with his habitual prepossessions in favor of the Republican or of the Democratic party. Outside of the ranks of organized labor, very few persons want to curtail the equity powers of Federal courts, and still fewer believe that a statute to that effect, even if it could pass the Senate, would be pronounced constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

So much for the three capital issues. As for Mr. Bryan's demand that all deposits in national banks shall receive a collective guarantee, it is incredible that this should command popular approval after thorough discussion shall have brought out the inevitable consequences. The existence of such a guarantee could not fail to encourage speculation and embezzlement at the expense of honest, economical and sagacious management, and the ultimate outcome would be, probably, the shipwreck of the national bank system.

The shrewdest thing yet said by Mr. Bryan in the hope of allaying prejudice and misgiving is his recent declaration that a party programme must be construed with reference to what it omits as well as to what it enjoins, and that it is the duty of a nominee, if elected, to keep studiously in view the negative, as well as the positive, features of the platform on which he has consented to stand. This means, if it means anything, that Mr. Bryan, if successful at the ballot-box, will deem himself unauthorized to use his influence on behalf of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, or for the promotion of the Federal ownership of railways, or for the introduction of the Referendum and Initiative in our Federal scheme of government. Mr. Bryan virtually admits that he is estopped from advocating any of these innovations, for the reason that none of them was approved by the Democratic National Convention at Denver.

How is the campaign likely to be affected by the fact that the

Hearst Independent Party has placed a Presidential ticket in the field? It is generally conceded that, until recently, when the opposition to liquor-selling acquired such momentum in the Southern States, the Prohibitionists have been drawn, for the most part, from the Republican ranks, while it has seemed almost equally incontrovertible that most of the Socialists are seceders from the Democratic camp. The composition of the Hearst party is less accurately known; but, if we may judge by the returns of the last gubernatorial election in Massachusetts, most of Mr. Hearst's followers are ex-Democrats. There is, at all events, an agreement of opinion that the Hearst ticket will do much more harm to Mr. Bryan than to Mr. Taft. The States in which the Hearst movement may prove a considerable factor are, of course, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois and California.

It is gratifying to see both of the principal parties vying with each other this year in the effort to secure purity of elections. It is well known that the State of New York compels the filing of campaign receipts and expenditures, and the Republicans have announced that they shall regard the New York law as applicable to the Presidential contest throughout the country. The Democratic platform itself requires publicity in the matter of campaign contributions, and Mr. Bryan has since announced that no money would be received by his campaign managers from corporations. Mr. Bryan has said that no more than ten thousand dollars would be accepted from any single person on the Democratic side. Both parties promise a full accounting for receipts and the uses made of them, the only difference being that the Democrats agree to submit this before election and the Republicans afterwards. It seems to be taken for granted by well-informed persons that the funds available for disbursements by campaign committees will be comparatively small this year, though, on the Republican side, they will, doubtless, be adequate for legitimate expenditures.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

A Decalogue for Women?

FEW women, we suspect, appreciate the magnitude of the sacrifice they would be required to make to be placed upon a plane of absolute equality with men. They cannot hope to acquire equal rights and privileges without assuming simultaneously equal obligations under religious as well as under secular law. To those who are unacquainted with the inestimable boon which they now possess in being exempt from the prohibitions imposed by the Decalogue upon men in respect of certain specified acts, the acceptance of full responsibility signifies little, if any, addition to the burdens now borne. Wiser ones doubtless appreciate the extent of the immunity which they now enjoy, and they may well hesitate for a long time to forsake, for mere temporary advantages, a position likely to prove so serviceable in the hereafter. Whether feminine opposition to the attempt to establish equal rights on earth is based, in part, upon intelligent realization of the accompanying necessity of waiving this precious privilege, we cannot say; but it is clear that no woman should be permitted, through ignorance or misapprehension, to adopt a course which might tend to her undying regret in the world to come.

The fact, of course, is that women are not only not bound by, but are freed, at least by inference, from any obligation to observe the requirements of our fundamental religious law. The Ten Commandments were written for men and apply to men exclusively, except in so far as indirectly, through the agency of men, certain minor duties are imposed upon members of their households, and even here the full responsibility devolves upon the head of the tribe or family.

The Fourth Commandment, providing for a proper yet practicable observance of the Sabbath, directs that "in it thou shalt

not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates." All members of the household are comprised within the prohibition except one. "Nor thy wife" does not appear, and some have been led to suppose that the significant omission means that "thou" includes both husband and wife. The true explanation is quite different, as we immediately perceive upon comparing this with the Tenth Commandment. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's."

Clearly here "thou" does not include the wife with the husband; the injunction is addressed explicitly and exclusively to the head of the household, who is very properly forbidden to covet any of his neighbor's properties, some of which are specified in the order of their value. Two omissions from this Commandment as contrasted with the Fourth possess peculiar significance. The head of the family must not permit his son or daughter to work on the Sabbath, but he is not forbidden to covet the children of his neighbor. The reason for this differentiation is plain. Any except necessary toil on the seventh day would be unseemly in the one case, and, in the other, there was no need to forbid the coveting of the privilege of supporting non-producing young persons. Only the wives and servants and oxen and asses possessed actual value in common with inanimate possessions.

The reason for the omission of "thy wife" from the Fourth Commandment now becomes manifest. Nature required that sustenance should be supplied to the human body even on the seventh day, and it had, of course, to be prepared and served by some person. The injunction against work being performed by any member of the household except the wife leaves no room for doubt as to who that person was. Moreover, the custom of the Jews at that period and to a much later day confirms the theory that on this day even the servants were to remain idle, "that they," in the amplified Deuteronomy version, "may rest as thou" —*i. e.*, the head of the house—and that the wives should perform the necessary services.

The careful phrasing in both forms of the Fourth and Tenth Commandments definitely disposes of any idea that the laws were

meant to apply equally to husband and wife, and that "thou" comprises both. If such had been the intent, clearly "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife" would have read, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's consort," or some like comprehensive term. Besides, upon the fallacious assumption noted, the deliberate failure to forbid the coveting of husbands implies positive permission to do so, thus creating a distinction which would be most unfair. Further proof of the fact that "thou" refers exclusively to the head of the family is hardly required. It follows necessarily that none of the other Commandments, in which no distinction in respect to sex appears, such as "Thou shalt not steal," applies to women, since none was addressed to them but all were directed exclusively to the men, who were held, and are of course to-day, strictly speaking, accountable under our fundamental religious law for the earthly conduct and heavenly prospects of their wives. The fact that men have imposed restrictions upon women during the ages of their control since the Decalogue was promulgated is wholly immaterial, and need be considered only in a diplomatic, not at all in a moral, sense.

Of the two versions of the Decalogue, that in Exodus is regarded by the majority of scholars as the older, although even in this, as well as in the version presented in Deuteronomy, amplifications have been introduced which did not exist in the original form, and traces of one yet older appear in the thirty-fifth chapter of Exodus. Both Philo and Maimonides, in order to remove all anthropomorphic conceptions, insist that the Ten Words were not spoken by God's voice, but by an impersonal voice created especially for the enunciation; and both the Jews and Karaites hold that the writing on the tables was likewise a "creation," although, of course, the direct divine origin of both the spoken and written words is unquestioned. Nor is there any doubt that Moses was the intermediary and expositor, but there is only very general ground for the belief that his many amplifications were fully inspired. It is well, therefore, in trying to reach the true meaning of expressions pertaining to the point in issue, to consider the environment and attendant circumstances which may have influenced the prophet's mind.

What, then, was the personal attitude of Moses toward women? That he possessed peculiar powers of attraction for them there

can be little doubt. It was because he was so beautiful as a babe that Amram and Jochebed determined, at no small risk to themselves, to preserve his life, and that the gentle heart of Thermutis went out to him. "God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful," writes Josephus; "and as for his beauty, there was nobody so impolite as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently that those that met him as he was carried along the road were obliged to turn upon seeing the child, that they left what they were about and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him."

This pretty description we may well consider to be the product of a vivid imagination, but Josephus's detailed account of how Moses, while a young man, utilized his personal attractiveness to great advantage cannot be ignored, since it is confirmed by the more painstaking Irenæus. According to this tale, while at the head of an Egyptian army besieging the Ethiopian city of Saba, Moses was seen by Tharbis, the daughter of the king, who forthwith became enamoured of him, and sent a message to him saying that she would procure the delivering up of the city if he would take an oath to marry her. Although dusky, Tharbis was a Princess and good to look upon, and the youthful Moses accepted the proposition. Thereupon his army was admitted through the wall and took the city, and the Princess dropped her title to become plain Mrs. Moses. What became of her subsequently nobody knows. The record merely states that Moses led his victorious army back to Egypt, and remained there until Pharaoh threatened to kill him. Then, as all will recall, he ran away and drew water from a wayside well for the seven daughters of Reuel, who was so grateful that he gave him his daughter Zipporah in marriage.

One would suspect that Moses was obliged to accept whichever of the seven was offered to him, because it seems incredible that a young man of his discernment would not have selected one more amiable. Zipporah, despite the fact that her name signifies "a bird," must have been a very peevish young lady. It is quite possible, too, that, being a daughter of a high priest, she felt

that her social position was better than that of her husband. In any case, she behaved so badly and scolded so loudly that she disturbed the patrons of the inn at which they were tarrying while on their way to Egypt, and Moses, finding that he could abide her no longer, packed her and her children upon the back of an ass and sent them home to her father. The significant point in this incident, of course, is that so meek a man would not have treated a high-born, high-spirited lady in such a manner, even under so severe provocation, if he had not shared the common opinion of his day which classed married women with slaves and beasts of burden, as live personal properties. Years afterward, when her father, the high priest, brought Zipporah to her husband, then become a great man, Moses received her kindly, but no further word of either her or her sons appears in the record.

Many careless writers refer to Zipporah as an Ethiopian, because Miriam and Aaron complained of Moses for having brought disgrace upon their family by marrying a member of that dusky tribe; but there is no real basis for such a belief. Reuel was a noble as well as a high priest, and originated the plan of organization of the tribes adopted by Moses, thus indicating the possession of a stronger intellectuality than was common among the Cushites. Josephus, as we have seen, accounts for the cause of the accusation in a romantic but probably fanciful manner. Many years elapsed after the marriage with Zipporah and the reported marriage with Tharbis before Miriam complained, and it is most unlikely that the proud and sharp-tongued prophetess would have waited so long. We are driven, then, to the learned Doctor Fausset's conclusion that the Ethiopian referred to was a lady whom Moses espoused after the death or departure of Zipporah. We must not assume, however, that the Almighty indicated His approval of miscegenation by rebuking Aaron and Miriam for murmuring over their brother's choice of a helpmeet, because the words "ethiopian" and "cushite" were often used as synonymous with "beautiful," and it is altogether probable that the jealous prophetess cried out in resentment at the impairment of her own influence over Moses. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonably certain that the great lawgiver's domestic life was praiseworthy in view of the fact that his first wife proved to be a shrew, and that in expounding the laws he was influenced

by no consideration that could conflict in any way with the accepted doctrine of the time that man is and ought to be the head of a tribe or family and personally responsible for the acts of all members thereof.

The real question, as we stated it at the beginning, is whether the waiving of exemption from the prohibitions prescribed for men by the religious law can be counterbalanced by purely mundane gain such as would be derived from universal suffrage. Clearly that is a point which should be determined by women themselves. If they should see fit to waive their obvious prerogative for the common good, the decision would redound greatly to their credit, but it is one which, frankly, we, if in their place, should make only after most careful consideration. But we feel satisfied that men now possessing authority will make no further marked concessions in respect to the governing power unless and until women voluntarily place themselves under equal moral limitations. Whether, in the event of their deciding to do so, an attempt should be made to revise the Commandments to conform to modern conditions, or to compose a special Decalogue for Women, is a question for the theologians, and one which, at the moment, we do not feel called upon to discuss.

BELLE ISLE, THE GEM OF ALL THE CITY PARKS ON THIS CONTINENT.

DETROIT.

SITUATED in a very beautiful location on the Detroit River, the estuary connecting the upper and the lower Great Lakes, Detroit offers unequalled attractions, both for the traveller and the home-seeker. It has well earned the title—"The City of Homes."

During the past two decades Detroit has become noted for the rapid growth of its population and of its commercial and industrial interests. The city has shown the greatest growth in population since 1880, when the total number of its inhabitants was given as 116,340 by the United States census. This number had increased to 205,876 by 1890, and to 285,704 by 1900. Detroit's area, at

that time, was 29 square miles. During the past few years large districts have been annexed on the east and on the west sides of the city, bringing the area up to 41.44 square miles at the present time. These annexations added about 22,000 to the population. The city's rapid advancement, industrially and commercially, since 1900 has brought thousands upon thousands of breadwinners to Detroit, and a conservative estimate places the city's population now at 412,000. The Detroit water-board's estimate of the city's population, in July, 1908, based on the number of families supplied with water, places the number of inhabitants at 424,898.

These figures show Detroit to have had a more rapid rate of increase during the last decade or two than any other city of its relative rank in this country.

The superb river which laps the city's southern boundary for the fourteen miles of its extent has in its pure depths all of the beautiful coloring of the waters of the upper Great Lakes. There is no variation in the even, steady flow of its waters, and Detroit never suffers from an overflow such as works awful havoc often in many river-fronted cities.

Belle Isle, the gem of all of the city parks on this continent, lies opposite the upper portion of the city, and encircled by the cooling, health-giving waters of the river nearly half a mile in width on either side. It is 700 acres in extent. The upper half is covered with a magnificent growth of native forest, and the lower portion is one great playground for the people of Detroit. Here young and old can find diversions according to their liking. A great field is set aside for athletic sports; there are swings and merry-go-rounds for the children, and the winding canals give a great opportunity for the thousands of canoeists, who keep their frail craft on the island, to enjoy this sport. The Zoo contains many fine specimens of animals and birds. The aquarium ranks next in size to that at the Battery in New York, and excels it in beauty. The horticultural building and the casino are beautiful types of architecture. The broad avenues and winding drives through the island give exceptional opportunities for driving and the pleasures of motoring.

Palmer Park, next in size, has an area of 140 acres. The city has twenty-three parks in all, with a total acreage of 1,181 acres.

Detroit has, by far, the finest fleet of excursion steamers on the Great Lakes. These give unequalled opportunities for a day's outing on the water. The great steamboat lines, reaching in their trade relations up and down the lakes, have been a great factor in the city's commercial development.

Detroit's fine interurban electric railways provide great advantages for close commercial relations with its neighboring cities and towns. Some of the lines run through sections of the country dotted with beautiful little lakes, upon the shores of which many residents of the city have their summer homes.

Such attractions as these also make Detroit an ideal point for the holding of conventions.

Woodward Avenue, Detroit's main residential thoroughfare, has been called the "Avenue of Churches." The name will be still more true when three magnificent structures along it, now under construction, are completed. Forty denominations and sects are represented in the religious life of the city, while the churches and missions in Detroit number 234. The close fellowship existing among the different bodies is shown by the Interdenominational Thanksgiving services, which have been held each fall for a number of years in the Detroit Opera House, in which, practically, all creeds and denominations have been represented on the stage by those taking part in the services.

Detroit's schools rank high in the standard of the teachers and in the architecture and equipment of the buildings. The enrollment in the public schools at the close of the school year in June, 1907, was 49,841. The enrollment in the parochial schools was about 20,000 pupils.

The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are housed in handsome and fully equipped buildings.

It is through the wide diversity of its manufacturing interests that Detroit possesses its industrial stability and commercial strength. It is the largest automobile manufacturing centre in the world. It holds the world's records for the largest stove factory, the largest seed-house, the largest manufactory of non-proprietary medicines, the largest paint and varnish factories, the largest soda and salt industries, and the largest adding-machine factory. It also has very large car-building, malleable iron, and copper and brass products plants.

Detroit has been one of the leading ship-building ports on the Great Lakes for many years. The

following tables show the commanding position it attained in this line in 1905, and which it has since held:

Vessels built in the different yards during 1905:

Detroit	14	134,000 tons
Lorain	6	56,000 "
West Bay City	4	37,500 "

Vessels built in different yards during 1906:

Detroit	13	108,000 tons
Lorain	8	75,000 "
Chicago and South Chicago	5	54,500 "
Bay City and West Bay City	5	50,500 "
West Superior	4	42,000 "
Cleveland	5	35,500 "

Vessels built in different yards during 1907:

Detroit	17	135,500 tons
Cleveland and Lorain	13	110,500 "
Chicago and South Chicago	5	44,000 "
West Superior	4	40,000 "

Detroit's manufacturing industries showed a growth from 1,363 in number and invested capital of $91,228,214 in 1904, to 1,504 in number and $112,588,539 in aggregated capital in 1907. The value of the output from these industries in 1904 was $128,761,658, and, for 1907, $163,467,374.

There has been a decided increase in downtown real-estate values during the past few years, while the very large number of homes erected, running in value from $1,500 to $5,000, has greatly stimulated the sale of lots in the outlying sections of the city. The number of deeds recorded during each of the past seven years shows a rapidly increasing ascent from 10,223 in 1901 to 15,908 in 1907.

Detroit's building record for the past few years has been a phenomenal one. The total number of building permits issued by the fire-marshal's office during 1906 aggregated $13,275,250 in value, and, during 1907, $14,226,300. The city's rapid recovery from the depression of last winter is indicated in the swiftly ascending scale in the value of the building permits issued during the first six months of the year. January's total was but $326,750; May's record was $1,096,450; while those issued during June aggregated $1,338,150 in value.

Detroit's banking institutions are noted for their stability and their broad yet conservative policies. The record of their growth during the past seven years is one of marked prosperity. It is but another index of the city's remarkable growth. The capital and surplus of the Detroit banks in 1900 stood at $9,815,100. By the close of 1907 they had increased to $17,393,000. The deposits increased from a total of $75,691,898 in 1900, to $117,674,983 in 1907. The clearings of the Detroit banks showed the remarkable increase from $316,663,049 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1900, to $711,610,393 for the calendar year of 1907.

The Detroit Board of Commerce, a citizens' organization devoted to the development of the city's commercial and industrial interests and the promotion of civic welfare, is a strong power in the community. It covers a wide scope in its activities. Detroit's advantages as a manufacturing centre, because of satisfactory labor conditions, healthful location, and large transportation facilities, are made widely known by the board. Its various committees keep close supervision over the different details of municipal affairs, and develop plans for the beautification and improvement of the city. It seeks to make true in every way its slogan that "IN DETROIT—Life is Worth Living." The Detroit Board of Commerce is known as one of the strongest commercial organizations in the country.

Commensurate with the splendid growth of Detroit has been the expansion of its wholesale trade, until it has become recognized that this city is one of the best places in which to buy goods there is in the country. This is largely the result of the work of the Wholesalers' Association of Detroit.

Being composed, as it is, of the brightest and best minds in the mercantile world, it is, as it were, a concentration of energy and ability that is proving irresistible.

Through the association, organized upon broad lines, the advantages of Detroit as a wholesale market have been developed until it stands second to none in the Middle West. The objects of the organization are wholly beneficial alike to the retailer and the wholesaler. It stands not for restriction, but for the expansion of trade. By its efforts, transportation facilities have been improved and increased, until quick delivery at reasonable rates is assured to all who deal here. With more than fifty different lines in its membership, harmonious relations exist, and all are working for Detroit, first, last, and always. It is the slogan of as enterprising a set of men as exists in the country—men who are public-spirited enough to give of their time and effort, not to build up their individual business alone, but to build for all, realizing that in thus doing they are building for themselves as well.

Transportation facilities at Detroit are unexcelled, both by lake and rail.

Terminal facilities at Detroit are such that prompt service is now the rule rather than the exception. The railroads are co-operating with the shipper in this respect, thus making Detroit one of the best points at which to do business. Arterial lines of railroads radiate from the city in all directions, as do spokes from the hub of a wheel. It is on the direct line of the traffic of the great trunk-lines east and west and north and south, and its geographical position makes it easy of access to buyers.

The importance of Detroit as a wholesale centre is recognized by the steamship lines as well as the railroads. Excellent service is given by the lake lines, and there is not a day that a steamer does not leave Detroit for all prominent ports on the Great Lakes.

In 1906 there was on an average of $50,000,000 worth of business handled by the wholesale houses of this city. More than $15,000,000 was added to this before the dawn of 1908, and it is probable that when the present year goes down into history the wholesale trade will cross the $75,000,000 mark.

Detroit's hotel accommodations have recently been increased by the erection of a fine structure costing over $1,000,000, which is perfect in its modern equipment. There are also six other hotels equipped for high-class patronage. These hostelries are filled during the summer with a large percentage of visitors from the South and West, who come to Detroit to enjoy its delightful climate and many summer recreation features.

Detroit has one of the finest vaudeville theatres in the country, and many other features in the amusement line.

Those who make the city the place of their habitation, those who have seen its wide avenues, lined with beautiful trees, and enjoyed even a day's sojourn within its gates, when asked to express their choice of a city as a place of abode, give but the one answer—Detroit.

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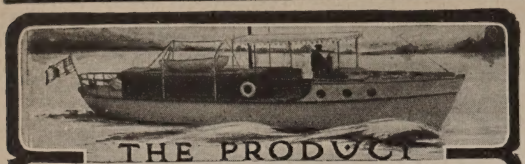

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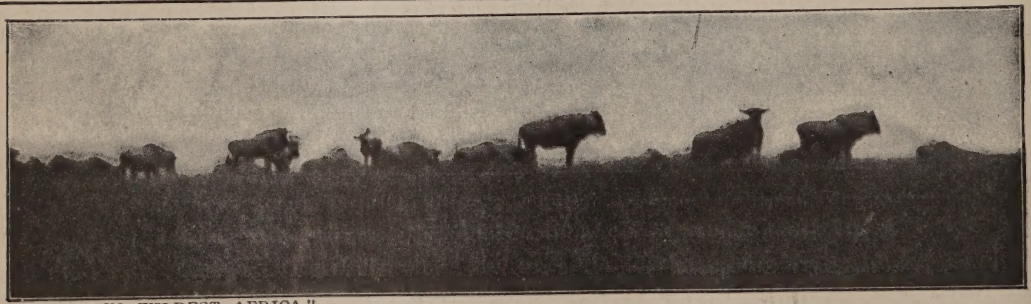

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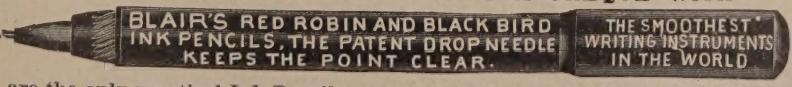
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Who lived on rice, gruel and sago
But to really be frank
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That kept him immune from lumbago.

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B. L. Putnam Weale

is the pseudonym over which one of the best known and most influential foreign residents of Peking has published a number of illuminative works on Asiatic subjects. On his mother's side he is a descendant of General Israel Putnam. Among the volumes which bear his name are: "The Coming Struggle in the Far East," "Manchu and Muscovite," "The Reshaping of the Far East," "The Truce in the Far East" and "Indiscreet Letters from Peking."

Hannis Taylor,

who is recognized throughout the world as one of the most eminent living authorities on constitutional history and constitutional law, was born in New Berne, North Carolina, in 1851. Having graduated at the University of his native State, he was admitted to the bar, and achieved great distinction in the practice of his profession. He was appointed Minister to Spain by President Cleveland in 1893. The wide literary fame gained for Mr. Taylor by his great work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" was materially enhanced by his treatise on "International Public Law," which has been declared by a high authority to be "the most exhaustive work of its kind issued in this country since Dana's Wheaton." In recognition of the service which he had rendered to literature and learning by the publication of these works, the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh simultaneously conferred upon Dr. Taylor the honorary degree of LL.D. He recently published a third treatise, of a like scholarly and comprehensive character, on the "Jurisdiction and Procedure of the United States Supreme Court," upon which the Justices of that court have put the imprimatur of their high approval and commendation. Mr. Taylor represented the United States before the Alaskan Boundary Commission. A new work from Dr. Taylor's pen, entitled "The Science of Jurisprudence," has just been announced as for early publication—a systematic, comparative study of Roman and English law.

Brander Matthews

is one of the best known of living American authors. He was born in New Orleans in 1852, and studied at Columbia College, where he graduated in 1871. He was admitted to

the New York bar, but he turned from law to literature, to which, for many years, he has devoted an indefatigable and versatile pen. In 1892, he was appointed Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University.

Edward L. Andrews

was born in New Orleans in 1846. He studied at the University of London, where he became a prizeman in Political Economy. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1868. He has made a specialty of State Bond matters, having acted for Tennessee and North Carolina Bond Committees. He has been a contributor to the "American Law Review," the "Albany Law Journal" and "The Sun."

Charles Sumner Lobingier

was born in Illinois and educated in Nebraska. He was assistant State librarian and reporter to the Supreme Court of Nebraska from 1888 to 1892. In 1890 he was admitted to the Bar, and practised law in Omaha for twelve years. From 1900 to 1903 he was professor of law in the University of Nebraska, during part of that time being a member of the Supreme Court commission. Since 1903 he has been a judge in the United States Court of First Instance in the Philippines, and in 1907 he was chairman of the commission appointed to codify the laws of the Philippine Islands. He is the author of several legal works, including "Constitutional Law," "Equity" and "Philippine Practice."

John Townsend Trowbridge

has long been a prominent figure in modern American literature. For over half a century he has been acting as editor of and contributor to magazines and journals. He is the author of a large number of works, including, "The South and its Battlefields," "The Vagabonds and other Poems," "Jack Hazzard and his Fortunes," "The Younger Surveyor," "The Emigrant's Story and Other Poems," "The Book of Gold and other Poems," "A Start in Life," "The Lost Earl and other Poems," "The Kelp Gatherers," "The Scarlet Tanager" and "The Prize-Cup."

Hubert Bruce Fuller

has practised law in Cleveland for several years. He has paid special attention to legal, historic and economic subjects, in the study of which he distinguished himself at Yale and Columbia Universities. He was awarded the Cobden Club medal in 1901, for an article on "Alexander Hamilton

and his Economic Policies." He is the author of "The Purchase of Florida" and "Tax Returns in Ohio," and he has contributed to various papers and magazines.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE,

Chief of the Bureau of Trade Relations in the State Department, and formerly Joint Secretary of the Reciprocity Commission, was appointed, a short time after graduating at Yale in 1889, United States Consul at Ghent, Belgium. He returned to America in 1894, and was admitted to the bar of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, and to the Philadelphia bar, in 1895. He is a member of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, of the Sons of the Revolution and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He is the author of "The Story of Arlington," and he has frequently contributed articles on economic and general topics to the magazines and the weekly press.

REAR-ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, U. S. N.,

was appointed midshipman from New York in 1841; did duty on many stations and circumnavigated the globe. During the Mexican War he served on the Pacific coast. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1855, to lieutenant-commander in 1862, to commander in 1866, to captain in 1872, to commodore in 1881, and to rear-admiral in 1885. During the Civil War, he was lieutenant on the frigate "Wabash," and commander of the monitor "Nantucket," of the double-ender "Sonoma," of the "Canandaigua" and of the "Pontiac." He served in the North Atlantic blockading squadron. He was associate-editor of "Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia," naval editor of "The Standard Dictionary," and author of "Naval Songs" and of "Seamanship," which is used as a text-book at the United States Naval Academy.

HENRY HARRISON LEWIS

has been a contributor to magazines for a number of years, especially on economic subjects. He has made a special study of foreign trade conditions affecting America's oversea commerce. He is the editor of "American Industries," published by The National Association of Manufacturers.

JOSEPH SPENCER KENNARD

is a native of New Jersey, and had the advantage of a varied education at a number of Universities in America and Europe, several of which have conferred upon him honorary degrees. For the last ten years Dr. Kennard has resided in

Europe. He is a member of many learned societies on both sides of the Atlantic, and he has delivered courses of lectures in Universities of the Old and New Worlds, on Italian art and literature. Among the works published by him may be mentioned "*Entro un Cerchio di Ferro*" (written in Italian), "Contemporary Italian Romance," "Alaskan Legends and Totems," "The Friar in Fiction," "*Studi-Danteschi*" (written in Italian), "*Romanzi e Romanzieri Italiani*" (written in Italian) and "Italian Romance Writers."

J. B. Case,

whose interests are identified with the West and the development of its resources, its industries and its commerce, is the president of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, which is to hold a meeting in San Francisco in the early part of October.

Henry James Forman

was graduated from Harvard, and then engaged in journalism in New York City. For some time he served on the staff of the New York "Sun," and also as political editor on "The Literary Digest." From October, 1905, to October, 1906, he was literary editor of "Appleton's Magazine," and he has contributed to various magazines. At present he is connected with the Review.

Gerhardt C. Mars

graduated in Arts from the Northwestern University in 1885 and, after graduating in Divinity from the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, in 1887, he entered the Methodist ministry. From 1888 to 1891 he occupied the chair of English in the University of South Dakota. He withdrew from the ministry in 1891, and for two years was engaged in post-graduate work at Harvard in English, and at Boston University in philosophy. From 1895 to 1900 he studied and travelled in Europe. He is the author of an important work—the fruit of twenty years' preparation—entitled "The Interpretation of Life."

Frederic Taber Cooper,

editor of "The Forum," and formerly literary editor of the New York "Globe," was educated at Harvard and Columbia Universities. He has held assistant instructorships and assistant professorships in Columbia and New York Universities. In collaboration with Arthur Bartlett Maurice, he wrote the "History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature."

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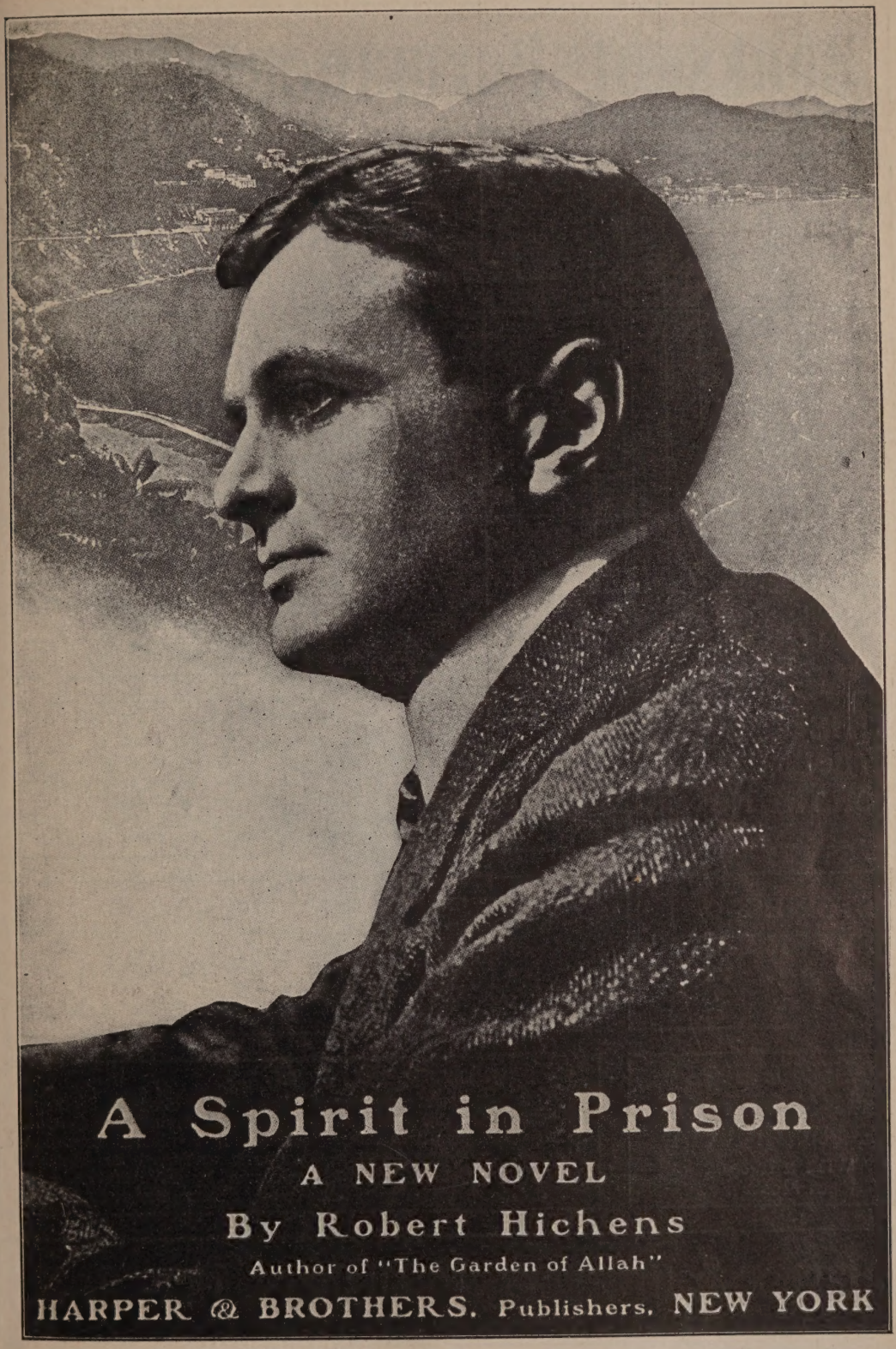
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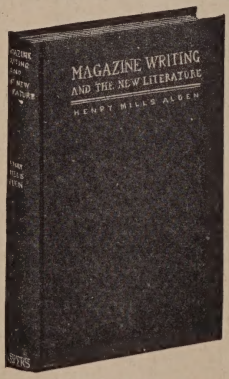

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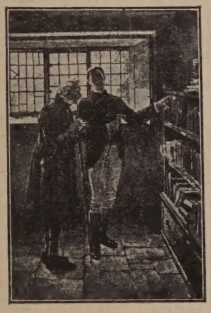

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
No. DCXXXV.

OCTOBER, 1908.

WHAT THE AMERICAN FLEET COULD DO FOR CHINA.

BY B. L. PUTNAM WEALE.

WHAT does that part of the American public which takes an intelligent interest in Oriental affairs hope from the visit of the battleship fleet to Chinese waters? Is it expected that the mere fact that this powerful armada will anchor off the coasts of China, thus advertising to Continental Asia what American naval strength is, will be sufficient materially to correct a situation which, since the close of the Russo-Japanese war, has become full of highly disconcerting, if not of alarming, elements? Or is it perhaps feared that this visit, if it is made anything but the purest formality, may serve to intensify, rather than to relieve, the peculiar symptoms which have been so widely commented upon since those almost-forgotten days when the Treaty of Peace, concluded at Portsmouth, was the subject of endless encomiums?

These and similar questions are just now interesting every intelligent observer resident in the Far East; and, though the full answers can only be guessed at, partial answers are eagerly read in such summaries of opinion as come over the telegraph-wires, or travel out by the slow-moving mail-boats. This curious solicitude exists mainly because the hope is now almost universally cherished in the Far East that the United States will play a com-

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manding rôle in the near future, and will under no circumstances suffer herself to be relieved of her responsibilities by any such complacency as characterized her attitude during the time of the passing of unfortunate Korea.

And here, incidentally, we have the *crux* of the whole question. How far is America's moral responsibility in the Far East held by American statesmen to go? If the American Government believes that it would be unwise, and even dangerous, to adopt, for the time being, anything but a very perfunctory attitude—ignoring the real problems and dwelling on the unimportant ones—then the American fleet would do well to remain far away from China and not to raise false hopes. If, on the other hand, intelligent and active solicitude is going to be shown for China's future welfare, then an immense amount of good may come from the visit of the fleet to Chinese waters. The exact reasons for this statement are duly set forth in this article.

First, however, as an introduction, it must be said that, though a comparison between China and Korea may seem at the moment out of place, American readers should remember that Manchuria is as much a portion of modern China as the Pacific States are of the American Union: and, therefore, if what is going on in Manchuria (the occupation of which is exactly similar from the Chinese point of view to an occupation of California from the American point of view) to-day passes unchallenged and unnoticed, save in a perfunctory manner, in the to-morrow of diplomacy a similar state of affairs could easily arise in any other portion of the Chinese Empire at a moment when the world's attention was distracted by other problems. And then, with this precedent of Manchuria to be pointed at by the usurping Power, it would be difficult for any friendly Power, with the *fait accompli* staring it in the face, to advance the argument that the disintegration of China was being more actively prosecuted than heretofore.

This is why the present times are so important. They are important because they furnish both clues and arguments regarding what the to-morrow may bring, and they are still more important because they also provide the remedy. Though the situation in Manchuria is undoubtedly a special one, and has been tacitly assented to for obvious reasons by the rest of the world, it is nevertheless entirely illegal from a moral standpoint. And if this

illegal occupation continues to be tacitly assented to to-day, he would be a bold man who would dare to proclaim, as has been assumed, that no circumstances could arise which would allow, in a somewhat similar manner, another portion of the Chinese Empire to fall under the open sway of aliens.

If this is the case, it is time to find at once the preventative. That is why the question arises as to what the American fleet could now do for China—without endangering in any way the peace of the Oriental world. America has so constantly proclaimed her desire to help China that it is not strange if she is now being taken at her word. First it is necessary to see just what things would be materially benefited by the action of a strong and independent Power, unhampered by any entangling alliances. Those things having been determined, it should be easy to proceed.

The matter which invites immediate attention is not so much Manchuria as the general question of the immediate revision of China's Commercial Treaties with all the Powers. What is above all things necessary at the present moment is, not to cavil at what has come about in the past, but to insure and promote, as rapidly as possible, the growth of the New China, the one factor which, of itself, can redress the disturbed balance of power, always provided that a helping hand is given at the start. In Manchuria, the United States Government, for the time being, can merely continue to insist, as she is insisting, much to the pleasure of right-thinking Englishmen, that her consuls shall recognize none but the Chinese authorities. With this lever at work, the presumption of both Japanese and Russians will be checked as much as is possible without a complete revision of the position in the occupied territory; and with Chinese officials, encouraged thereby, straining every nerve to regain all they have temporarily lost, things will slightly improve of themselves.

But, with China's Commercial Treaties it is quite different. It is no longer in this matter a question of dealing with two Powers, which have acquired certain rights in a certain territory; but it is a question of driving into the same camp—a camp which they are really pledged to enter—all the Powers which have treaty relations with China. In order to understand the present vast importance of this question to the Peking Government, a rapid general explanation, condensed as much as possible, must here be

interjected. The problem involved is so intimately concerned with the general problem of the New China that no apology is necessary for recording certain rather weather-worn, historical facts. They indeed form another portion of the essential introduction.

In 1900 that strange movement arose in Northern China which culminated in the Boxer outbreak. By a curious combination of circumstances, which can never be properly explained, the Peking Government, weakened almost to a breaking-point by the disintegrating policy which had steadily been pursued by the Powers from the close of the disastrous Japanese war of 1894-95, after a period of curious vacillation, threw in its lot with the Boxers.

The collapse of the Boxer movement and the occupation of Peking by the avenging allies, a few weeks after the first shots had been fired, soon found the Manchu Court and the whole machinery of government safely hidden hundreds of miles away in the distant Shansi province. After the manner of discredited governments, the Court and the high officials had quickly fled from the scene of their misfortunes; and only from the safe retreat they had chosen were negotiations at length opened with the Powers. Two high Chinese plenipotentiaries having been appointed to negotiate a peace, after nearly a year of *pourparlers,* an agreement was reached with all the Powers and recorded in a document which is now recognized as being imperfect and damaging to China's international status.

This document was the Peking Peace Protocol. It was signed by the many plenipotentiaries in September, 1901, some thirteen months after the relief of Peking. Ample time, therefore, had elapsed for drawing up a proper and comprehensive document, to which should have been annexed, not only matters of secondary importance, but all matters of primary importance. Yet there were next to none of such annexions. Though the manner in which various Manchu princes and high Chinese officials, implicated in the Boxer business, were to be punished was minutely specified; and though also the manner in which the crushing general indemnity of some three hundred million gold dollars was to be paid was mathematically worked out on a banker's system, the very first matter of importance—the question of reconstruction, of giving China a helping hand to rise from the prostrated position in which she lay—this matter was indefinitely postponed.

That was a question for China to settle herself as best she

could. She had sinned; she was being punished; her punishment was the supreme question; and, consequently, when the exhausted diplomatists of Europe threw their pens aside, and exchanged congratulations with the Chinese plenipotentiaries, they possibly imagined that the signature of the Protocol had completed historic and abiding work. How abiding it was may be gauged from the fact that, twenty-nine months later, another great conflict was raging almost within sound of Peking. Though perhaps nothing could have prevented this conflict, its settlement would have been very different if in 1901 the Powers had really done their moral duty.

If all the nations whose representatives had signed this Peace Protocol had been permanently satisfied with the position of the Chinese question, it would have been a sorry day for the Far East. But, fortunately, the altruism enforced on a few Governments by the strict moral principles of their citizens soon found tentative expression. It was admitted in both England and America, before and after 1901, that steps must be taken to improve matters in China as much as possible; and new Treaty Commissioners were spoken of, and attention was indeed publicly drawn to the fact that their speedy appointment was essential.

It was high time for something of the sort. Though it is undoubtedly right to punish, it is equally right—nay, it is an imperative moral duty — to help those who have transgressed. Nations, like individuals, sin, not because they are inherently bad, but because they are very human. And the moral duty was very clear at that time in China.

For with the conclusion of the Peace Protocol and the return of the Court to Peking, China had been able to take stock of the situation a little more clearly, and at last understood how greatly entangled matters really remained, and how little the solution had been advanced by the Peace Protocol. First, she carried out the punishments of the Protocol; then she had to begin paying the monthly quotas of the great national fine which had been imposed. This amounted at once to some $15,000,000, United States gold, a year—a great sum in an undeveloped country. Further, these annual payments were gradually to be increased and would not come to an end for thirty-nine years. As the entire revenues derived from the Chinese customs were hypothecated for the service of the loans contracted to pay the Japanese indemnities

of the war of 1894-95, new sources had to be found and set apart for the new indemnity. Consequently, the richer provinces were called upon by the Central Government to find the money as best they could, and thus a new source of discontent was created. For, among a simple agricultural population, it was not strange that the idea should have become quickly disseminated that the foreigner, having unjustly beaten them, was now only robbing them in yet another way. In Asia it is always important to note the final effects of foreign action—that is, the effect on the masses of semi-ignorant population of diplomatic decrees. The European plenipotentiaries, who signed the Peace Protocol of 1901, had almost purposely passed over the one sound method of obtaining an increased revenue from which to discharge this fresh European obligation—that is, by indirect taxation. The method was to be found in simply agreeing at once to a general increase in the Chinese customs tariff—that is, by revising the Commercial Treaties. All the Treaty Powers were in 1901 perforce seated at the same round-table, and all were interested in a prompt settlement. Had the Chinese case been more ably handled, it would have been quickly understood that such unanimity among the Powers could never be secured again, and that it was essential that, at the time when the Protocol was prepared for signature, Commercial Treaties should be drawn up conferring on China the right to reorganize her tariff. Since the Powers desired to obtain their money at all costs, they would have speedily agreed then to anything reasonable. Half of them had included in their Boxer claims against the Chinese Government enormous sums not representing actual expenditure, conspicuous among these being Germany, Russia and France; and to get these claims agreed to, as they finally were only after much haggling and cutting down, even a tariff increase would have been very acceptable.

China let the moment slip. As has happened again and again, she was ill advised; and the two high Chinese plenipotentiaries, being desirous above all things to make it possible for the Court to return speedily to Peking, were only too glad to sign a document in which the general punishment terms had been whittled down to their irreducible minimum, but in which proper provision for the future had been shamefully ignored. In a single Article of the Protocol—Article XI—provision is indeed made for this all-important revision of Commercial Treaties; but this is done in

language so singularly lax that it is open to grave misconstruction and constant evasion. Though this tariff revision was a matter of prime importance to the Chinese Government, Article XI merely says:

> "The Chinese Government has engaged to negotiate amendments, judged useful by the foreign Governments, to the treaties of commerce and navigation, and other subjects touching commercial relations, with a view to facilitating them."

There was that and nothing more.

From the foreign—that is, the European-American—point of view, a certain amount of justification for this indifference was to be found in the conditions then obtaining throughout the world—conditions which were vividly reflected in Peking, and occasioned much secret alarm to the so-called Allies. England was not only still much preoccupied with South Africa, but she had further the misfortune to be represented in Peking by a diplomat whose constant effacement, when he should have played a leading part, was a matter of profound surprise among both high Chinese and Continental officials. America had not yet properly realized the overpowering importance of a strong China; and, further, she was not in a military position to play any commanding rôle. Russia and Japan, already dimly perceiving the possibilities of the future, were in a sullen and suspicious mood, and did not care what happened so long as one did not get the advantage over the other. As for the other Powers, they merely desired to pull as many chestnuts out of the fire as possible.

Fortunately, however, as has been said, there were other forces soon at work. In both England and America there undoubtedly existed an uncomfortable feeling in influential circles that China had been rudely handled; and the British Government, owing to the firm Russian occupation of Manchuria, which had come, was made quickly alive to the real necessity of rounding out the crude diplomatic work of the year 1901.

Accordingly, a treaty mission was finally sent to China in 1902, and in October of that same year Sir James Mackay, the British plenipotentiary, had done his work so well that he was able to affix his hand and seal to the now well-known, though inoperative, Mackay Treaty, in which were settled all those things which should have been attended to in Peking in 1901.

Summing up rapidly the main benefits of this treaty from the

Chinese revenue point of view—and leaving aside all other questions—this is what was agreed to: First, that *likin,* or provincial taxation of merchandise travelling in the provinces, should be entirely abolished; second, that the import tariff should be raised from an effective five-per-cent. tariff to an effective twelve-and-a-half-per-cent. tariff; third, that the export tariff should be raised from an effective five per cent. to an effective seven and a half per cent.; fourth, that, in view of the abolition of *likin* on native goods, a so-called consumption-tax, equivalent to ten per cent. of the value, should be levied on native goods at the place of consumption—*this tax, as well as all other taxation of trade, to be overseen and controlled by the Imperial Maritime Customs.*

All this was an immense step. It has been calculated that the results of this treaty going into force would roughly be to double the present annual Chinese customs revenue of thirty million gold dollars, thus allowing the service of all Chinese debts and indemnities to become practically unified by their being drawn from the same source, and also giving directly to the Peking Government—as distinguished from the provincial Governments—a handsome annual surplus from which to take the sums necessary for a gradual naval and military reconstruction. The importance of these things will be clear to every mind.

But this treaty manifestly could not go into force, as regards any of its essential clauses, without all Treaty Powers concluding identical treaties. Soon after the British-Chinese treaty had been completed, the United States Government, equally alive to the necessity of reaffirming in this way the integrity and autonomy of China, and as an offset to the Russian usurpation of Manchuria, began similar negotiations; whilst the Japanese Government, then equally solicitous about the so-called open door, hastened to follow in America's footsteps. Thus in October, 1903, both the American and Japanese treaties with China were signed. They were practically identical with the British treaty.

The outbreak of the great Far-Eastern war in the following year was a profound misfortune to China in this matter of Commercial Treaties. With the fate of the Far East hanging in the balance, it was not to be supposed that routine treaty-making could be insisted on. Thus, although China later on began commercial negotiations with other Powers, notably with Italy and Germany, on various pretexts negotiations were broken off, and

only one more treaty identical with the British-American-Japanese conventions—the Portuguese treaty—was completed. Thus to-day—that is, some *seven* years after the Protocol of 1901—only *four* Powers, out of *thirteen* which signed the international peace of 1901 with China, have done their manifest duty.

The main reasons for this delay are two: first, China's inability, owing to the vague language of Article XI of the Protocol, to enforce revision; and, second, the fact that in the Mackay Treaty—the model which America and the others accepted—there are certain clauses which specifically forbid any questionable practice of the kind the Powers have loved to indulge in in China. In section 14 of the famous Article VIII of the Mackay Treaty (the article that unconditionally abolishes *likin*), it is stated categorically:

"(1) That all Powers who are now or who may hereafter become entitled to most-favored-nation treatment in China enter into the same engagements.

"(2) And that their assent is neither directly nor indirectly made dependent on the granting by China of any political concession or any exclusive commercial concession."

Now, many Powers, not being actuated at all by altruistic motives, cannot see why, if they assent to an increased Chinese tariff, they should not get some special privileges in return. They are not content to feel satisfied, as the British and American Governments are quite willing to be satisfied, that China's advantage will ultimately be their advantage; as in 1901, they want something which can be converted without delay into cash. Such is, frankly, the real state of international morality in China—it is mainly a question of dollars; and certain nations which have lately been pointing the finger of scorn at the so-called American worship of the Golden Calf are notoriously in China the very worst offenders in this respect.

Moreover, there is yet another clause in this much-discussed Mackay Treaty which specially affects two countries whose possessions are conterminous with those of China. These countries are Russia and France, both of which have a special land trade to protect, and both of which have been studiously avoiding treaty revision. Section 2 of the same Article VIII of the Mackay Treaty states "that the same amount of surtax (*i. e.*, the increased twelve-and-a-half-per-cent. import tax) shall be levied on goods imported into the eighteen provinces of China and three

provinces (*i. e.*, Manchuria) across the land frontiers as on goods entering China by sea."

Now, this land trade between Siberia and Manchuria in the north, and between French Indo-China and Yunnan-Kwangsi-Kwangtung provinces in the south, has always been subject to reduced taxation and special treatment in the past, in view of the fact that it has been carried on in the face of great natural difficulties by populations which are both scanty and isolated. Yet, though the building of railway systems on both these frontiers (a step which is now complete) alters radically the old conditions, neither Russia nor France is anxious to alter radically the Chinese tariff. In other words, they do not feel inclined to pay their share towards China's reconstruction, and only a pressure far greater than any China can exercise will convert them to sane views. Finally, as regards all the other Powers, only one, Germany, has any commercial importance in China. The remaining six countries which signed the Protocol of 1901 have scarcely any commercial interests at all and would undoubtedly merely follow the lead of the others in China.

But, before turning to the solution, it is necessary to say one further word regarding a smaller matter not touched upon by the Protocol of 1901 nor, indeed, by any Commercial Treaty. This is the question of post-offices. As is well known, in countries where extra-territoriality still obtains—that is, in China, in Turkey and in Siam—the foreign Powers operate their own post-offices wherever they wish in any of the so-called open ports, or places open to international trade. The result in China has been that all Powers having subsidized mail-ship lines running to the Far East, or railways running into China, have now their own post-offices at various places, worked mostly in conjunction with their Consulates. Until the late war this privilege was not much abused; but, since the Portsmouth Peace, Japan has practically dotted the whole of Southern Manchuria with her post-offices, and is acting in postal as in other matters in the most arbitrary manner possible. If China were in no position to attend to her letter-carrying obligations there would be little to say. But the plain facts are these:

For eleven years China has been devoting herself sedulously to postal improvement and expansion. Since 1897 the Imperial Chinese Postal Service has been a Sister Service of the Imperial

Maritime Customs Service—both of which have been under the control of the far-famed Sir Robert Hart. During the last four or five years, postal expansion has been so rapid that there are now nearly 2,500 Chinese post-offices; and letters are carried on a perfect system rapidly from one end of the Empire to the other. Though China is not yet a member of the Postal Union, the system now in force secures for her the co-operation of the foreign post-offices.

The reason she has been forced to refrain from entering the Postal Union is a very peculiar one. Owing to that short-sighted complacency which she has shown all too frequently in the past, China was induced to place on record some years ago that, on her joining the Postal Union and separating her Postal Service completely from the Maritime Customs Service, a French Director-General would be appointed. Why France should aspire to the control of a Chinese Service, seeing that she has virtually no commercial interests in China, can only be explained by the fact that she has always been more insistent and more successful in diplomacy than in trade, and that, as an Englishman stands at the head of the Customs Service, she sees no reason why a Frenchman should not fill a similar situation in the Postal Service. The argument may strike those who are unacquainted with the vagaries of diplomacy in Asia as being singularly absurd; but, since France lent part of the money needed by China to pay Japan her indemnities after 1895, she has long felt that she should be granted a special position in some direction, just as England is in a special position regarding the Chinese customs. Of course, the time has long gone by for this sort of thing, and the sooner that is understood the better.

The Chinese postal question is, therefore, somewhat closely related to the question of the revision of the Commercial Treaties. The closing of all foreign post-offices in China, excepting at one or two points, is essential to the success of the Chinese post-office, which is at present struggling under a great and unfair financial handicap. It might be agreed that the main foreign post-offices at Shanghai, where ninety per cent. of the foreign mails are exchanged, should be kept open for a few years pending the arrangement by China of postal subsidies. But all other foreign post-offices in China should be closed, and China would undoubtedly be willing to give the best *quid pro quo* she could find.

The imperative importance of speedily attending to these various questions is now well understood in China. Too much time has already been wasted. In August of this year the Anglo-Japanese Alliance already entered its *fourth* year. The decade of its existence is thus being rapidly shortened, without China's reconstruction being properly advanced. On the other hand, Japan is careful to see that everything in the nature of annexions to the treaty-making which concluded her peace of 1905 is relentlessly carried out, and this appears all the more significant when matters which are really in the nature of annexions to the peace of the year 1901 are seen to be left completely stranded and derelict, with no one to mind them.

The United States is the one Power which, because she is free from all entanglements, can at the present moment give all the help that is needed. Here it may be remarked that it has not escaped the notice of those who have devoted themselves to the study of contemporary politics in the Far East, that between what may be called the *theory* of diplomacy, as grandiloquently announced on home platforms, and what may be equally well called the *practice* of diplomacy, as worked out on the actual battle-ground of rival interests, there is a constant and grave discrepancy. Thus, while the late Secretary Hay was undoubtedly the first real mouthpiece of the open-door policy, there is no concealing the fact that the United States Government, until a very short time ago, did not care to test in any way whatsoever the genuineness of the assurances of the various Powers that they adhered strictly and absolutely to that sound policy. In other words, it may be said that, though America has undoubtedly always been perfectly sincere in her motives, her reluctance to go any farther than making formal diplomatic declarations has always been well understood—and has, therefore, always been taken advantage of.

The events of the past year have changed all that. American naval strength has been successfully concentrated on the Pacific, and, though that concentration be only temporary, it is fraught with a meaning which cannot escape general understanding. In some quarters in China, extravagant hopes were doubtless held out at first regarding the number of evils which the mere coming of this fleet would at once remove. Australians, perhaps, also believed too readily that the menace which they have consistently seen in the past was about to be removed. There were even some

who held the creed that, confronted by this armada, Japan might decide that it was wisest to cease exploiting Southern Manchuria and Korea. But, though there have been these extravagant views, there have also been modest and sensible hopes, the realization of which would injure no one.

These hopes are simply that the United States Government, since it has interested itself particularly with the Chinese problem, may see fit, whilst the fleet is off the coasts of China, to circularize the Powers to the effect that the time has arrived when practical effect should be given to the various self-denying ordinances and protestations of honest intentions, which all have been at pains to make regarding China—in other words, that the work which should have been completed at the time of the making of the Peace Protocol of 1901 be at once resumed. This is the one issue.

To deal with this work properly and exhaustively a congress is necessary; and for such a congress to be a success it is necessary that it should set to work, not in China, but *out* of China, because fair treatment for China is not possible in an atmosphere of international jealousy and striving commercialism, but only to be expected in an atmosphere of altruism. The one place for the meeting of such a congress is America—a country unhampered by considerations which might even have to weigh in England, thanks to the existence of crippling obligations which can only be terminated with the flux of time. That the idea of such a congress would be welcomed by England, as a means towards clarifying a situation which is becoming more and more obscured, cannot be doubted. Since, in spite of the constant declarations of Sir Edward Grey that the Japanese Alliance has effected all that was expected of it, British financial and commercial interests now feel differently. That such a congress could not be with decency opposed by any of the great Powers seems also manifest.

There remains, then, only the question of proposing it at the psychological moment afforded by the presence of the American fleet in Chinese waters. The issues are plain and simple, and have been briefly, if very imperfectly, explained in the preceding pages. China wishes to settle as quickly as possible a number of matters important to her reconstruction, and needed to give to her a modicum of international strength. All the world professes friendship for China; let the world, then, express that friend-

ship in a concrete form. The *agenda* of the conference would include all matters requiring settlement, and would give an opportunity, such as has never occurred before, for China's case to be publicly and properly heard.

The writer ventures to hope that this all-important matter may engage the serious attention of the Washington administration—the elaboration of details is a matter to be separately considered—and that, as the great fleet draws near the coast of China, the American press will remember that, in the interests of peace, here is a matter which should, and indeed must, be attended to. It is peculiarly appropriate that the United States should step forward in this matter, since Congress, by a singular act of generosity, has remitted the payment of a large part of the American indemnity of 1900. It is also noteworthy that in another matter affecting China's welfare—the suppression of the opium traffic—America has lent her valuable aid by suggesting and obtaining an International Conference. Yet both these actions are very minor actions compared with what has been suggested: for China's rehabilitation can only come with active foreign help; and active foreign help must be given along the lines indicated. It is China's weakness, and her inability to divest herself of that weakness without friendly help, which, in the last analysis, alone contain the menace of war constantly hanging over the Far East; and, therefore, without firing a shot or even clearing decks for action, a naval victory could be won by this great fleet about to circumnagivate the world which may influence more profoundly and more permanently than even a desperate display of sea power the course of history in Eastern Asia.

B. L. PUTNAM WEALE.

PEKING, *June, 1908.*

THE SPEAKER AND HIS POWERS.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D., FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

WHEN in 1775 Benjamin Franklin made the first draft of our first Federal Constitution, embodied in the Articles of Confederation,* he vested the entire legislative power in the one-chamber assembly known as the Continental Congress. Down to that time, the bicameral, or two-chamber, plan had never been applied to the organization of a Federal assembly. The first to propose such an experiment was Pelatiah Webster, who, in his epoch-making paper of February 16th, 1783, said:

"That the Congress shall consist of two chambers, an upper and a lower or senate and commons, with the concurrence of both necessary to every act; and that every State send one or more delegates to each house: this will subject every act to two discussions before two distinct chambers of men equally qualified for the debate, equally masters of the subject and of equal authority in the decision. These two Houses will be governed by the same natural motives and interests—viz., the good of the Commonwealth and the approbation of the people."

In thus departing from the ancient type of a one-chamber Federal assembly, as old as the Greek leagues, the great architect of our existing Constitution had, of course, before his eyes the bicameral, or two-chamber, Parliament of England, which he proposed to reproduce, for the first time, in a Federal State. When the time came for the Constitutional Convention of 1787 to utilize the unique invention of 1783, its debates make it clear that the Speaker of the House of Representatives was expected only to exercise

* "It appears that as early as the 21st of July, 1775, a plan entitled 'Articles of Confederation and *Perpetual* Union of the Colonies' had been sketched by Dr. Franklin, the plan being on that day submitted by him to Congress; and though not copied into their Journals, remaining on their files in his handwriting."—"The Madison Papers." Vol. II., p. 688, Gilpin Ed. 1841.

the powers vested at that time in the Speaker of the House of Commons. So limited were the powers of the former at the outset that the House Committees of the First Congress were elected by the House itself. During the Second Congress, they were sometimes elected and sometimes appointed. Not until the Fourth Congress did the exclusive power of appointment pass into the Speaker's hands. From that time onward, the growth of his powers represents an evolution whose advance synchronizes with the growth of the business of the House. The growth of legislative business in Congress appears upon the face of the following table, which sets forth by decades the total number of bills introduced into the two Houses from the first Congress up to and including the first session of the Sixtieth:

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Congress.	*House.*	*Senate.*	*Total.*
First	143	46	189
Tenth	173	54	227
Twentieth	462	99	561
Thirtieth	814	485	1,299
Fortieth	1,460	648	2,108
Fiftieth	12,664	4,000	16,664
Fifty-ninth	25,897	8,627	34,524
Sixtieth (First Session)	22,272	7,273	29,545

Upon this basis, it is safe to predict that the total number of bills introduced, and to be introduced, into the Sixtieth Congress will exceed 40,000.*

The enormous increase in the volume of legislation during the last half-century is not confined to our own country,—it is one of the salient features of the age in which we live. In attempting to account for it, in an address recently delivered before the New York Bar Association, Mr. Bryce said:

"Various causes may be assigned for it. It may be due to the swift changes in economic and social conditions which have called forth new laws to deal with those facts. Pessimists may perhaps ascribe it to the spread of new evils or the increase of old evils which the State is always attempting by one expedient after another to repress. I suppose this is what Tacitus meant when he wrote *Corruptissima republica plurimae leges.* Or the optimist may tell us that it is an evidence of that reforming zeal which is resolved to use the power of the State and the law for extirpating ancient faults and trying to make every one happier. Which of these or of other possible explanations is the true one, I will not stop

* This table does not include joint resolutions.

to consider. But the fact that the output of legislation has of late been incomparably greater than in any previous age—greater not only absolutely, but in proportion to the population of the civilized nations—suggests a consideration of the forms and methods of lawmaking as a topic well suited to be dealt with by a great professional body such as I have the honor of addressing."

As the legislative business of this country has grown in extent and complexity, the pressure upon the primitive machinery of the House of Representatives has increased until at last a crisis has been reached. If so homely a simile is permissible, the growing business of the House may be likened to the growing business in a narrow stream flowing through a timber region in which the timber-cutters increase every year. In such a region, no matter how great the glut, the channel must be kept open, so that a certain number of pieces may be forced down the stream every year. As the House itself has never attempted so to reorganize its machinery in a scientific way as to meet new conditions, the one crude and empirical expedient so far resorted to to keep the channel open has consisted of the arming of the Speaker, from time to time, with Titanic powers. As the glut of legislative timber in the channel has increased, Mr. Speaker has been endowed with first one abnormal power and then another, in order that national legislation may not cease altogether. Recognition for the passage of bills by unanimous consent arose when the pressure of business became so great that they could not be reached on the calendar in the regular order of business. Then, as an expedient to alleviate the ever-growing difficulty, were adopted the Reed rules in the Fifty-first Congress, from which time the steadily increasing powers of the Speaker may be definitely dated. The fact that the Reed rules were substantially re-adopted under Speaker Crisp should be conclusive proof that they were the outcome of conditions that present equal difficulties to the leaders of both parties.

It is idle to attempt to give a partisan tinge to the grave problem with which the country is now confronted. The difficulty in question is an inevitable and unforeseen outcome of our national development. Both parties are equally responsible for the hopeless and unscientific attempt to carry on the vast and complicated affairs of a legislative department store by the primitive methods once adequate to the needs of a small establishment. As the evil has finally become unbearable, it has passed into the arena of

practical politics. The Democratic platform recently adopted at Denver declares that:

"The House of Representatives was designed by the fathers of the Constitution to be the popular branch of our Government, responsive to the public will.

"The House of Representatives, as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body, responsive to the will of a majority of its members, but has come under the absolute domination of the Speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations and powers of legislation.

"We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our Federal Government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members.

"Legislative government becomes a failure when one member, in the person of the Speaker, is more powerful than the entire body.

"We demand that the House of Representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's representatives, and not by the Speaker, and we pledge ourselves to adopt such rules and regulations to govern the House of Representatives as will enable a majority of its members to direct its deliberations and control legislation."

After we subtract from the foregoing the mistaken assumption that the present condition of things in the House of Representatives is entirely the result of the omissions or commissions of a single political party, every word of what remains is true in every particular. The House has departed from the design of the fathers; it has ceased to be responsive to the popular will; it is no longer the principal workshop of the Constitution; it is no longer even the principal talking-shop in which great public questions are threshed out in the first instance. As all the world knows, the departed sceptre has passed to the Senate, whose influence has thus become abnormal. As the House has ceased more and more to be a deliberative body, the Senate has become the real forum of debate to which the nation looks for light and guidance. It is now becoming the habit to say, when an important bill is pending in the House, "No matter, the Senate will fix it!" Thus that body has been forced to assume the initiative in certain kinds of legislation of a taxative and fiscal character that was never intended. If proof be needed on that point, reference may be made to the Wilson bill, which was so amended in the Senate as to become a new creation. Or more may be said as to the Bland-Allison bill, which, as introduced by the former, passed

the House by a majority of more than two-thirds. When it reached the Upper House, the Allison amendment, which passed the Senate by a safe majority, so disembowelled it that Mr. Bland upon its return made a hard fight against it. But, as the House concurred in the Allison amendment, he was forced at last to eat his opponent's leek by voting for the bill as amended. Through this power of amendment, the Senate has been able to assume an initiative in legislation which the congested condition of the House has forced it to relinquish. The normal and constitutional relations of the two Houses have thus been disturbed, and the result is a condition almost revolutionary. The House has suffered in prestige and influence; and the country is suffering because its business is not carried on in the normal way in what was intended to be the principal legislative and taxative workshop of the Constitution.

At the date of the French Revolution the only parliamentary government in the world was the English Parliament. Since that time,—and after the English political model had been popularized by reproduction in the United States,—it has been deliberately copied, more or less exactly, by every country which now has a parliamentary system. In that way, England became "the Mother of Parliaments," the teacher of the science of representative government to all the world. The mainspring of the English Parliament is the Cabinet, which possesses the right to appear in the House of Commons and initiate legislation. When a great question is to be dealt with, the Cabinet presents it in the form of a bill to the popular chamber, and then demands, at such a time as it desires, that the matter shall be first debated and then disposed of by a final vote. Under such a system small matters are forced to wait until the great affairs of the Empire are disposed of. The issues thus presented are as clear and definite as they can possibly be made, and the responsibility for success or failure is put just where it belongs. The Speaker of the House of Commons is just as helpless in the presence of such a machine as a cow which attempts to stop a mogul engine in full career. Neither the English Parliament nor any of its reproductions in which the Cabinet system reappears can possibly suffer from the difficulty which has nearly extinguished our popular chamber as a deliberative body. Why should we suffer from the absence of a practical expedient which has reappeared, in some form, in all of the repro-

ductions of the English parliamentary system, except our own? Is it possible for us to extricate our popular chamber from the morass by vesting in our Cabinet the right to appear in it, and initiate legislation upon the great questions in which the whole nation is vitally concerned? Those who have given little or no thought to the subject will instantly say "No," and assign as a fatal objection the fact that, when the English Cabinet has been defeated upon a bill or resolution, it must resign and thus bring on a new election. They will then, with perfect truth, add that in a Federal commonwealth with such a vast territorial area, and with an Executive elected for a definite term, resignations and new elections after every adverse vote are entirely out of the question. Fortunately, a conclusive rejoinder is furnished to that objection by the Federal Constitution of Switzerland, under which the Cabinet possesses the right to appear in the chambers and initiate legislation, without the necessity of resignation after an adverse vote on the measures they have introduced.

Under the Swiss system, the executive power is vested, not in a President, but in a Council or Cabinet of seven, which holds office for three years. The Council apportions the departments of state among its own members, and "the members of the Council have the right to speak and make proposals in either House of the Federal legislature, but not to vote." In his famous essay upon presidential government, from which that quotation is taken, Mr. Freeman says: "The Swiss Federal Constitution has several points of likeness with that of America, and the Constitution of the two Houses of the Federal legislature is clearly borrowed from the American model." After an adverse vote has occurred, the Swiss ministers simply return to their offices and go on with their work until the end of their terms. In the light of that precedent, it is too clear for argument that we may adopt so much of the English Cabinet system as we need, and at the same time reject, as Switzerland does, that part of it which is not applicable to a Federal State like our own.

If the expedient proposed be a desirable one, it certainly can be applied without a constitutional amendment. It can easily be brought about by an act of Congress that can be written upon a sheet of note-paper, and by modifications in the rules of the House and Senate that should not fill more than two sheets of legal cap. As each House has the constitutional right to hear the hum-

blest citizen at its bar and to receive from him, for consideration and action, any petition or proposal he may desire to submit, it certainly can extend the same right to the members of the Cabinet by giving them, at stated times, the right to submit schemes of legislation with the right to debate them, *but without the right to vote.* In that way the members of our executive Government would be able to do, up to a certain point, all that the English ministers can do without becoming in any sense members of the House. By a brief act the members of our Cabinet could be given the right to appear, at stated times, in each chamber and to submit or initiate legislation on the great questions in which the nation is vitally concerned. By a modification of the rules, each House can concede the right of way (the order of the day), so that debate may be had on Cabinet measures at such times as it may designate. Under the new rules, the right of initiation should be limited to the House of Representatives,—there in the popular forum the first battle should be fought out. As Providence works in a mysterious way, the new office-buildings of the two Houses have been completed just in time to help on the inevitable reform. Before the end of the last session, the Hon. Samuel W. McCall, of Massachusetts, secured the passage of a resolution containing a tentative plan that contemplates the removal of the desks from the hall of the House, which should be dedicated exclusively to debate and deliberation, after it has been so reduced in size as to be within the compass of the human voice. How delightful to contemplate the splendid spectacle that such a scene would present! The leaders of the administration would be present in the persons of their best orators ready to defend their bills, while the picked men of the Opposition would be ready to take part in a debate that would be listened to, not only by our own country, but by the world. Suppose, for instance, that President Roosevelt had had the benefit of such machinery when, during the last session, the Anti-Trust Bill and the Publicity Bill, of which he was in favor, were presented to the House. A battle royal would have followed at once, and a final vote would have been had at once. Only by such a readjustment of our parliamentary machinery can the House of Representatives ever be given the place intended for it by the framers of the Constitution. Under the plan proposed, if a bill offered by the Cabinet is defeated in the House, there it should die. If it

passes the House, then the Cabinet should be heard in its support in the Senate under an order of the day to be there made for that purpose. In that way, and only in that way, can our parliamentary system, now so sadly out of joint, be made to work as harmoniously as the leading European reproductions of the English original. No possible constitutional difficulty stands in the way; any country lawyer should be skilful enough to draft the necessary legislation. It is simply a question of readjusting certain parts of the great Corliss engine, without making any organic changes whatever. In that kind of work the English statesmen are far ahead of us. In his brilliant monograph upon "The English Constitution," Walter Bagehot has said:

> "There are, indeed, practical men who reject the dignified parts of Government. They say, we want only to attain results, to do business: a constitution is a collection of political means for political ends, and if you admit that any part of a constitution does no business, or that a simpler machine would do equally well what it does, you admit that this part of the constitution, however dignified or awful it may be, is nevertheless in truth useless."

The primary purpose of every constitution is to do business, and whenever any part fails to do its work the skilful machinist should be ready to put it back into commission. In making the readjustment, the main body of the machine should be disturbed as little as possible. In engrafting the Cabinet system, in a modified form upon our existing parliamentary procedure, the old committee system should be left in control of all ordinary legislation. All of that kind of legislation should pass through the old channels as it does at present,—only the extraordinary should pass under the control of the new addition. In that way, the abnormal powers of the Speaker and of his creation, the Committee on Rules, would fade into the background, while the new steering committee, the Cabinet, would come to the front as the driving power, whenever driving power is needed.

When Sir James Mackintosh said that "constitutions are not made, they grow," he announced a truth as applicable to our own as to the English. Nothing is more remarkable about our Federal system than its wonderful elasticity, its power of adaptation to new and unforeseen conditions through the action of judicial interpretation and legislation. Only its elasticity has saved it from destruction during the very rapid process in which it has been so expanded as to embrace an empire. The empirics

who are ever crying out for constitutional amendments, whenever a readjustment only is necessary, are those who do not understand the natural resources of the system. Fortunate it is for us that such amendments are practically impossible. In the present instance, no such need is involved. The evil in question is manifest to every one, and the remedy is at hand. A little practical business skill is all that is necessary to work out the result through a brief act of Congress and a modification of the rules. In its last analysis the whole matter may be thus stated: Every parliamentary system now existing in the world except our own, which has been copied from the English, has reproduced in some form the mainspring, the driving force, of the original, upon which its harmony chiefly depends. That mainspring or driving force is embodied in the right of the Cabinet to appear in the popular chamber, for the purpose of initiating legislation upon the great questions in which the nation is vitally concerned, and then of driving such legislation to a final vote. The lack of that practical business expedient, which everybody except ourselves enjoys, and which the vast and rapidly swelling volume of our legislative business urgently demands, has produced the abnormal, almost revolutionary, condition under which we now groan. The whole difficulty may be removed, without a constitutional amendment, by a brief act of Congress and a modification of existing rules. Why, then, should we permit our hands to be tied by a timid conservatism which English statesmen, who are ever adapting practical means to practical ends, would laugh to scorn. Instead of trifling longer with superficial and impotent expedients, we should make at once a complete and final readjustment of our sadly disordered parliamentary machinery, according to scientific principles which have stood the test of a wide experience. As the question is strictly a non-partisan one, the subject should be taken up at once by the victor in the pending political contest, whoever he may be. If a joint committee of the two Houses could only be constituted for the study of the subject, the outcome would surely be a report that would convince every one.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

BRONSON HOWARD.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS, PROFESSOR OF DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

THE untimely death of Bronson Howard in the first days of August, before he had attained to the allotted threescore years and ten, terminated a friendship which had begun very shortly after I had been present at the first night of "Saratoga," his earliest successful play, now nearly forty years ago. Only the few whom he had admitted to intimacy could know what his friendship meant to all who were fortunate enough to possess it. But even casual acquaintances must have felt drawn toward him by his cheery simplicity of manner. Perhaps even those who saw him only on occasion, may have noted in him a certain elemental largeness; and they could not fail to find him at once genial and direct, kindly and manly. He was a delightful talker, shrewd and sagacious, and yet easy and wholly without pretence. He did his own thinking; but he never forced his opinions on others. He was the soul of courtesy; and, witty as he was, he never risked the loss of his friend for the sake of his jest. He sought always to maintain the dignity of his calling, and he was held in high regard by all his colleagues of the craft. He was the founder of the American Dramatists Club, following in the footsteps of Beaumarchais, who organized the French Dramatic Authors Society, and of Scribe, who reorganized it; and, under Bronson Howard's leadership, this association succeeded in securing an extension of the legal protection for stage-right in the United States broader than that yet granted by any other nation.

His career as a dramatist was long and honorable. It was also extraordinarily successful; indeed, it would be difficult to name any playwright who had scored so many hits, most of them bull's-eyes, with so few misses. Although he conformed to the

stage-conventions of his own day, he was original and independent. He made no translations or adaptations, with the single exception of "Wives," a *contaminatio* (as the Latins would term it) of two of Molière's comedies, the "School for Husbands" and the "School for Wives." He collaborated only twice—first, with Sir Charles Young (the author of "Jim the Penman"), and, second, with a younger American man of letters; and in neither case were these plays in partnership as well received by the public as the most of those which he had written alone. Yet he believed heartily in collaboration, holding that, in the arduous work of construction on which a drama must depend, two heads are better than one. And he was an ideal collaborator himself, considerate and suggestive, bringing to the joint-work his rich experience and his quick inventiveness. And only the intimacy of collaboration could reveal completely his abiding sincerity and his desire for truth, combined with his innate feeling for theatrical effectiveness and his intuitive understanding of the actor's art, which every playwright must needs possess if he hopes to see what he has conceived in the silence of the study take on life and movement in the glare of the stage.

He graduated from journalism into play-writing, as Mr. Augustus Thomas and Mr. George Ade have done since. He was the earliest American playwright (not also an actor or a manager) to make his living by writing for the theatre. Before he began his career, an American comedy was something casual, accidental, sporadic; it could be only amateur work. He was the first American professional dramatist giving his whole life to his work. He blazed the trail for the dozen authors who are now seeking to set on the stage the salient characteristics of American life. He was the first American playwright who had a recognized position in Great Britain; he was the scout of that friendly invasion which has resulted recently in the simultaneous occupancy of half a dozen London theatres by American plays.

His earlier plays suffered a sea-change in crossing the Atlantic, and were adapted by British writers to conform to British manners and customs. "Saratoga" was condensed and localized by Frank Marshall, who renamed it "Brighton." "The Banker's Daughter" was transformed by James Alberry, and called "The Old Love and the New." The American author himself modified "Hurricanes" for London audiences and gave it a new title,

"Truth." In time, the London managers found that the London playgoers were outgrowing the insularity which had insisted on the adapting of exotic plays to British conditions; and therefore "Young Mrs. Winthrop" and "The Henrietta" were presented in England as they had been performed in America.

It was characteristic of Bronson Howard's conscientiousness that he was always most scrupulous in declaring whatever indebtedness he might be under to any predecessor. He printed on the programme of "Moorcroft" an acknowledgement that he had derived the suggestion for the play from a short story by John Hay, although what he had borrowed was so insignificant that Mr. Hay told me he would never have suspected his own share in the work if Bronson Howard had not called attention to it. In like manner, he set forth on the programme of "The Henrietta" the fact that one episode had its origin in a chapter of "Vanity Fair." In a speech before the curtain on the hundredth performance of "The Banker's Daughter," he took occasion publicly to thank the late A. R. Cazauran for helping him to get into its final shape one of the important acts, a service for which the author had already liberally paid.

When he was engaged in the composition of "Peter Stuyvesant," he declared to the friend with whom he was collaborating the principle on which he had always acted. He said that while an author was at work his whole duty was to the play he was composing, and he ought to use in its construction unhesitatingly whatever material it might need. Then, when the play was completed, the artist had a duty as an honest man to look over his work and to decide whether it contained anything that really belonged to any one else, living or dead, native or foreign. If the original owner was alive, his permission must be had; and this must be paid for, if necessary. And, in any event, complete acknowledgment must be made, so that the author might not seem to be decked with borrowed plumes. Here he laid down the law for every dramatist with an acute conscience. Bronson Howard himself was incapable of accepting the custom which obtained in England half a century ago, and which allowed the announcement of "The Ticket-of-Leave Man" as a "new play by Tom Taylor," when this new play was, in fact, only an adaptation of the "Léonard" of Brisebarre and Nus. There is absolutely no foundation for the malevolent in-

sinuation recently revived that the plot of "Saratoga" had been borrowed from some unidentified French piece. But, of course, Bronson Howard, like every other dramatist, living or dead, used unhesitatingly the situations which are the common property of all who write for the theatre.

Bronson Howard's career as a dramatist covered the transition period of the modern drama when it was changing from the platform-stage to the picture-frame-stage. His immediate predecessor, Dion Boucicault, worked in accordance with the conditions of the platform-stage, with its rhetorical emphasis, its confidential soliloquies to the audience and its frequent changes of scene in the course of an act. "London Assurance," for example, is built absolutely upon the model of the "School for Scandal"; and both comedies, Boucicault's as well as Sheridan's, have to be rearranged to adjust them to the theatre of to-day, with its box-sets and with its curtain close to the footlights. When Bronson Howard began to write for the stage he accepted the convenient traditions of the time, although he followed T. W. Robertson in giving only a single scene to each act. As a result of this utilization of conventions soon to seem outworn, certain of his earlier plays appeared to him late in life incapable of being brought down to date, as they had been composed in accordance with a method now discarded. This disadvantage is possibly only temporary; and, even if these pieces strike us now as a little out of fashion, in time they may come to take on the quaint charm of the old-fashioned.

He moved with his time; and his latest plays, "Aristocracy" for one and "Kate" for another, are in perfect accord with the most modern formula. Yet he did not go as far as some other playwrights of to-day. He knew that the art of the theatre, like every other art, can live only by the conventions which allow it to depart from the mere facts of life; and he was unwilling to relinquish the soliloquy, for instance, which is often not only serviceable but actually necessary. He once said, half jokingly, to his collaborator in "Peter Stuyvesant," that, if he had happened to write a play without a single soliloquy, he would be tempted to insert one, simply to retain the right to employ it when it was required. It may be noted, however, that he did not carry this out, since his last comedy, "Kate," is free from any soliloquy. He followed with unfailing sympathy and with

unflagging interest the rejuvenation of the drama toward the end of the nineteenth century. He had no liking for Ibsen's attitude toward life, but he had the keenest appreciation of Ibsen's masterly technic.

His first successful piece was "Saratoga," which, although announced by Augustin Daly, the manager who produced it, as "a comedy of contemporaneous manners," was in fact only a farce, wholly unrelated to contemporaneous manners or even to real life. Like all other playwrights, even the greatest (not excluding either Shakspere or Molière), Howard began unambitiously and unpretendingly, desirous of composing the kind of play likely to please the audiences of his own day, the kind of play they were accustomed to relish. "Saratoga" owed its popularity to the brisk ingenuity of its intrigue, to the unflagging vivacity of its adroit situations and to the humorous felicity of its dialogue. Its characters were little more than the traditional figures of farce; and one of its episodes set forth the sending of a series of challenges to a duel,—a convenient theatrical tradition not even then justified by the customs of society. Inexpensive devices of this sort the author eschewed altogether as he grew in experience and as his observation became keener. But "Saratoga," arbitrary as it is in conception, in its characters and in the conduct of its plot, deserved its popularity. Perhaps it might amuse even to-day, if it were presented, not as a comedy of contemporaneous manners, but as a specimen of the farce of our fathers, with the costumes of 1870.

As he gained in technical skill, Howard's ambition developed, and his next play, "Diamonds" (which was also produced at Daly's Theatre), was really a "comedy of contemporaneous manners," although it did not quite answer to its author's hopes. Slowly his insight into social conditions became clearer; and yet even "The Banker's Daughter" has at the core of it, the heroine's marriage with a man she does not love, a self-sacrifice which might be termed almost immoral, and which the author never would have approved a few years later. Perhaps he first attained his larger ambition in "Young Mrs. Winthrop," to satisfy it more completely in "The Henrietta," which remains to-day his finest work, the truest and the deepest. Here, indeed, in contradiction to the generally accepted theory that the novel is constantly in advance of the drama in its investigation into society,

the dramatist presented a picture of American life and character sharper in outline than any which had then been achieved by any novelist, excepting the author of "Silas Lapham."

Different as these two plays are, "Young Mrs. Winthrop," a delicate comedy of manners and sentiment, and "The Henrietta," a bold and robust social drama, they had a common origin, in the author's observation of the society in which he lived. It was about at this point in his work that he confided to a friend his discovery that every country had one theme on which numberless plays might be written, with a firm assurance that at least the subject itself would be welcome to the playgoers of that nation. "In France," he explained, "this perennial topic is marital infelicity; in England it is caste; and here in the United States it is business." It was business, in one or another of its ramifications, which he chose to put into the centre of these two plays in which he has most completely expressed himself.

This understanding of the importance of business in American life, and this desire of his to show some of its perils to his fellow citizens, may be taken as added evidence of his keen insight into conditions on this side of the Atlantic and of his intense Americanism,—an Americanism which was cosmopolitan in its outlook and radically free from any spread-eagleism. He knew England well and the English also; and he liked them. He had travelled widely, keeping his mind open as he went, so that he understood other peoples with a quicker sympathy than most Americans. But, though he might choose now and again to present international contrasts of character and to set Americans over against foreigners, sometimes even on foreign soil, it is on his own countrymen that he spends his full strength. His plays, all of them, from first to last, are essentially American in theme and in outlook.

It was in their content only that his comedies revealed the country of their birth. In their form, the later of them were in complete accord with the cosmopolitan standard accepted everywhere at the end of the nineteenth century, when the conditions of performance were identical throughout the world. One of the most interesting results of the comparative study of modern literature is the discovery that exactly the same formula—that of the short story, for example—may now be employed by authors of many different languages, each of whom is putting the full

flavor of his native soil into works composed after a model which has international vogue. Structurally there is a great similarity between the Californian tales of Bret Harte and the Indian narratives of Mr. Rudyard Kipling; and there is the same external likeness between Daudet's sketches of Provençal characters and Mrs. Wilkins-Freeman's studies of New England types. What is true of the short story is true also of the acted drama. "The Henrietta" of Bronson Howard is as vibratingly American in its color as the "Robe Rouge" of M. Brieux is unmistakably French in flavor and as the "Heimat" of Herr Sudermann is emphatically German in tone; but in their form, in their structure, in their method of presenting their several stories, these plays are all closely alike. And it was Bronson Howard who, first of all American playwrights, attained to the compact simplicity and the straightforward directness which this new cosmopolitan formula demands.

Artists often do their best more or less unconscious of their processes, working by native instinct, and incapable of formulating the principles they have obeyed. But there are a few of them, more intelligent it may be and more inquisitive, who are able to deduce from their own practice a body of doctrine for future guidance. This is what Bronson Howard did. He had worked out for himself the principles of the little understood art of dramaturgy. He had as clear insight into the inexorable limitations which govern the presentation of a play on the stage before a succession of audiences as Sarcey had, or the younger Dumas. What he did by intuition, he could justify by precept. He had thought his art through and through in all its manifold intricacies; and as a result he had penetrated to its comparatively few essential laws. He went behind the rough-and-ready rule-of-thumb dogmas of the practical stage-manager to lay firm hold on the permanent principles which underlie them all. One of these stage sayings is the dictum that you must never keep a secret from the audience and never put the spectators on a false scent; and the reasons for this are self-evident. This rule is broken in "Young Mrs. Winthrop" where the author keeps secret the real motives of the husband's repeated visits to the woman of whom the wife is jealous, and where the author allows the spectators to put themselves on a false scent. Here Bronson Howard violated a stage tradition; he transgressed the minor rule to abide

by a major law,—to retain the sympathy of the audience for the heroine when she left her husband's home, a sympathy which she would have lost if the spectators had themselves been aware that the husband's conduct was blameless.

Bronson Howard recognized fully that the drama is not wholly contained within the bounds of literature. Like every other true dramatist, past and present, he wanted his work to be judged in the theatre for which it was written rather than in the library. He would have cordially echoed Molière's declaration that "everybody knows that comedies are written only that they may be acted." He was almost as averse to the printing of his plays as Shakspere was. His latest comedy, "Kate," was published only because it was not likely to be acted immediately, as it called for a cast of competent actors not easily attainable now that the star system has been reduced to the absurd.

In his conversation he liked to dwell on the resemblance between the art of the dramatist and the art of the architect, since the first duty in both is to consider the planning. Solidity of construction is as important to a play as it is to a house. And he held also that true literary merit was to be sought in integrity of workmanship and in veracity of character-drawing. He maintained that literature in the drama should not be external, as so many merely literary critics unfamiliar with the theatre seem to think, but internal. It is not a matter of rhetoric applied on the outside, but a question of sincerity of purpose and honesty of presentation within the play itself. He never descended to decorate his dialogue with pretty speeches, existing only for their own sake. He never enamelled the talk of his characters with detachable witticisms, clever sayings, extracted from the note-book and as effective in one play as in another. His humorous touches were always the expression of character and situation. He had been greatly pleased with Mr. William Archer's keen remark that the good things in the dialogue of one of his comedies had bloomed there naturally, "like blossoms on a laburnum," and were not stuck on arbitrarily "like candles on a Christmas-tree."

His characters say what they ought to say, and in so doing they reveal themselves; but if he refrained from decking his dialogue with flowers of speech, it was not because he had no poetry in him, no invention, no imagination. Invention he had in abundance, and also not a little of the larger informing and inter-

preting imagination. There is pure poetry, for instance, but in action rather than in words, in the funeral scene of "Shenandoah," where the soldier father, all unknowing, walks reverently behind the body of his erring son, who has been redeemed by a heroic death,—a picture of unspoken pathos which must linger in the memories of all who ever beheld the play.

In dealing with American life in the drama, poetically and realistically, Bronson Howard was a pioneer; and every one who seeks to evaluate his work must keep in mind constantly the fact that it was done in a transition period. During his life, he saw the conditions of the theatre in this country change with a swiftness he could not dare to hope for when he began to write for the stage; and no one was more influential than he in bringing about this transformation. Forty years ago, the American theatre was in a condition of colonial dependence upon the British theatre, although that was a period of blank emptiness in the British drama. While the novel was flourishing in England, and while Thackeray and Dickens and George Eliot were adorning prose-fiction, literature and the drama had been divorced. The stage was filled with adaptations from the French, and all the playwrights of the English language were compelled to an unfair competition with the vendors of stolen goods. Charles Reade declared that he was really a dramatist who was forced to be a novelist by bad laws.

The English-speaking stage was then a hotbed of unhealthy unreality, since it was occupied by foreign plays, the plots of which had been violently wrenched into an external conformity with British propriety. Sardou's essentially Gallic "*Pattes de Mouches*" and "*Nos Intimes*" and "*Dora,*" each of them in turn was made over into British plays tainted with incurable falsity to the facts of life. Nowadays a French drama, "The Thief," for example, is translated only and it remains French in character; but forty years ago, or even thirty, it would have been transmogrified into a bastard British drama.

And these perversions of French pieces were then the staple of the American stage. The case would have been sad enough if our theatres had been given over solely to reproductions of British society, so different from our own in its ideals; but it was infinitely worse when our stage was filled with nondescript pieces which misrepresented British society. The American managers

were not to blame for this, since there were then no American playwrights; and they were excusable if they insisted on the London hall-mark. Augustin Daly first, and secondly A. M. Palmer, began to import the Parisian successes direct, presenting them frankly in translation; and they sought diligently for original American plays. This policy was as wise as it was immediately profitable.

But it left Lester Wallack sadly at sea, accustomed as he had been to follow blindly in the footsteps of our British cousins; and Wallack's had been for years the leading theatre of the leading American city. I recall Wallack's plaintive tone when he said to me thirty years ago, "I used to get along very well, with the latest London success and a new play now and then by Dion or by John"—Boucicault and Brougham—"and an old comedy or two. But now I really don't know what they want!" The British tradition seemed so natural to Lester Wallack, so inevitable, that when Bronson Howard, in his 'prentice days, took him a piece called "Drum-Taps"—which was to supply more than one comedy scene to the later "Shenandoah"—the New York manager did not dare to risk a play on so American a theme as the Civil War. He returned it to the young author saying, "Couldn't you make it the Crimea?" But even the hunger to have a first play performed did not tempt Bronson Howard to deprive his work of all its significance.

Other managers there were who had more courage; and in time Bronson Howard got his chance and proved himself, and opened the way for the younger men who have come after him. Whether his plays will long survive him, time alone can tell. Perhaps "The Henrietta," with its virility, its hearty humor and its ingenuity of stagecraft, will last longest. Perhaps his only one-act comedy, the delicate and delightful "Old Love-Letters," will prove more tempting to the next generation. Perhaps the managers of the New Theatre, which is to eschew the star system, will see their way clear to produce his last comedy, "Kate"; and it may be that this, when we see it on the stage, will turn out to be his masterpiece. But, whatever the fate of his plays in the future, the place that Bronson Howard will hold in the history of the American drama is secure; and secure also is his place in the memory of all who had the good fortune to possess his friendship.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

THE CAMPAIGN AND THE SHERMAN LAW.

THE JURY CLAUSE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

BY EDWARD L. ANDREWS.

For the first time in our history, the issues of a national election pivot upon a particular statute. The measure of beneficial freedom to be accorded to business combinations, and the action of the Courts in reference to their transactions, centre around a single Act of Congress. This is the logical outcome of the anomalous conditions which the Anti-Trust law has created. That it introduced a novel economic policy into the practical affairs of the Federal Government is too evident for question. But it has not been made so apparent that, in the effort for the rigorous enforcement of that policy, provisions for punishments and remedies are accumulated in the statute without regard to the spirit of the Constitution, and in some likelihood contrary to its letter fairly interpreted. It is, therefore, a matter of immediate utility to analyze the structure of this famous enactment.

So much has transpired in the last few years concerning the injunction feature of the Sherman law that we have lost sight of its main characteristic. It is essentially a criminal statute. Its basic provisions are those which denounce acts in restraint of trade as crimes, and provide for their punishment as misdemeanors by fine or imprisonment. Several sections which follow these provisions are auxiliary to the criminal fabric of the law. This is especially the case with the section of the Act relating to injunctions—which purports to invest the United States Courts "with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this Act." As the sole violations of the Act are of the criminal character described, the effect of these provisions is to initiate in Federal jurisprudence a system of injunctions against the commission of crimes.

The legislation being of this "octopus" character, let us test it by the restrictions which the Constitution has thrown around the powers of the Federal Courts over criminal acts. By the Judiciary Article it is declared as follows: *"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the crimes shall have been committed."*

To what extent does this provision of the organic law limit the power of Congress? Is the constitutional institute confined to one form of trial of crimes—that known as trials before common-law courts? Can the identical acts be subjected to another form of forensic test—in a court of equity—without examination by a jury? The solution of this question depends upon the true scope and meaning of this primary provision of our Federal jurisprudence.

We have been recently told by the Supreme Court that this clause of the Constitution must be construed in the light of the law as it existed at the time we became a Federal nation—that it secured to us such jury rights as British subjects then possessed. In the historical conditions which existed during the ante-revolutionary period, we must seek the nature and proportions of this popular prerogative. It was evidently a right which had been the subject of attacks, and the memory of those attacks was still so fresh in the minds of the members of the Convention that they secured its protection in the forefront of the Federal charter. The withdrawal of proceedings from the cognizance of the courts of common law to other tribunals—consisting of one or more judges, without juries—had been a favorite trespass of the Stuart kings. This heresy assumed a variety of shapes—scrutiny before Chancellors, High Commissioners and Star Chambers. Their policy was also evidenced in the conferment of judicial power upon the colonial Governors, constituting them courts of equity so-called, and drawing to them and their Councils a variety of matters, both criminal and civil. The result, both in England and in this country, was to create an antagonism to all forms of trial, particularly of crimes, which did not include the verdict of twelve peers. This justifiable spirit is indicated in the Declaration of Independence. As the Articles of Confederation did not confer municipal jurisdiction, the evidences of this feeling will be found in the early State Constitutions, adopted during the

struggle with the Mother Country. In 1789, this spirit of opposition to one-man power on the Bench was reflected in the Constitutional Convention; it was intensified by the conflicts of opinion which preceded the foundation of the new Government, then regarded as a quasi-foreign authority. As the Hamiltonian influence waned at Philadelphia, the Judiciary Article was moulded according to this popular conception, and the result is apparent in the broad and comprehensive phraseology of this Jury Clause of the Constitution.

Certain judicial power was thus conferred on the novel General Government, but it was subjected to this distinct limitation—that under no pretence, nor through any transformation, should the trial of any or all crimes be had without a jury. In the first draft before the Convention the expression employed was "criminal offences," but the Committee of Style substituted the word "crimes," deeming it synonymous with the former words; though in popular acceptation the first phraseology might be esteemed more inclusive. However, it is apparent from other provisions that the verbiage includes misdemeanors as well as felonies, whether punishable by fine alone or by imprisonment.

The paucity of material extant concerning the debates in the Federal Convention deprives us of the benefit of some light on this subject, but this loss is somewhat repaired by the fuller reports of the proceedings in the several State Conventions, whereby the Constitution was finally ratified. The general conception of this subject was expressed by Mr. Dawes in the Massachusetts Convention: "The word 'Court' does not exclude, either by a popular or technical construction, the use of a jury to try the facts." In these thirteen constituent bodies there was much opposition to the Jury Clause, as it was framed, on the ground that it did not extend far enough, that juries should also be made indispensable in Federal civil trials. The answer to this proposition made by James Wilson in the Pennsylvania Convention seems conclusive. That profound jurist said: "There is a want of motive or power in the Government to oppress where suits are between individuals. . . . *But, whenever the Government can be a party against a citizen,* the trial by jury is guarded and secured in the Constitution itself." The essential idea involved in the Jury Clause is expressed in those few words—when the struggle is between the National Government and a citizen, a jury must

participate in the arbitrament. The multiplied provisions of the Sherman Act cannot be reconciled with this language of a leading framer of the Constitution. Of course, in proceedings that are criminal in form, the Government is arrayed against the defendant. Could the General Government declare that certain acts should constitute crimes, and then through any form of procedure—called in equity or otherwise—try a citizen for having committed those very acts, without the aid of a jury? The test is found in Wilson's presentation—if the Government is the actor, a jury is necessary. By these proceedings for injunctions against acts made criminal by this statute the Government violates the letter as well as the spirit of Wilson's interpretation of the Constitution—it is a party both in form and substance against a citizen, and in these conditions the Sherman Act seeks to evade the constitutional requirement of a jury.

The verbiage of the Jury Clause is not contained in a technical document, but in an instrument of government—the powers of which it enumerates but does not define. Following this formal canon of constitutional construction, as enunciated by Marshall, does not the language employed correspond to the historical surroundings and the inclusive purpose of the authors? "The trial of *all* crimes shall be by jury" indicates that legislative enactment cannot subject any criminal acts whatsoever to scrutiny by any other form of proceedings. Moreover, it is not the trial *for* all crimes, but *of* all crimes—apparently pointing to the testing of the commission of crimes through any procedure, rather than the punitive effect of such a trial. The sole exception, in favor of impeachments, strengthens this view—as it indicates that no other modes or methods of trying issues involving crimes are permissible outside the constitutional protective provisions. The breadth of language employed, therefore, reflects the great political object aimed at—to prevent judicial procedure against any individual by the United States in any cause where the gravamen is criminal, unless a jury be empanelled.

The nature of the judgment in equity under the statute does not detract from, but adds to, its substantial antagonism to the constitutional safeguards. A decree against the continuance of a business assailed *as a violation of this criminal enactment* is practically as far-reaching as a judgment in *quo warranto*. It is a real forfeiture, effected without a jury. Under the criminal

clauses of the Sherman law, the maximum result may be a fine of five thousand dollars, but under this quasi-criminal proceeding, called "a bill in equity," the user of millions of property may be forfeited. Therefore, from the point of view of its punitive character, more severe results can be accomplished under the guise of a bill in equity than by an ostensible criminal form of punishment provided in the misdemeanor clauses of the Act.

The decisions of the Supreme Court upon this class of Constitutional provisions dictate their untechnical and liberal construction. Proceedings by the United States for forfeiture of property, though made civil in form, have been pronounced criminal in their nature. Under these pronouncements, no testimony can be forced from a defendant where the result would involve a forfeiture in any form. By parity, must a proceeding civil in form, but involving the same issue as a criminal proceeding, be regarded as substantially the latter—for the preservation of the right of jury trial. In the Debs case, the Supreme Court was careful not to justify the injunction under the Sherman law, but did so directly under the constitutional powers of Congress in reference to mails and interstate commerce.

But it may be pertinently asked: Why has not the Supreme Court applied the Jury Clause, and refused to enforce the injunction section of the Sherman Act, in the Northern Securities case? The reply to this query is found in the record of that case, as well as in other leading causes—the double decisions of the Legal Tender and the Income Tax precedents. It consists in the abstinence from this proposition in the arguments made at Washington. It was indeed claimed that a Federal court of equity has not the power to grant injunctions against the commission of crimes—because such jurisdiction had not been inherited from the English courts of equity. This position was overruled by the Court on the ground that, where acts complained of affected property, and were continuing in nature—analogous to combinations in restraint of trade—Chancellors had enjoined them and could enjoin them.

But this is a different proposition from the one now under discussion; in some respects the present one is the converse of the point decided. The pending inquiry involves the ascertainment of the conditions created by our Constitution in reference to the application of the jury system to the national courts. Was

it not the intention to enhance and magnify that element, and thereby to restrain the powers which it was apprehended that the Federal Judges would exert, as shown by the contemporaneous debates?

Notwithstanding the absence of argument upon this constitutional question, a peculiar incident occurred in this connection in the Northern Securities case. One of the concurring Judges referred in a cursory way to the subject, saying: "But this is not a criminal prosecution." Should this remark, indisputable as matter of fact, be deemed an opinion limiting the scope of this constitutional provision, as if it were entertained after hearing argument? The history of the Dartmouth College case is fruitful of suggestion on this topic. Students of the subject are familiar with the fact that the constitutional ground on which that decision rests was invoked at the last moment as a forlorn hope. But we know that the Court estimated the proposition differently.

It will be noted that no question of the legal power of Congress to pass an anti-trust law is involved. But in the effort to make such a law omnipotent, it cannot run counter to provisions of the Constitution other than the interstate commerce clause. It might have simply provided for injunctions against persons or corporations combining to restrain such commerce. Or it might elect solely to constitute such acts into crimes. But it could not, within its juridical limitations, do both. No Federal crimes exist except treason, unless specially called into existence by Congress. Under such conditions, it would have required a bold legislator to present to the First Congress, or many of its successors, a Bill proposing to make criminal a commercial combination, and by one of its subdivisions to provide for action solely by a Judge to restrain a defendant from conducting his business on the ground that it was made criminal by the statute. The question of its criminality is the gist of the matter—which the founders have declared to be the province of laymen acting as a jury. Yet this anti-trust law purports to enable the judges to pass upon this matter of fact as the basis of injunctions.

The phase of this question which bears on the power of the Federal courts to commit for contempt is likewise worthy of discussion. Is not the "judicial power at law and in equity" to be construed in connection with the succeeding clause—requiring a jury for "the trial of all crimes"? Was not the exercise of

arbitrary power by the King's judges, sitting in equity, the main evil aimed at by the Jury Clause? In respect to the form of judgment, by imprisonment, the contempt power is more analogous to incidents of a trial of crime than the restraint of combination—which was not a criminal act at common law. To say that power to commit for contempt is inherent in the judicial power may be true, but it does not touch this question—which involves the mode of trying the offence of contempt, as indicated by the Constitution. The jury is as much a part of this judicial power as the Judge.

In its bearing upon the campaign for the control of the executive power of the nation, this crucial legislation may be considered in reference to the importance of its amendment. Whatever differences of opinion may exist concerning the exact legal scope of the Jury Clause, there can be little difference about the desirability of amending the Sherman Act to conform to the spirit of the Constitution. Our revolutionaries clearly disfavored determinations upon the issue whether a criminal act had been committed, without oral testimony, away from the vicinage, and by a single Judge. As all those incidents pertain to Chancery proceedings, they were repugnant to the spirit which pervaded the Anglo-Americans of 1789. This mental condition is illustrated by the parsimony with which some States dribbled equity powers by specific statutes alone. The fact that proceedings by affidavit or other written testimony, placed before a Chancellor, are of readier availability than oral testimony for injunctive purposes rather increased the original and historical antagonism to this course of procedure. Even if we deem these objections to dispensing with the Jury Clause a mere moral reflex of the Constitution, they should be respected.

What course of amendment to the Sherman Law on this line of thought should prevail? Which should be repealed, the criminal clauses or the injunction clause? The choice should be promptly made by Congress: as the conjunction of both may lead to a judicial re-examination, resulting in the annulment of the injunction clause, and leaving the ineffectual criminal provisions "standing solitary and alone."

EDWARD L. ANDREWS.

THE FIRST FILIPINO ASSEMBLY AND ITS WORK.

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER, JUDGE OF THE COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE, MANILA.

On October 16th last, the United States Philippine Commission, pioneer legislative body of the Archipelago, became the Upper House of the new Philippine Legislature, sharing its powers with an elective Assembly of eighty members, the first to be instituted among a Malay people. The outcome of this novel experiment has been awaited with interest by students of political science and history throughout the world, and many theories and prognostications have been advanced. We are now for the first time in a position to say, not what the Assembly may or will do, but what it actually has done. On June 19th, after holding inaugural, regular and special sessions, it finally adjourned and its record is open to inspection.

The Volume of Legislation.—During the interval of eight months between the opening and closing of the Assembly, seventy-five new acts were passed. Of these, two were enacted by the Commission alone, exercising the exclusive prerogative, which it still retains, of legislating for the non-Christian provinces. A number of others are such as would be classed by a State Legislature as private or special acts, as they relate to particular localities, or, as is true of three, to particular corporations. Compared with a body like the American Congress, which, during a similar period, considers or enacts thousands of laws, the number passed by the Assembly seems exceedingly small. But to judge its work by such a standard would be unfair. In the first place, the field of legislation had already been quite well covered, for the Philippines are anything but a new country in this regard. The Philippine Commission, for the seven years preceding, had been legis-

lating almost continually, and the number of its enactments alone amounted to 1,800—more, probably, than those of most of our newer States. Back of this lay a very considerable body of legislation by the Spaniards, three of whose Codes—Penal, Civil and Commercial—together with much more, have been retained. It was natural that the Assembly should find less occasion for new laws than its members might have anticipated. In the second place, legislation was a new experience for the Filipinos. Practically nothing of the kind had been attempted by them previously, and in consequence much time had to be devoted to organization, learning methods of procedure and the mechanics of legislation. More than two-thirds of the acts were passed during the last month of the session.

Educational Measures.—Of the seventy-three laws approved by the Assembly no less than nine—or one-eighth of the whole, and a much larger proportion of those of general interest—relate to popular education. The very first act was one appropriating $500,000 for the construction of schoolhouses in the *barrios* (rural districts). This was followed by acts appropriating $37,500 for the salaries of teachers in such schools, $25,000 for training, at the Insular Schools of Manila, teachers to be selected from different municipalities throughout the Archipelago, and the general appropriation bill which allowed $1,650,000 for the Bureau of Education and its teaching staff during the ensuing year, and $72,500 for the Government Medical School. Besides this, there were acts authorizing the Governor-General, "in his discretion," to convey public lands, with the buildings thereon, to provinces and municipalities for public school purposes, providing for "popular civico-educational lectures" in the *barrios,* under the supervision of the Director of Education and more directly in charge of municipal teachers, and establishing a Philippine Public Library with provision for the collection and preservation of historical documents. To crown this branch of its work, the Assembly passed, practically without amendment, a bill, introduced by the Secretary of Public Instruction in the Commission and approved by that body, providing for the foundation of a "University of the Philippines." This measure, modelled on the charters of our State Universities, may well be regarded as the most important work of the first Philippine Legislature. It ought to mark a new era in American educational effort in the Far East, and ultimately

make Manila a centre of university influence for the spread of higher learning and Anglo-Saxon culture throughout Asia. Just as in our State Universities, the observance of "Charter-Day" or "Founders'-Day" is a yearly event, so in future years we may expect the "University of the Philippines" to commemorate June 18th, 1908, as marking the advent of the American public university in the Orient.

Those who have sought, from one motive or another, to delude the American people into the belief that their educational mission in the Archipelago was a failure, and that it was not appreciated or responded to by the Filipinos, will find little comfort in this record of loyal support by the representatives of that people. Of the ten acts above mentioned (including the appropriation bill), all but three originated in the Assembly (being changed by the Commission only in phraseology and form), and those three were passed without opposition. How well does this fact confirm the estimate made by the Philippine Commission, as a result of one of its tours, nearly ten years ago. Their report contained the following statement: "The Commission takes pleasure in recording the fact that it was everywhere and at all times assured, both by friendly Filipinos and by insurgent representatives, that the people of the Islands would cheerfully bear almost any burden of taxation having for its object the provision of funds for a good public-school system."*

Other Legislation.—These acts relating to education form by far the largest class of those passed. Indeed, the number of important laws outside of these was not large. One provides for promoting and maintaining irrigation systems, appropriating $375,000 therefor, and another is the new employers' liability law. The latter is framed along somewhat the same lines as those which characterize the recent acts of Congress and of certain State Legislatures, but it appears to be more moderate, the limit of recovery, even in case of death, being fixed at $1,250. The "fellow-servant's" rule at which recent American legislation has been directed was never in vogue in the Philippines.

The attitude of the American press and public in the Islands toward the Assembly has been one of almost uniformly friendly interest and encouragement. Criticisms of certain of its acts have not been wanting, but they have come chiefly from Filipino

* Rep. Phil. Com. (1900), pp. 41, 42.

sources and have proceeded upon party lines. These criticisms have mainly concerned (1) the unseating of two members who, it was claimed, had been lawfully elected and were entitled to their seats; (2) the passage of an act raising the salaries of members to fifteen dollars a day; and (3) the appropriation of $17,000 to defray the expenses of a delegate to the International Navigation Conference at St. Petersburg. The first was the cause of much bitter strife, both in and out of the Assembly. Regarding the last two measures, it was urged that they were inconsistent with the ante-election demands of economy, especially in view of the fact that the Conference last mentioned was already in session and would be closed before the delegate could reach St. Petersburg. The attitude of the Commission as to these matters was one of non-interference. Its position, apparently, was that, as the revenues were raised in the Philippines, the members of the Assembly should be held responsible to their constituents, and not to the Commission, for appropriations originating in the Lower House.

Some Results.—Those who expected the first Filipino Assembly to be a radical, if not revolutionary, body, devoting its time and efforts to plots and protests against the constituted authorities, have been disappointed. Not only have its members co-operated amicably with those authorities, but their course throughout has shown a genuine appreciation of American achievements in the Philippines and a desire to continue the work so well begun. The first official act of the Assembly, after its organization, was the passage of a joint resolution reciting that:

"The people of the Philippine Islands fully recognize in the action taken by the Government of the United States in creating the said Assembly a proof of its confidence in said people, as well as a continuation of the democratic traditions of the United States;"

and conveying

"to the President of the United States, and through him to the Congress and the people of the United States, their profound sentiments of gratitude and high appreciation of the signal concession made to the people of the Islands of participating directly in the making of the laws which shall govern them."

But the best expression of this sentiment, after all, is to be found in the character of the work done as well as of that left undone. Few measures were introduced into the Assembly, and

fewer still considered, whose effect would have been to overturn any important feature of the settled American policy. Even measures like the Internal Revenue Law, which met decided opposition at the time of their passage, were left untouched by the Assembly. There could scarcely be a higher tribute to the work and wisdom of those patriotic men who, in the opening years of the present century, first planted American institutions in the Orient, or a clearer demonstration that, in their efforts toward the uplift of the Philippines, the American people have been writing one of the most creditable chapters in their history.

CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER.

EARLY INVESTIGATIONS IN SPIRITUALISM.

BY JOHN TOWNSEND TROWBRIDGE.

It is now more than fifty years since I first became familiar with the phenomena of so-called spirit communication. If my early investigations are worth recalling, it is because of the interest that attaches particularly to the beginnings of great movements, and because few persons now living can relate experiences extending so far back, with these amazing manifestations of a power that remains no less mysterious and no less real, after having been so often explained away.

Mrs. Hayden and the Raps.—Early in the year 1852, Dr. William R. Hayden, publisher of a weekly newspaper in Boston, asked me one day in his office if I had ever heard the "Rochester Knockings." He went on to say: "I've got them, or something of the kind, in my house, and I don't know what to make of them." The "Rochester Knockings," as they and kindred phenomena were termed at the time, having first manifested themselves in Rochester three or four years before, had afterwards broken out in many places, and become a subject of wonder or ridicule all over the country. I had hitherto regarded them with sceptical indifference, but what Dr. Hayden had to say of them roused my curiosity, and I eagerly accepted an invitation to hear them that evening at his house.

The séance had commenced when I arrived. The doctor placed a chair for me at a table around which were seated three or four other persons, all strangers to me, except Hayden's partner in the newspaper business, Mr. Peabody. Mrs. Hayden was the medium; I then saw her for the first time. I observed her carefully during the evening, and never for a moment doubted her sincerity of character and honesty of purpose; an impression which some years of subsequent acquaintance with her tended to

confirm. She was not especially cultured, but a woman of good sense, pleasant manners and an amiable disposition.

When silence, interrupted by my entrance, had been restored, we all listened, and soon heard a series of rapid but faint concussions, which seemed to be neither on nor under the table, but in the leaf itself, somewhere between the medium and the shaded lamp before her. Mr. Peabody, who was getting a message from his "gran'sir'," passed a pencil up and down a printed alphabet that lay on the table, and paused when a decisive rap was heard. Thus words, sentences and finally a long communication were spelled out. It was something quite commonplace, such a message as any other grandfather might have given any other person present; but what astonished me was that any message at all should be given in that way. The medium's hands were in sight all the time, usually folded on the edge of the table, and she seemed to await the result of the word-building with as genuine an interest as any of us. At times, a mistake would occur, which would not be discovered until it was found that the sentence did not make sense. Then the pencil would go back over it until a rap would indicate the word that was out of place or misspelled. Other messages were given, and a few names spelled out, which some present declared to be the names of departed friends, unknown to the medium, but I received nothing more definite than "Father," hard as I tried to get some initial. The séance over, Mrs. Hayden welcomed my most searching questions as to what she knew of the raps and how they were produced, and I was convinced of her candor when she looked earnestly into my eyes and said: "I know no more about them than you do." I went away puzzled and astonished, but by no means satisfied that departed spirits had anything to do with them.

This séance was fairly representative of the early, crude manifestations which were then awakening an interest in Boston, and which I witnessed on frequent occasions in Mrs. Hayden's presence. Many surprising "tests" were received by others when I was in the circle, of which a single example will suffice. Once the word "Squeak" was spelled out for a young man, a stranger to the Haydens, and to all of us except a friend who had introduced him. He appeared much agitated, the communication purporting to come from his mother.

"When I was about nine years old," he afterwards explained,

"I had a new pair of shoes, and was so proud of making them squeak as I walked about the house that she gave me that nickname and often called me by it. But it hasn't been in my mind, I haven't thought of it, for years."

I got some tests for myself, but nothing very well worth recording, until one memorable occasion when I had the good fortune to find Mrs. Hayden alone. She was reading an evening paper, which she laid aside as I entered. The raps came on the table almost as soon as I was seated; and in a little while she said, "They want to communicate with you." I replied, "If I can get a message without taking up your time, it will give me great satisfaction. Keep on reading your 'Transcript' and let me see if anything will come."

She assented and sat with her shoulder towards the lamp, in order to get the light on her paper, while I placed myself on the opposite side of the table. Not only was her face turned away from me, but the lamp was between us, and she could not by any possibility have seen the letters at which my pencil pointed.

One of the first words rapped out was "Father." That was not surprising; it had been spelled out for me several times before, and it was in my mind at the time. My father was to me the nearest and dearest intelligence in the life beyond this, if there was any life beyond this, or any such intelligence. I said: "If you are really my father, you should be able to give me your name," which was immediately followed by a lively dance of raps on the table. I carried the pencil down the alphabet, and there came a response at *W*, the right initial (the name being Windsor). I had a notion that anything that came might be a reflection from the mind of some one present; and it was just possible that an unconscious movement of my own hand had influenced the rap. But the letter I next expected, which should have been *i*, was passed over, and no knock came until I arrived at *s*. I could make nothing of that; and the next letter given, *t*, was still more mystifying. "*Wst*" could start no orthographical combination of letters. "Is that right?" I asked; and a brief patter of affirmative raps responded. The next letter was *o*, and I had the enigmatical beginning "*Wsto*," which could certainly lead to no intelligible conclusion. Then an *n* was added to my riddle; and, Mrs. Hayden happening to look up, I asked her if she could make anything of it.

"Are the letters all right?" she asked. Decided raps—"yes." "Does he read them aright?" In response, an *e* was added, and I had "*Wstone.*" The right reading flashed upon me; and when I rewrote them, "W. Stone," the glee manifested by the little concussions in the board was something affectingly human. "Stone" was my father's middle name, which I had not had in my mind at all, while W. was his first initial. This was all I could then get of the name, which was not given in full until a later sitting.

I was quite overcome by this evidence of an operating intelligence separate from my own mind or the medium's, and possibly of my father's actual presence. I remember well the effect produced upon me, indescribable in any terms, as I sat gazing at what I had written from the mysterious dictation, and trying to grasp its bewildering significance.

Mrs. Hayden resumed her "Transcript" and I the use of the alphabet and pencil, asking, from that time on, mental questions only, and receiving answers as direct and relevant as if I had asked aloud. Some of these came in a way as unexpected and surprising as that in which the name had been given; but as they related chiefly to my father's last illness, they cannot suitably be detailed here. Things I had forgotten, until thus reminded, came first, and matters which I thought should come first came afterwards; but all were correctly given, although one part of the message was wholly unintelligible, until a mistake in writing it down was discovered, as in the case of the first and second names, thus affording additional proof of the action of a mind independent of my own. That the medium's volition, or cognizance of results, had nothing to do with all this was absolutely certain; only her presence was necessary for the production of the raps. Who and what, then, was the invisible collocutor in this astounding telepathic dialogue? Where the other station, and what the nature of the instrument, that by such simple but inscrutable means transmitted messages charged with the purport of things known only to the dead, if the dead were not still alive?

I received through Mrs. Hayden's mediumship various communications after this, generally satisfactory when conditions were favorable, and all, even when trivial or baffling, as they sometimes were, tending to confirm my conviction that they came from some source beyond her consciousness or my own. Granting that the

intelligence shown might have had a subconscious origin in either of us, the raps by which it was interpreted remained still to be explained. That they could not be accounted for on any "toe-joint" theory, I had startling proof on one occasion when I had walked home with the doctor in the afternoon, and only he and his wife were present with me at the table. It was a heavy centre table. The doctor and I were on opposite sides of it, the medium at my right hand. I have quite forgotten what had been going on, when the raps became so unusually loud that the doctor said, jokingly, "Can't you knock any louder than that?" Instantly there came so tremendous a blow in the massive mahogany that I cried out, excitedly, "Hayden, you kicked it!" "Did I?" he said, at the same time moving his chair back two or three feet towards the wall. Immediately another resounding blow followed, and the table, as if impelled by it, rolled towards him on its casters and tilted over upon him, the leaf resting on his knees. "Who kicked it that time?" he retorted, while Mrs. Hayden also moved her seat back, as if to get out of the way of such antics. I followed their example, so that the table had a wide space for its uncanny performances. After resting on his knees for a few seconds, it righted itself (his hands were held up in full view over it), glided back across the floor, gently at the start, then with increasing momentum, and tipped over again lightly as a feather, this time on my knees. Both the doctor and Mrs. Hayden were several feet away from it, and I remained passive, holding up my hands until it once more righted itself and rolled to its original position in the centre of the room. All this was in broad daylight. The performance concluded with several loud raps.

"Did I kick it?" chuckled the doctor in his corner, and I was obliged to admit that he was as innocent of kicking as I was. The floor was carpeted; there was no possibility of any mechanism being concealed in or under the table, and there was an open space between it and the medium. On several occasions after this, in the presence of other mediums, I saw tables and other pieces of furniture tipped and moved, generally with curtains drawn and lights turned low; but it was a kind of exhibition I never much cared for, or went out of my way to witness.

It was an interesting feature of the early séances with Mrs. Hayden that no pecuniary profit was derived from them, and both she and her husband appeared to be as disinterested investigators

as any of their guests. But as the medium's power developed and became more widely known, the demands made upon her time by their friends and the friends of their friends correspondingly increased; until the doctor announced to me one day, "It's one of two things; it has got to stop, or it has got to be a business." I implored him not to make it a business; but he shook his head. "There's money in it," he said; and money was an important consideration with him just then. His weekly newspaper was not flourishing, and he had been for some time anxious to turn his attention to some more profitable enterprise. Was not here a providential opening, with opportunity to aid in giving to the world the revelation of spirit communication, and of grasping at the same time a fortune? He seemed to think so; and Mrs. Hayden became a public medium.

She was undoubtedly the best in Boston, in those days, and she soon became the most noted. The doctor disposed of his newspaper interest, and devoted his energies to the new business. For a while it drew in a good deal of money, but this never came in quite fast enough, and he conceived a bold scheme of taking Mrs. Hayden to London and achieving a success with her there, beyond anything possible on this side of the Atlantic. His judgment was in a measure justified by the results. He took a house in a fashionable quarter, and soon attracted to it throngs of visitors, many of them titled or otherwise distinguished, dukes, authors, reformers, men of science—Bulwer Lytton for one, then at the height of his fame as a novelist; and, for another, old Robert Owen, the Socialist, then an octogenarian, who, through Mrs. Hayden's mediumship, became converted from his life-long philosophical scepticism to a belief in immortality. The avowal of this conversion through her means I had from the aged philanthropist's own lips, when I saw him in London in the spring of 1855, and talked with him through his ear-trumpet on what had become to him the most vitally interesting of all topics.

The fee of a guinea was paid as readily for admission to these London sittings as half a dollar had been paid in Boston; and the doctor's dream of affluence might have been realized if the expenses of living abroad had not been proportionately high, or if other mediums had not soon crowded in to reap their share of the harvest.

Vision and Prophecy.—One of my intimate friends of those

years was Benjamin P. Shillaber, who had gained a reputation as a genial humorist by his sayings of "Mrs. Partington." He was then editing "The Carpet-Bag," a weekly paper, mildly comic, to which I was a contributor. He was also interested in the mysterious communications, and we often discussed them when we met. One day in his office, he spoke to me of a friend whose wife was developing some extraordinary mediumistic traits. This friend was Alonzo E. Newton, editor of "The Pathfinder Railway Guide," whose office was in the same building with "The Carpet-Bag." I eagerly accepted the offer of an introduction. We found Mr. Newton correcting proofs at his desk; and, after a little talk about the manifestations in his house, he invited me to call and witness them for myself. This was in October, 1852.

I called one evening, and made acquaintance with Mrs. Newton in their modest home. She was *petite* in person, of a singularly trustful and sympathetic nature, generously impulsive, and, like her husband, earnestly religious. They were both members of the Edwards Congregational Church, although Mr. Newton was even then penning his remarkable letter to the Church on "The Ministry of Angels Realized," giving their own private, personal experience, and adducing Scriptural authority for the new, or rather renewed, faith;—a letter which both signed, and which, when printed, created a considerable stir among the members of the body to which it was addressed, and led finally to the signers' withdrawal from a communion that had long been the habit of their lives and was still dear to them. This was the first of a long series of able writings on the same and kindred topics by which Mr. Newton became well known to the Spiritualists of America. His wife's mediumship was as different as possible from that which produced the rappings and other more material manifestations. When, as we sat together that first evening, the "influence," as it was called, came upon Mrs. Newton, her eyes closed, her features assumed a rapt expression; she drew two or three deep breaths, in what seemed a condition of semi-trance (although she never at such times lost consciousness), and began to speak. The subject was their troubled relations with the Church, regarding which some invisible friend was giving them comfort and counsel. Not invisible to her, however, for to her inward eyes the room was full of spiritual beings, some as real to her as if they had appeared in the flesh. The first communicant gave way

to others, and some really beautiful and inspiring things were spoken on the subject of spirit existence and the belief in it,—of all which I recall little but the ease and readiness of the language, quite different from the medium's ordinary speech. At length she turned to me and said in a changed voice, after a pause, "Your father is here." I asked some questions, hoping for a test, but got none, although the answers were such as my father might have given, and her description of him was consistent with my recollection of his form and features, after a lapse of eight or nine years. Whether these visions had any actuality, or existed in the seer's too weird imagination, I had no means of knowing, but I was convinced of the purity of her intentions, and of her husband's absolute faith in her.

My visits to the house became frequent after this, and I had the satisfaction of witnessing, and even of assisting in, the development of new phases of her mediumship. She was the first person I ever knew who had the psychometric faculty. I found her wonderfully accurate in reading the characters of persons wholly unknown to her if something belonging to them—a lock of hair or their handwriting—was placed between her palms or on her forehead. It might be enclosed in a blank envelope; for it was not necessary for her to see it, or even to know what it was. Once I tried the experiment of enclosing letters from three different correspondents in separate blank envelopes, shuffling them together, so that I myself should not know one from the other, and afterwards taking them from my pocket at random, one at a time, and giving them to her to "psychometrize"—a newly coined word that was called into active service in those days. From two of these, she received only a confused impression, perhaps in consequence of their juxtaposition for an hour or more in my pocket; but of the third she said, "The magnetism of this is strong enough to overcome anything! The writer is a man, and in force and energy a perfect steam-engine!" She then went on to describe with marvellous discrimination one of my intimate friends, Charles Graham Halpine, poet and journalist, later well known as the writer of the "Private Miles O'Reilly" "Adventures and Letters," and Adjutant-General in our Civil War. It was a note from him that was in the envelope.

Psychometry of this kind may be only a faculty of the mind, and have nothing to do necessarily with departed spirits, but that

it was not so in her case I had what seemed ample evidence. Often in reading characters in this way, she would have visions of spirits that were giving her impressions, and sometimes she would describe the departed friends or relatives of the writers of the letters. Once I placed on her forehead a letter from my sister, Mrs. Fidelia Phelps, of Lockport, New York. After holding it there for a moment she said, "How many sisters have you?" I replied, "Four." "This letter," she went on, "was written by one of them." I asked, "Which one?" After some hesitation she replied, "Not the one who wrote the letter you gave me the other day" (which was a letter from my oldest sister, living in Illinois) "nor the youngest. Some one says 'second, second.' Is it your second sister?" "Go on and describe her," I said; and she continued: "She has black hair—dark eyes—there is something peculiar about them—she has some trouble in her eyes." After much more, which was perfectly accurate as to the personal appearance and character of my second sister, she said that a child, a boy about twelve years old, was present, who called the writer of the letter "Mother." That seemed the only positive error, while everything else that had been said was correct, some of it even surprisingly correct. I remarked, "My sister never had such a child." The medium seemed troubled for a moment, then replied, "He insists that he is the son of the sister who wrote this letter, and that he has been several years in the spirit world. Your father and other relatives are here with him."

Before I slept that night, I wrote to my sister, relating the circumstances of the interview even to the last apparent error; and in a few days received from her the explanation. She had had, about twelve years before, a son that died at birth—an event of which I, an absent young brother, had, naturally enough, not been informed.

That many of Mrs. Newton's visions were merely pictures presented to her mind or created by her own imagination was quite certain. She herself was aware of the distinction, but insisted that the pictures were "impressions" given to her by spirit visitants, and that her own conscious volition had nothing to do with them. They were generally symbolic of some truth or some lesson to be conveyed, and were often highly poetic, even prophetic. When, in writing the novel "Martin Merrivale," I endowed the

blind girl, Alice, with this faculty of pictorial vision it was no fictitious fancy, but a psychological reality attributed to the fictitious character.

In the latter part of June, 1853, I had planned a trip to the White Mountains in company with Dr. Harris, a dentist of Worcester. Having received from him what I supposed to be a final letter on the subject, I handed it to Mrs. Newton. She passed into her usual state of semi-trance and said, presently, "You will not take that trip with Dr. Harris."

To my remark that the arrangements were made and could not well be changed, she answered, emphatically: "You will not take the trip. *They* say so. They do not explain why. But"—she gave a shudder—"I see a strange thing!" It was some seconds before she added, "A horrible thing! A man hanging by the neck." I asked what that had to do with it. "I don't know," she replied, "but it is somehow in the way of your taking the trip." And she repeated very positively, "You will not go to the mountains with Dr. Harris."

As some of her visions seemed to have no special significance, I concluded that this was one of them, but I was impressed by it, as it threatened an interruption of my plans. Two or three days afterwards I saw in "The Boston Post" this item: "Dr. Post, a dentist of Willimantic, Connecticut, has committed suicide by hanging himself to a bedpost." The coincidence of the words "Boston Post," "Dr. Post" and "bedpost" served to fix the item in my mind, although I was far from connecting it with Mrs. Newton's vision. The date of the suicide was not given, and I did not afterwards take the trouble to ascertain it, which seems now unaccountable negligence on my part, for upon that depends the question whether the vision was altogether prophetic or merely, in the ordinary sense, clairvoyant. My impression has always been that the vision was received before the incident took place; and I am aware how immensely the interest of the incident would be enhanced if this point could be established. It may seem strange that I did not make careful investigations and records of such matters to their minutest details; but they had become too common in my experience to be considered worth taking trouble about, and I had no thought of ever making use of them in the future.

It was still some days after the item appeared in the "Post" that I received a letter from Dr. Harris saying, "I find I shall

not be able to take the White Mountains trip with you, for the reason that my assistant, whom I expected to leave in charge of the office during my absence, has been called to Willimantic to take the place of Dr. Post, who lately committed suicide."

We did not make the trip. Whether the suicide antedated the vision or not, the prediction of a circumstance concerning me that came to pass in this roundabout way, was sufficiently curious.

Some of the best of Mrs. Newton's perceptions had a prophetic character, unless we are to regard them as extraordinary coincidences; and they continued of not infrequent occurrence during many years. She never became a public medium, but she was always ready, even too ready, to "sit" for her friends, and for others whom her husband's reputation as a writer brought to the house; and I was more than once present when she gave astonishing "tests" to persons she had never seen before. I will give one more instance of her vaticinal faculty, although it belongs to a period later than those I have described.

I was present one evening when she passed "under the influence," and saw around my head something like the halo of a saint. I questioned the appropriateness of this, when she proceeded: "It is not a halo; it is more like a planetary ring—one of the rings thrown off from the sun in the formation of the planets." After a pause she continued, "Now it is no longer a ring, but it all breaks up and comes together in a single mass; and there is another ring forming." So she described the evolution of four or five rings, one after another, each in turn condensing into a planet. There were certainly four, but she was not quite sure of the fifth. To my question as to the meaning of it all she replied: "Your mind is the sun, and they are a series of books you are to write, all connected, belonging to one system. The first will be written very soon, and the others will follow." I had not in mind the writing of any such books, or of any book at all, at that time. But very soon after I was called upon, most unexpectedly, to write a serial story for "Our Young Folks" (a magazine that I was then editing), which satisfied readers and publishers so well that I followed it with a sequel, and that with another, and so on, until I had written for "Our Young Folks" and "St. Nicholas" five serial stories, each complete in itself, but all having "Jack Hazzard" for the principal character. The apparent verification of the prophecy may, of course, have been

merely coincidental; but it was a pleasing fancy that the ring, in each case, corresponded with the serial publication running through the year, and that the "planet" was the volume into which the twelve numbers were duly gathered at the end.

Is there, then, a wisdom of the spirit, or are there invisible beings surrounding and prompting us, that "can look into the seeds of time and say which grain will grow"? Or is it all illusion?

Conclusions.—In the earlier years of which I have been writing, I lost no opportunity of studying the various phases of mediumistic manifestations, public or private. Many of these were as astonishing as those I have described; but I need not speak of them further than to say that, while some were undoubtedly eked out by trickery, or were perhaps altogether fraudulent, I was forced to conclude that they were for the most part genuine. By this I mean that they were not produced by any sleight-of-hand or system of deception, but that mediums themselves understood no more of their nature and origin than the intelligent, unbiased spectator. How, then, are they to be accounted for? All sorts of agencies have been conjectured from that day to this; electricity, nerve atmosphere, psychic force, telepathy, unconscious cerebral action, anything, often, rather than the single, simple explanation to which all the phenomena, in whatever plane, unmistakably point. Even that overdriven and broken-down hack, Mesmerism, has been taken out of the limbo of humbuggery, to which science previously consigned it, curried and caparisoned, renamed "Hypnotism," and ridden bravely in the crusade against the greater delusion.

I do not propose to philosophize on the subject here, but merely to point out that, while electricity may be employed in the production of raps and kindred phenomena, it can hardly supply the intelligence accompanying them; and that, although telepathy may enable your medium to select from a number of folded paper pellets the one on which you have secretly written the name of a departed friend, and write for you a message on some subject known only to you and that friend; yet when he slips up his sleeve and shows you that friend's initials raised in red welts on his arm (all which I have witnessed) telepathy steps down from the witness-stand and walks out of court.

So of all the other theories except one. Why not accept the testimony of the manifesting power itself? Question the mys-

terious agency behind all the diverse forms of what are called spiritualism, who or what it is, and the answer never comes "Magnetism," "Thought-transference," "Subliminal consciousness," nor anything of that sort, but always and invariably, "We are spirits." If aught else, why does it not sometimes say so? Why will it not listen to argument, and admit that it has hitherto mistaken its own identity? According to my experience, the different aspects of the phenomena are like a circle of mirrors, some fair and clear, others more or less murky, but all reflecting their rays upon a central focus of truth. Not that the assumption of spirit mediation explains everything. Much is still hopelessly obscure. But the wonder is, not that this wireless telegraphy should encounter so many disturbing influences, but that there should be any communication at all across the dim boundaries of states so unthinkably dissimilar.

The one incredible thing, from the materialistic point of view, is that the individual spirit should continue to exist after the body's dissolution. Difficulties disappear when we admit this possibility. It is no argument against the spiritualistic origin of the messages that so many of them are imperfect or contradictory or even illiterate and vulgar. The ignorant and the depraved are not, on entering the spheres beyond this, transformed at once into angels of light. It is an error to regard whatever purports to come from those spheres as authoritative and worthy of acceptance; as if we should heed all the voices that call us through a speaking-tube, to which not only the friends who have gone out from us, but the rabble of the street also have access. Is it not equally unwise to cut off and condemn all communication, because many of the calls are false or foolish or broken by baffling echoes?

JOHN TOWNSEND TROWBRIDGE.

CONGRESSIONAL SALARY LEGISLATION.

BY HUBERT BRUCE FULLER.

THE comparatively recent enactment of a Salary Law by Congress suggests one of the most interesting and fascinating subjects of legislation in our national career. Every previous attempt on the part of Congress to increase the salaries of its own members met rebuke, varying from quiet denunciation to veritable cyclones which swept the country, and in their destructive course visited utter annihilation upon some of the most promising national careers.

When the first Congress of the United States convened in New York in 1789, the question of salaries to be voted the various Federal officials proved one of the most perplexing of the many difficult problems which confronted the uninitiated. Before the question was brought to an issue, many of the more impecunious members had been reduced to the embarrassing necessity of negotiating loans from their friends. At length, a committee of the House of Representatives was named to frame a report and prepare recommendations upon the salaries for the President, Vice-President and members of Congress. This committee, following the usual trend of untried minds put to the solution of a novel task, looked about for some precedent to serve them as a guide. This precedent was the pay received by the members of the Congresses of the Confederation.

Under the Confederation, each State paid its own representatives in Congress and instructed and recalled them at pleasure. The compensation in all cases was based on the *per diem* theory and ranged from four dollars, paid by the smaller, to eight dollars provided by the more affluent, States.

Invoking the law of averages, the committee ascertained that the various States had paid their members approximately six

dollars and a half *per diem* for actual service. They, therefore, reported a bill providing for payment at six dollars *per diem*.

When the Salary Bill came up for discussion in the House, the Presidential salary was, naturally, first approached. All manner of theories, figures and methods of payment were suggested, but $25,000 a year was finally voted; and, after heated debate, the salary of the Vice-President was fixed at $5,000.

The committee reported in favor of six dollars a day for Senators and Representatives and double that amount for the Speaker of the House. The flood-gates of oratory were opened wide. The press ridiculed and stormed by turns. Amendments of every manner and description were offered. The opponents, chiefly anti-Federalists, frantically declared that the members of Congress would riot in profligacy, supporting indecent theatres, imbibing costly wines, and by their example of extravagance prevent other States from joining the Union.

Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, moved to amend and allow Senators six dollars *per diem* and Representatives five dollars. To his mind, this seemed more in harmony with the spirit manifested in the Constitution toward these two Houses. The Senate was more dignified in its personnel and required more ability, greater age and longer service than the House.

Richard Lee, of Virginia, seconded Sedgwick's appeal. He contemplated the Senate as a barrier between the Executive and the House of Representatives, shielding the people from the dangers of attack by an aspiring Magistracy, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, from being "desolated by the anarchy often generated by a time-servingness to veering popularity." He supported a distinction in favor of the Senators of two or three dollars a day. Madison commended this idea and Washington declared himself to be "clearly of opinion that there ought to be a difference in the wages of the members of the two Houses of the Legislature."

John Vining, of Delaware, opposed Lee's solution of the question, and declared with prophetic tone:

"When I consider the mode in which the Senate is elected, I apprehend we may have there men whose wealth has created them the influence necessary to get in. If anything is to be expected by this 'refined choice' it is that men of rank and opulence will draw the regard of the small and select circle of a State Legislature: while the Representatives in

this House, being the choice of the fellow citizens, among whom rank and dignity are rather unpopular, will consist of men of middling circumstances."

Then, as ever in the history of debate, clever wit proved a match for cold logic. Jackson, of Georgia, aroused a storm of applause by the query whether a Senator would eat more or drink more costly liquors than a member of the House. Although the theory of recompense for services rendered was recognized, yet the impression prevailed that any compensation should be only sufficient to meet the reasonable expenses of a member at the seat of Government. The expenses and duties of the members of both Houses were equal and the pay should be the same.

The statisticians of the House quoted long and complicated tables to show that, at the proposed rate, if a member were frugal, spurned the follies of the theatre and renounced fine liquors, he might perchance save £110: and this was to recompense him, if a professional man, for the loss of his client, or, if a merchant, for a great chasm in his business.

Some argued that, instead of giving the Speaker a *per diem* double that of the members, the rule of division rather than the multiplication table should have been invoked. They declared that his was the easiest berth in the House: he is never on a committee, never draws up a bill and never frames a measure.

At length the Salary Act was passed. The President was to receive $25,000 a year, the Vice-President $5,000, the members of both Houses a *per diem* of six dollars and the Speaker of the House twelve dollars *per diem*.

An interesting comparative table of salaries is suggested by the various Salary Acts of the first Congress. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury were allowed a salary of $3,500 each; the Secretary of War, $3,000; the Attorney-General, $1,500; the Comptroller of the Treasury, $2,000; the Treasurer, $2,000; the Auditor of the Treasury Department, $1,500; the Registrar, $1,250; the Governor of the Western Territory, $2,000; the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, $1,500; the chief clerk of the Department of State, $800; the chief clerk of the War Department, $600. Clerks might be hired in the different departments of the Government at salaries not to exceed $500 per annum. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was allowed an annual salary of $4,000; the Associate Justice, $3,500;

the Federal Judges received salaries ranging from $800 a year, for the Judge of the District of Delaware, to $1,800 each for the Judges of the Districts of Virginia and of South Carolina. By Acts of 1790 Ministers Plenipotentiary to Foreign Powers were to receive not more than $9,000 a year as compensation for all personal services and other expenses. A Major-General in the army received $166 a month; a Brigadier-General, $104; the Quartermaster-General, $100; and the Adjutant-General, $75.

For one year, 1795, Senators received a *per diem* of seven dollars. In 1796, a bill was introduced providing an annual salary of $1,000 for the members of both Houses, instead of the six dollars *per diem*. The supporters of this bill declared that the increase in the cost of living had been so marked since the enactment of the law of 1789 that six dollars was no longer a fair compensation. They argued for the annual salary feature that thereby the members might be inspired to greater despatch of public business.

On the other hand, it was fervently declared that the temptation to shorten the session would be so cogent as to occasion the neglect of vital interests of the nation: some feared that it would prevent sufficient debate, while one member declared that the proposed legislation would amount to a "bounty to neglect the business of the Legislature." So strong was the opposition to the salary feature that a substitute amendment was introduced providing for a *per diem* of eight dollars. However, the bill even in its amended form was defeated, and the Salary Bill of 1789 was re-enacted.

The Congress elected in the fall of 1814 had been chosen as a Congress of reform. National Bank legislation, a protective tariff and a score of other matters, of scarcely secondary importance, were demanded by the dissatisfied electorate. Congress had been in session three months, yet no apparent progress had been made on the issues of real importance.

Only seven bills had gone to the White House for Executive Approval. Why such inaction? The lay mind could not understand why 218 men, presumably chosen for their conspicuous ability, should dally six months, or more, each year over business which, with reasonable application, might be consummated in one-half that time. The *per diem* compensation was assumed to be the reason and suggested the remedy.

A Salary Act was framed by this "Reform Congress." It was entirely proper. Congressmen were still receiving the six dollars *per diem* established by the Salary Act of 1789. With the growth and development of the country a more costly manner of living had become imperative. In the intervening twenty-five years, the prices of the ordinary necessaries of life had in many instances doubled, and even trebled. Sugar had gone up from twelve to twenty-five cents a pound; coffee from eighteen to thirty-seven; pork from nine to twenty; clerk hire, fixed in 1789 at $500, had been raised to $1,000, and the salaries of other Government officials had been similarly increased. The Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury each received $5,000 a year; the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, $4,500 each; the Attorney-General, the Treasurer of the United States and the Auditor of the Treasury, $3,000 each; the Comptroller of the Treasury, $3,500; members of Congress, forced to neglect their business, leave their homes and incur the additional expenses of a temporary residence, were still paid only six dollars *per diem*. An increase in pay was both necessary and justifiable. But here we meet a phenomenon, quite frequent in business and political life, where the explanation and manner of committing an act are infinitely more reprehensible than the act itself.

Shortly before adjournment, in the summer of 1816, a bill was introduced by Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, providing an annual salary of $1,500 for members of both Houses and double that amount for the Speaker of the House and the President *pro tem.* of the Senate. Further, if passed, the bill would be retroactive and date from the beginning of the session, March 4, 1815. The arsenal of debate was immediately raided for weapons, and the members rushed to the contest.

The partisans of the bill declared that the law would serve to shorten the session of Congress and provide a more equitable compensation for the members. On the other hand, it was denounced with hysterical emphasis. "Profligacy," "extravagance," "wanton waste," "criminal malfeasance," were the epithets applied to the measure by its detractors. Particularly the retroactive feature was assailed.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, approved the bill with the exception of the retroactive clause. He declared, however, "that it would not remedy the present glaring evils." Said he:

"Are not members obliged to be wakened up to vote: roused up to hear the question? Do they not keep the House from adjourning because they have not finished a letter or sent off the last newspaper? The Debates of the House are swelled to their great length by inattention of members: and to remedy it we must get rid of this book-binder's shop. The House is not exactly like a Dover Court where they are all speakers: but here there is one speaker and no listener."

He declared that he had no fear of voting for the bill from its effect upon his popularity. "For my part," he said, "I am not afraid of this thing called popularity: to vote myself $1,500—for what? For coming here and living as in a boarding-school or a monastery."

He dismissed the argument that such a bill would serve to curtail debate with the declaration that, in his opinion, "they [speeches] are like old women's physic—they do neither good nor harm."

Huger, of South Carolina, quoted a formidable array of figures to prove that by frugal living, even under the old system, a member might still take home with him a comfortable surplus. He ridiculed a member from Massachusetts for keeping two dogs at his hotel, and declared that he could not agree with the venerable Mr. Wright, of Maryland, who insisted that Madeira was indispensable to the dignity of a gentleman who occupied a seat in Congress. "I have some doubts," said he, "whether the member who has made a late dinner or his supper with brown bread and a tumbler of genuine cider would not find himself, on the following morning, fully as adequate to perform the duties of a legislator as the one who has feasted sumptuously with the best white loaf, or enjoyed his bottle even of the deservedly far-famed old lath of Alexandria."

The bill was passed with its unsavory retroactive clause, although Randolph declared that he would as soon be caught with his hand in some other gentleman's pocket as in drawing any of the back pay. It was, further, rushed through with suspicious and unseemly haste. In the House it was introduced one day, read and considered the next, and passed the third. In the Senate postponement, commitment and amendment were all defeated.

The thunder-clouds of national indignation roared above. The storm broke. The whole nation seemed to tremble in the convulsive spasms of political hysteria. Every Congressman who

had voted for the bill was attacked with the venom of personal hatred. "Pirates," "looters of the Treasury," "thieves," "traitors to the people"—such were the epithets bandied about the country. Federalist and Democratic demagogues vied in the wild effort to be foremost and loudest in denouncing the "compensation men." The artillery of the press was opened upon them with withering broadsides. Grand juries of Vermont and Georgia returned presentments against the members who had voted for the nefarious bill, and demanded the election of a Congress pledged to its repeal. The people seemed all at once infected with the germ of madness.

"Private robbery and public plunder" was the favorite characterization; denunciation and retort, violence, abuse and clamor filled the whole country. Every prospective candidate for office, from constable to Congressman, stigmatized the law as wicked and corrupt, and gained votes by conspicuously placarding his sentiments in every available inn, tippling-house and stable. Whenever two men got together to exchange the compliments of the day, they first drew up a series of denunciatory resolutions. The turkey buzzard was suggested as a fit emblem to replace the national eagle. Even those who voted against the bill were assailed for accepting the tainted salary. A meeting of "patriots" on the 4th of July, 1816, presided over by one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, drank, with enthusiasm, the toast—"The $1,500 compensation law: the receiver is as bad as the thief." The popular outburst was an interesting and valuable historical contribution to the psychology of political caprice. The supporters of the bill were hung and burned in effigy by howling mobs, and then slated for political decapitation. Members of Congress felt that they were, indeed, "politically dead" and that the cards were out announcing the obsequies. Lively ghosts they determined to be.

Even Henry Clay, "our Harry," always nominated and elected by acclaim, was forced to conduct a spirited contest for re-election, and was rescued from the cataclysm only through his personal popularity. Others were less fortunate. Georgia returned but one of its former delegation to Washington; South Carolina, three out of nine; Maryland, four out of nine; Pennsylvania, thirteen out of twenty-three; Connecticut, but two out of seven. The entire delegations from Ohio, Delaware and Ver-

mont were relegated to private life. Nine members, disgusted with the popular clamor, resigned before the opening of the second session of this ill-fated Congress, and were superseded by men rancorous in their hostility to the compensation law. Both the popular rage and the punishment thus summarily inflicted were unreasonable and, like most exhibitions of popular anger, unfortunate. The Fourteenth Congress, thus ruthlessly destroyed, had been by far the most efficient of any as yet convened under the Constitution.

Congress had scarcely assembled for its second session in December, 1816, after the disastrous whirlwind of the fall election, when Johnson, the father of the ill-fated Act, introduced a bill for its repeal. The ensuing discussion strongly suggested "experience day" at a camp meeting. The unhappy members regaled each other with stories of their humiliation and defeat. The mercurial Randolph, one of the fallen majority, denounced the people for expecting Congressmen to "live like blackguards."

The Committee of the House prepared a lengthy defence of the Salary Act, but recommended, in view of the popular clamor, its repeal and the substitution of a *per diem* rate at a slight increase over the honored six dollars.

Randolph ridiculed this "auction of popularity," opposed the repeal and refused to offer such a "tub to the great Leviathan of popularity." He spurned the idea that "backwoodsmen of Kentucky were qualified to judge of the compensation necessary to support a gentleman genteelly in Washington, particularly if we can believe the story as to the luxuriant growth of the articles of that country 'that a cane stuck down to mark a hill of corn had been forgotten a few days and had itself produced two nubbins,' and where chickens, pigs and all kinds of poultry are said to grow spontaneously."

After a long debate, in which Randolph aroused considerable consternation by suggesting the refunding of all that the members had received above six dollars *per diem,* the Salary Act was repealed—the repeal to become effective from March 4th, 1817. The whole question was left as an unwelcome heritage to the Fifteenth Congress. Thus did the Reform Congress become the censurer of its own conduct and pass sentence of condemnation upon itself.

The salary provided by this pestilential act was manifestly

reasonable, although the time and method of its passage were equally unfortunate. The country was struggling under the burden of the unrepealed war taxes, and was in no mood to increase its load. In 1815 the collectors of the ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, New Orleans and Savannah received an annual salary of $5,000 each. The Postmasters of Albany, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston received each $2,000 a year. The Postmaster of Hartford received $2,234 a year; of New Orleans, $2,180; of Norfolk, $2,007; of Pittsburg, $2,118; of Richmond, $2,648; and of Washington, $5,207. The Governor of New York received $7,000 and the Mayor of New York City $7,500 a year.

By the act of January 22nd, 1818, members of Congress were voted a *per diem* of eight dollars, and an allowance of eight dollars as mileage for every twenty miles of the distance from their respective homes to Washington and return. The Speaker and President *pro tem.* of the Senate received sixteen dollars a day.

Warned by this prompt vengeance of an outraged public, Congress voted no further salary increase until 1856, although two or three sporadic attempts were made in the intervening forty years. In the mean time, the salaries of the prominent Federal officials had been augmented at various times. The salaries of the Associate-Justices had been raised to $6,000, while the Chief Justice received $6,500.

The cost and standard of living had materially increased, and the country at large was basking in the warm sunshine of material prosperity. Moreover, with the enlarged territory of the Union, the compensation law of 1818 had contrived to work serious inequalities, owing to the mileage clause, which provided an allowance of eight dollars for every twenty miles up to 1,250 miles, then six dollars for every twenty miles of the remaining distance from their respective homes to Washington and return. At a rough estimate, the gross income for a Senator or Representative from California was $7,000 a year, while his confrère from Maryland or Virginia received $1,500. The cost of travel was high, yet it was surely not so exorbitant as to warrant the rate of eighty or even sixty cents a mile.

Senator Weller, of California, frankly admitted, though with some embarrassment, that he was receiving $5,400 as mileage.

Naturally the net income of Congressmen varied materially, and the members from the Far West were looked upon with ill-concealed envy.

In 1856 a bill was introduced in the Senate providing an annual salary of $2,500 for the members of both Houses of Congress, and double that amount for the Speaker and President *pro tem.* of the Senate. No change in the mileage provision was suggested, and the act was to become effective only upon the adjournment of that session of Congress, so that the scandal of a retroactive clause might be avoided. After an acrimonious debate and much parading of figures, the House of Representatives amended the bill, making it retroactive, and increasing the salary to $3,000 a year for the members and $6,000 for the Speaker and President *pro tem.* of the Senate. In this form it was at length carried.

The newspapers denounced the "steal" suggested by the retroactive clause, and declared the increase to be wholly unwarranted. However, the nation was absorbed by the greater issues, then so near the frightful climax of blood and arms. But for a few isolated cases, there was no such visitation of condign punishment as had marked the enactment of the Salary Bill of 1816.

The "Salary Grab" of 1866 produced very little censure, despite the fact that it too was retroactive, that it was fraudulently coupled with another measure, and that it was railroaded through Congress with suspicious haste. This salary act increased the annual pay of Congressmen to $5,000, but reduced the mileage to the more reasonable rate of twenty cents a mile by the nearest route.

The honorable members of that Congress "whistled in the graveyard," and for once the two hostile parties joined hands in ingeniously dividing the responsibility for the act, that neither might be held responsible—a very wholesome and salutary precaution. They concluded, after casting the political horoscope, that the increase would be soon forgotten in the fierce heat of sectional and reconstruction passion, or, at most, that it would be catalogued with the ordinary public and political scandals occasionally to be visited upon the masses. The leaders judged the public pulse correctly; for so indifferent were the people, despite the lurid maledictions of a hostile press, that the man-

agers of the "foray" were later heard to boast that only one member had scorned to pocket his share, and that his over-sensitive conscience was rewarded by defeat for re-election.

In 1873, just before the adjournment of the Forty-second Congress, the most notorious of all of the "back-pay grabs" was enacted. The bill increased the salaries of the President of the United States to $50,000, of the Chief Justice to $10,500, of the Associate Justices and the Speaker of the House to $10,000, and of the members of Congress to $7,500. Although Congress lacked only a few days of its lawful dissolution, the bill was made retroactive, to take effect from March 4th, 1871. A veritable cyclone of indignation, similar to that of 1816, swept from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Each member of Congress, it was declared, had criminally robbed the country of $5,000. One of the leading periodicals of the day, in denouncing the measure, declared that it would "hurt the reputation of Congressmen more than fifty things more nefarious." The act was in itself objectionable for several reasons, and it was passed in a very discreditable way—to say nothing of the scandal of making it retroactive. The Forty-second Congress was the last of what might be accurately termed the "War Congresses." They had been accustomed to appropriating and disbursing vast sums of money; the war taxes, many of them still in effect, provided a large national income. It was the period of large figures, of wild-cat speculation, of gross extravagance and wasteful expenditure. As one paper said, after Congress adjourned, "We may not have complete purity hereafter, but we shall have considerably less corruption."

One of the most conservative of the public prints declared editorially:

"Nothing which any Congress has done for many years has excited as much public indignation as the vote of the 'back pay' to themselves by the gentlemen of the Forty-second, who have just gone home. The obscurity of most of them will shield them hereafter, and will enable them to enjoy the money in peace. But the offence differs little, if at all, from that of a president of a bank who should raise his own salary in the middle of his year, pay himself out of the till, and then resign and set the directors at defiance. In fact, it is worse: because a bank president would know that he might be reached by the law, while Congressmen know they are safe against the only pursuit which for many of them has any terrors—that of criminal justice. We have a class of

'statesmen' on whom the opinion of the decent and moral elements of American society has absolutely no influence, and who revel in an unprecedented callousness."

The minority who voted against the act, and thought their moral obligation thus discharged, should be made to "understand that it is as disgraceful to take the money as to vote it."

When the Forty-third Congress met in December, 1873, so persistent had been the cry of "thief," the salary question was immediately discussed with a view of at once wiping away a stain and making a strong bid for personal popularity. General Butler, one of the leaders in the "raid" of the previous Congress, proposed that an act be passed authorizing suits at law for the recovery of the back pay thus received. However, this hysterical remedy was not adopted. A spirited debate marked the consideration of the act to repeal. The arguments smacked much of those employed on a similar occasion sixty years before—indeed, they suggested that the reports of Congress in 1817-18 had been studiously consulted. And again they assumed the form of autobiographical narration.

Judge Lawrence, of Ohio, although he had favored the "grab" of 1866 and had pocketed $4,000 by virtue thereof, waxed eloquent in his vigorous denunciation of salary acts of any manner or description. The three great crimes of the age, he declared, were the Missouri Compromise, the firing on Fort Sumter and the Salary Act. The exposure of his previous record on this question, however, drew the fangs from his speech and made him an object of shamed embarrassment. The debate grew so bitter, and withal so personal, that one member objected to its continuance on the ground that the Constitution forbade "cruel and unusual punishments." Public sentiment, so manifestly hostile, was not to be ignored; and in January, 1874, the bill was repealed as of March 4th, 1873. However, the salaries of the President and Justices of the Supreme Court were retained at the figure fixed by that act.

Congressional salaries of $5,000 a year remained stationary for a third of a century, not so much from a conviction of the justice of that figure as from a wholesome respect for popular sentiment. Shortly before the close of the last Congress a Salary Act was passed increasing the compensation of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Vice-President and the members of the Cabi-

net to $12,000 per annum, and raising the salaries of Senators and members of the House to $7,500. The conservative portion of the public and the less radical daily prints generally admitted the justice of this salary increase. Then, too, it was divorced from the disagreeable features of retroactiveness and partisanship which had inspired the particularly bitter condemnation of the Salary Acts of 1816 and 1873. Made effective for the ensuing Congress, beginning March 4, 1907, it was the first Congressional Salary Act in our history which did not increase the stipend of the enacting Congress.

Although a member of Congress receives only the stipulated $7,500 a year as salary, his position carries with it certain perquisites which increase the total very considerably. For instance, every member has an annual allowance of $1,500 for a clerk. Probably three-fourths of the members of the House, who have little correspondence, either carry members of their private families on the pay-roll, or appropriate to themselves the whole amount. One hundred and twenty-five dollars is voted each member as a "stationery allowance"; this is usually taken in cash. The mileage rate of twenty cents a mile also provides comfortable dividends—though the prohibition of Congressional railroad passes has diminished the size of this very comfortable "melon." However, many members from the Pacific coast draw as much as $2,500 as mileage.

European statesmen and students of American political institutions frequently comment upon the economy, even niggardliness, practised by the Federal Government in the pay of its officials. An advance in the salary of the President and a moderate increase in the remuneration of other officials, particularly in the diplomatic and consular service, are on the "boards" for some not distant date. In this way, it is believed, recognized ability can be diverted from the profitable fields of individual enterprise to the honorable, though not very lucrative, channels of public service. A study in the comparative salaries of private corporations and certain municipalities and of the Federal Government would seem to furnish some justification for such a measure.

HUBERT BRUCE FULLER.

EDUCATION FOR THE NEW CONSULAR CAREER.

BY JOHN BALL OSBORNE, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF TRADE RELATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

THE recent changes by law and executive order in our consular system have been effected so rapidly and thoroughly that it is difficult to realize that the consulships have at last ceased to be the means of rewarding partisan service. The old era has passed, and with it the streams of impecunious and shiftless relatives of influential statesmen, defeated candidates and troublesome political rivals, bankrupts and ineffective professional men, superannuated clergymen and invalids seeking a genial climate, and naturalized citizens ambitious to return to the scene of early struggles and associate on terms of equality with those who once spurned them, that regularly, when power passed from one party to the other, swarmed at the White House and the Department of State in the quest for consulships. Under a system in which the decisive test was strength of political influence, it is no wonder that many of these classes succeeded in obtaining appointments. Hereafter candidates who are equipped only with the formerly potent political backing will find to their sorrow that the changed order of things has slammed the door of hope in their faces.

The Reorganization Act of April 5th, 1906, has accomplished much for the betterment of the consular service; but the President and the Secretary of State are doing even more by carrying out with determination the admirable provisions of the Executive Order of June 27th, 1906. While the law mentioned regraded all the consuls-general and consuls, and readjusted their salaries on an equitable basis; provided a system of regular inspection of consulates; Americanized the clerkships; extended the prohibi-

tion to engage in trade to all officers with salary exceeding $1,000; and made the salaries of all consuls-general and consuls their sole compensation of office, by declaring all fees, including notarials, to be official, the Executive Order has gone farther, for it has extended to the consular service the merit principles of the Civil Service Act of January 16th, 1883.

This Executive Order limits all original appointments to the two lowest grades of consuls, namely, those whose salaries are $2,500 and $2,000, respectively; creates a stringent system of examination for admission to the service; and provides that all vacancies in the offices of consul-general and consul above the two lowest grades shall be filled by promotion from those lower grades, on the basis exclusively of ability and efficiency shown in the service.

The Executive Order establishes a Board of Examiners composed of two officials of the Department of State and the Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission. The examinations are both oral and written, the two counting equally. The object of the oral examination is to discover the candidate's business ability, alertness, character, address and personal bearing, general education and contemporary information, and natural fitness for the service, including moral, mental and physical qualifications.

Candidates are required to obtain a general average mark of 80 on a scale of 100, in order to be eligible for certification. This minimum is 10 points higher than is required in the Civil Service examinations for positions in the classified service in this country. Candidates must be between the ages of 21 and 50 years of age; citizens of the United States; of good character and habits, and physically and mentally qualified for the proper performance of consular work. Furthermore, they must have been specially designated by the President for appointment to the consular service, subject to examination.

The requirement of prior Presidential designation is the only feature that prevents the examination system from being absolutely competitive. It might be assumed that the process implies the possession of more or less political influence. This, however, has not been the case up to the present time under the new régime. United States Senators have shown a commendable disposition to recommend to the President for designation promising young men without inquiring into their political affiliations

or influence, and the designations, in conformity with the Executive Order, are so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service. The stringent character of the examinations is the saving feature of the new system. The large percentage of candidates who failed in the first three examinations proves that a designation is worth nothing to those who lack excellent qualifications. It is a question of the survival of the fittest, and so the examination is virtually competitive.

Upon the conclusion of the examination, the Board of Examiners certifies to the Secretary of State, as eligible for appointment in the consular service, the names of those candidates who have attained upon the whole examination, oral and written, an average mark of at least 80. As in the case of designation, appointments are so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service.

Up to this writing five regular examinations for the consular service have been held under the new rules. The following statement shows the results of these examinations:

Date.	*Designated.*	*Examined.*	*Passed.*	*Per cent. passing.*	*Per cent. failing.*
March 14–15, 1907....	24	18	10	55.5	44.5
July 9–10, 1907.....	54	38	13	34.	66.
Nov. 20–22, 1907.....	36	25	9	36.	64.
April 7–9, 1908.....	35	30	19	63.	37.
July 7–9, 1908.....	72	46	(not yet announced)		

The ages of the eligibles from the first examination ranged from 26 to 43, four being above 35 and three between 26 and 30. Six had practical business experience, and four professional or journalistic training. Most of those who took the second examination had enjoyed the benefit of a college education, and of the successful candidates five had business experience, four had been journalists (two specializing in financial and commercial journalism) and three had engaged in educational work. Three or four were still in the early twenties. It is a remarkable fact that of the 19 candidates who successfully passed the examination of April, 1908, 16 had more or less college training, the majority being graduates. The institutions represented were Yale, George Washington, Harvard, University of Paris, Johns Hopkins, Brown, Lehigh, University of Virginia, University of Michigan, Chicago University, University of the South, West Virginia Uni-

versity and Wesleyan University. Nearly all the eligibles have already received consular appointments and have entered on their duties.

The written examinations are divided into eight subjects, which, with their relative weights, aggregating 20, are as follows:

1. Modern languages—French, German or Spanish—2.
2. Natural, industrial and commercial resources, and commerce of the United States—4.
3. Political economy—2.
4. International, maritime and commercial law—3.
5. American history, government and institutions—2.
6. Political and commercial geography—3.
7. Arithmetic—2.
8. Modern history (since 1850) of Europe, South America and the Far East—2.

The following questions, which are selected from those given at the first examination, will show the character and scope of the test:

Modern languages.—Candidates are required to make a close translation into idiomatic English from either French, German or Spanish, and to translate a short business letter from English into one of these languages.

Resources of the United States.—What causes have contributed to the growth of the iron and steel industries in the United States? What is the rank of the United States in agriculture, mining, manufacturing and merchant marine? What is its rank in export trade? State some of the requirements for the development of a large foreign commerce, and what countries are our chief competitors for foreign trade.

Political economy.—Of what advantage to a consul is a knowledge of the principles of political economy? State some of the advantages of foreign exchange in cancelling indebtedness between merchants of different countries. Why is exchange on London or New York preferable to exchange on smaller cities? What are the principal reasons for the development of trade between different countries?

International, maritime and commercial law.—What were the rules adopted at the Declaration of Paris? Define citizenship and domicile. Discuss the nationality of married women. Give three conditions essential to the validity of a treaty. In general, what papers are necessary to determine the nationality of a vessel? What is meant by salvage, demurrage, general average and bottomry?

American history, government and institutions.—How, when and from whom was the contiguous territory of the United States acquired? and the non-contiguous territory? How is the President of the United States chosen, and what are the constitutional requirements for eligibility to

the office? Where in the American Government is the treaty-making power vested?

Political and commercial geography.—What countries, independent or otherwise, border on the Mediterranean Sea? What country produces the largest supply of cane sugar? and beet sugar? Name the country which refines the most petroleum, the one which is the largest exporter of raw silk, and the one which makes the most wine. What is the principal export of Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chile? Name the bodies of water through which a ship would pass on the shortest all-water route going from Bombay, India, to Dover, England.

Arithmetic.—The candidate was required to make the additions in a tabular statement of exports from the Straits Settlements to different countries; also to give an itemized statement of a commercial account.

Modern history.—Briefly describe the features which have been noticeable in the government and development of South American republics. Describe briefly the form of government of the German Empire. What causes led up to the Russo-Japanese War, and what were its results?

The field covered by this examination is so broad, the questions so representative, and the scrutiny of the oral test so searching, that a high order of intelligence and an unusually good educational equipment are needed to meet the ordeal successfully. In view of the reasonable stability of tenure assured by the recent reforms in the service, and of the difficult and somewhat technical character of the entrance examination, it is important for young men who aspire to appointment as consuls, with a view to following the service as a life career, to properly qualify themselves by systematic preparation through appropriate courses of study.

The idea of university training for the public service dates from the Middle Ages, when the German universities began to offer, to students who expected to follow that occupation, courses of training—apart from those in law, theology, medicine and philosophy. The subjects taken by these students included economics and political sciences, besides a certain amount of public and administrative law. They were designated as the "*Cameralwissenschaften*" or "*Cameralia,*" and the students became a distinct category known as the "*Stud. Cam.,*" like the "*Stud. Med.*" or the "*Stud. Phil.*" In some institutions the cameralist subjects became in time more sharply differentiated than in others; for example, in the University of Tuebingen a separate faculty of *Staatswissenschaften,* or Political Sciences, was created.

At the present time, however, the most famous school of training for the public service is in France,—the *Ecole Libre des*

Sciences Politiques at Paris, founded by Emile Boutmy in 1871, for the purpose of offering a complete and methodical system of instruction in the political and social sciences as a whole. This interesting institution, which has no organic connection with the French Government, furnishes to young men who contemplate entering the public service of France a thorough preparation to enable them to pass successfully the competitive examinations for the establishment of the eligible lists from which all appointments are made. The work of the school has been grouped into eight sections corresponding to the principal departments of the public service, viz: (1) Diplomacy, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the diplomatic service and the consular service; (2) the Council of State; (3) Administration; (4) Inspection of Finance and the Colonies; (5) Court of Accounts; (6) General Governments of Algeria and Indo-China; (7) Protectorate of Tunis; and (8) Financial, industrial and commercial enterprises at home or abroad.

The ordinary duration of the course in any one of these groups is three years, although only two years are required. Most of the students are past 18 years of age when they enter. In the last ten years, the Diplomatic Section has had 1,689 students, and in this period all the vacancies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with but three exceptions, have been filled by the appointment of graduates of this school.

The remarkable success of this Paris school is especially interesting to Americans at this time by reason of the need of a similar institution in this country for the training of young men for the public service. The new conditions for appointment to the consular service have particularly emphasized this educational need. All those whom the President has so far designated for examination have been men of good education, and yet one-half of the candidates failed dismally at the first examination and two-thirds at the second and third, making it evident that the test is sufficiently technical to call for special training. Already a dozen or more of our great universities and colleges have recognized this fact, and are hastening to supply the demand by offering suitable courses of study. I shall point out some of the most noteworthy instances of these efforts to educate young Americans for the foreign service.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the earnest ef-

forts made by President Washington for the establishment of a National University in the District of Columbia to which young men from all parts of the country might resort for the completion of their education in all branches of polite literature, in the arts and sciences, and, particularly, in the principles of politics and good government. In his message to Congress in 1796 he declared that the primary object of such a national institution should be the education of the American youth in the science of government. What he hoped for has been substantially realized in the new College of the Political Sciences just established as a department of George Washington University.

George Washington (formerly Columbian) University enjoys the distinction of being the pioneer in the field of university training for the public service. Recognizing that the city of Washington offers unrivalled facilities for the cultivation of the political sciences, the President of Columbian University projected in 1889 a School of Comparative Jurisprudence as an annex to the Law Department; but no action was taken until 1898, when a School of Comparative Jurisprudence and Diplomacy was established as a department of the University. This department, the name of which was subsequently changed to the School of Politics and Diplomacy, was essentially a graduate and professional branch of the University, admitting only students in possession of academic or professional degrees. Its purpose was to fit young men for the public service at home and abroad, particularly for the consular and diplomatic service, and to supply systematic economic training to journalists, teachers and others. The school, however, was so closely akin to the law school that it offered little more than a supplementary polish upon a strictly legal training. Moreover, there was not much encouragement to young men to educate themselves for our foreign service, so long as it offered no career whatsoever and appointments went exclusively by political preferment.

In order to meet the new conditions in our consular system and to respond to the demand for more thorough economic training, the College of Political Sciences was established at George Washington University in 1907, as the successor of the department above mentioned. The new College, which is modelled after the famous Paris school of the same name, provides undergraduate, as well as graduate, courses of study.

The undergraduate course, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, is open to those who have had the first two years of undergraduate work. Entering the College at the beginning of his junior year, the student selects his courses from the various sections: Political Sciences, International Law and Diplomacy, History and Economics and Sociology. He may also receive permission to take certain courses in the Academic Department of the University, particularly courses in the modern languages.

During the second year in the College—corresponding to the senior year of the Academic course—it is possible for the student to take advanced work which will be counted towards the degree of Master of Diplomacy, so that after obtaining his A.B. degree, but one year more will be required to take his professional degree of Master of Diplomacy. It is only exceptionally that graduates from other institutions will have had sufficient continued training in the Political Sciences to obtain this degree in less than two years.

The courses offered are intended to fit for the public service in general and cover a wide range of subjects. Among those which are adapted to prepare men for the Consular Service are: Commercial and Industrial Geography; Political Geography; Commercial Law; International Trade; Commercial Policies; Colonial Government and Administration; International Law; Organization of the Consular Service; and the functions, duties and methods of procedure of consular officers.

The new College of the Political Sciences also provides advanced courses of graduate and professional study, for which it confers the degrees of Master of Arts, Master of Diplomacy and Doctor of Philosophy. The faculty includes several men of national reputation. Among those who are giving instruction are Justices Harlan and Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States, General Foster, formerly Secretary of State, and Mr. James Brown Scott, Solicitor of the Department of State. In recent letters expressing his interest in the new department of George Washington University, Secretary Root said:

"The National Government is making a strong and systematic effort now to limit appointments in the diplomatic and consular service to men of special fitness for such work. Of course that effort will be greatly promoted by having as many young men as possible educated and trained in the subjects with which such officers have to deal. The

greater the class of trained men from whom we can draw for appointments in the foreign service, the more easily we can maintain a high standard in this service."

. . . . .

"I regard the kind of facilities which you are proposing to afford as of very high importance in the building up of a foreign service of a high standard, and I think it is fair to anticipate that, other things being equal, the men who avail themselves of such opportunities for preparation will inevitably receive the appointments, subject only to the limitations of number in the service and the geographical distribution among the States.

"Your proposal has the advantage of establishing a university relation between the proposed school and the other branches of university education, and this is something which I think is practically essential to the successful establishment of such a school."

Following the lead of George Washington University, several prominent institutions of learning have lately established similar courses for the training of men for the foreign service. In 1906, Yale and Columbia Universities jointly inaugurated a system of courses designed to prepare students for work in foreign countries, either in the service of the United States Government, in business enterprises, or as missionaries or scientific investigators. The length of the courses is three years in the case of candidates for the consular service, and two years for candidates for other foreign service. The prescribed courses for the consular certificate (signed by the Presidents of the two co-operating institutions) are as follows: two modern languages besides English, commercial geography, elementary statistics, trade statistics, commerce and commercial policy, elementary law, Roman law, commercial law, international law, history of diplomacy, and seven other courses to be elected with approval of the committee on instruction. A bewildering array of courses in modern languages is offered in this university system.

Since 1900 the University of Wisconsin has offered a four years' course in commerce, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The required studies—natural science, mathematics, English, foreign languages, history and economics—occupy nearly the whole of the student's time in the freshman and sophomore years; but during the last two years four groups of electives are available, viz.: banking and finance, transportation, manufacturing industries, agricultural industries and the consular service. The consular group covers the following special courses: colonial

politics, contemporary international politics, history of diplomacy, international law, Federal administration, the consular service and a thesis. There were 225 students taking the course in commerce at Wisconsin in 1906.

The University of Illinois offers elaborate courses of training for business, extending over four years, and confers the degree of Bachelor of Arts on its graduates. The subjects of study furnish training for (1) general business, (2) commerce and the consular service, (3) banking, (4) transportation, (5) insurance, (6) municipal administration, and (7) journalistic work. The subjects studied in these courses are similar to those required in the institutions already mentioned.

The Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania now advertises to give special training for the public service. Although established in 1881, it does not enjoy the distinction of being the pioneer in this field of usefulness, for the reason that it made no attempt in this direction until recently, having hitherto confined its efforts to the education of men for business. In a recent statement in commendation of the College of the Political Sciences at Washington, Mr. Joseph Wharton, the founder of the school bearing his name, said:

"Having long been of opinion that there ought to be somewhere in this country at least one institution where persons could be trained for our consular and diplomatic service, I had expected the 'Wharton School of Finance and Commerce' to set up a course of instruction on that line, but this has not yet been done nor even commenced."

The School gives a four years' course. The degree of Bachelor of Science in Economics is conferred upon its graduates.

The University of Nebraska offers a "commercial group" of studies especially adapted to "business, diplomatic, civil service and political careers."

The State University of Iowa established in 1900 a School of Political and Social Science, which offers a four years' course in commerce fairly well adapted for the training of men for public service. The same may be said of the course offered by the College of Commerce and Administration at the Chicago University, which confers the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy for four years' work.

In fact, throughout the United States schools of political science or commerce are being founded in connection with long-

established colleges. In addition to those above mentioned, such schools, as more or less independent parts of the university system, now exist in the University of California, Dartmouth, the University of Indiana, the University of Kansas, the University of Michigan, the University of Missouri, New York University, the University of North Dakota, the University of Ohio, Ohio State University, Olivet College, the University of Oregon, the University of South Dakota, St. Louis University, the University of Utah, the University of Vermont, the University of Louisiana, and Washington and Lee University. In addition to this list, there are several institutions that offer systematic instruction in the political sciences, although the groups are not definitely segregated; these include Harvard, Cornell, Leland Stanford, the University of Minnesota and Northwestern University. At Harvard, the Division of History and Political Science is one of the seventeen divisions of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. It comprises the departments of history and government, and economics. I understand, however, that Harvard is preparing to segregate the courses in political science and allied subjects, and combine them in a distinct school or college.

Mention should also be made in this connection of Harvard's new graduate school in Business Administration, which will open on October 1, 1908, under the direction of Professor Edwin F. Gay. It offers a two years' course and will confer the degree of Master in Business Administration. It requires for admission the degree of A.B. or B.S., and aims to establish business training on a professional basis. This will be in line with the educational trend throughout the country, and will bring Harvard's facilities in this increasingly important field into more prominence than hitherto.

Nothing in our national life is more significant of the influence of the utilitarian spirit than the increasing popularity of education in the political sciences and along business lines. This development is, in fact, a natural reflex of the great economic forces that have transformed the United States into the foremost industrial and commercial power in the world. The business world is daily becoming more complex and complicated, and a successful business career requires far wider knowledge and higher skill than formerly. Young men are becoming impatient at the

idea of pursuing a college course of four years that offers little more than fundamental cultural courses. They seek practical preparation for a life career, and demand a curriculum that combines technical and information studies with those that are primarily intended for general culture and mental discipline. Indeed, the disciplinary value of the practical sciences is rated far higher than formerly. Accordingly, American educators who are progressive are wisely throwing traditions to the winds and adapting the machinery of their institutions to the new conditions. The numerous schools of commerce and the political sciences which have sprung up lately in every section of the country are designed to give students a knowledge of general principles, and to turn them into practical life while still young enough to retain the plasticity of character necessary to apply their knowledge intelligently and effectively to concrete cases.

As an evidence of the trend of the times, it is interesting to note that many of our educational institutions of high rank now permit candidates for the Bachelor of Arts degree to enter without any Latin or Greek at all, and to graduate without receiving the slightest instruction therein.

It has been suggested that the consular service is too limited a field numerically to justify the establishment of special courses of training at all, or even at many, of our great universities, since there are only 298 consuls-general and consuls, and original appointments are restricted to vacancies arising among 60 consuls at $2,500 and 46 consuls at $2,000, the higher places being filled exclusively by promotion. The relatively limited opportunities thus afforded cannot be denied. It must be remembered, however, that the training for the consular service is essentially practical, and even although a young man who has taken a four years' course at, say, the new College of the Political Sciences at Washington and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, may fail to obtain the coveted consulship, he is infinitely better qualified to face the world than the graduate from the academic department of Yale, Harvard or Princeton, who emerges from the classic shades with a training that can rarely be utilized at once, excepting in poorly remunerated teaching, while, on the other hand, the political-science graduate is admirably equipped for a variety of practical avocations in the business world.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE.

THE FLEET.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, U. S. N. (RETIRED).

THAT the United States has taken a fresh departure from the erstwhile even tenor of her way is now acknowledged and acquiesced in. It is only by looking back a few short years that one can realize the great changes that have brought this country prominently before the notice of the world. The year 1898 has been called the year of Europe's discovery of America. The accession of colonies and of battleships was synchronous. Beginning in a quiet and unobtrusive way, this wide departure from a traditional policy that had come to be regarded by many as sacred attracted little attention. It requires no great discernment, now, to understand that both our colonial interests and our fighting ships will continue to increase until there will be an American colonial system and a fully organized fleet* commensurate with our territorial expansion and the development of our resources.

The colonies will need for their intelligent government a Colonial Secretary, who will be a member of the Cabinet; and the fleet will need intelligent government, not only to insure its efficiency, but to keep within reasonable bounds the great expense its maintenance entails: over one hundred million dollars a year. The question is—and it is a very grave one for the country—How is the efficiency of the fleet to be kept up, and an economical disposition of its funds insured? For the days of prodigal expenditures must soon end.

The wisdom of the framers of the Federal Constitution is not to be questioned; but, with all its advantages, the wide separation between the legislative and executive branches of the government

* The word "Fleet" is used here in its general sense to signify the total number of vessels of war available for active service. In England, "Fleet" and "Navy" are synonyms.

has, in practice, certain disadvantages. This separation is not conducive to harmony. Indeed, it has led at various times to what has savored of hostility on questions vitally affecting the interests of the country. Mutual understanding on naval matters is wanting. It is undoubtedly true that Congress has been extremely liberal in its appropriations for the navy; but, as far as one can learn, this liberality has not been in accordance with any well-digested plan of naval development.

To the lay mind it would appear that herein lies one fruitful source of trouble; there seems to be no settled plan of naval development upon which the Executive and Congress can agree. Were such a plan to be matured, and accepted, both branches of the government could act in harmony on most matters concerning the navy. There is such a thing as a naval policy. The building up of a navy without a definite plan is like the directing of a number of artisans to build some houses without stating how many houses were required, of what material they were to be constructed, or for what purpose they were to be used. The naval policy of England, for example, is very simple. It is known as the "two-Power standard"—that is to say, the strength of the English navy must at all times be maintained at a strength equal to that of any two naval Powers that may be combined against it. In the House of Commons not long since, the Prime Minister was asked if it was the policy of the Government to make equality with the two next strongest fleets the standard of England's naval strength. The Prime Minister's answer was: "The present strength of the British navy is in excess of the two-Power standard." That is the naval policy, in a nutshell, of the greatest naval Power of the world.

In more specific terms, we find the First Lord of the Admiralty saying: "The test the Admiralty applied to naval efficiency and the standard they had set up for years past, as that which must be maintained, was that we must be strong enough in *battleships* alone to defeat any combination of any two Powers, and that we should have a margin over and above this, for contingencies, of some ten per cent. This was the minimum which they had considered safe. With respect to our cruiser power," he added, "we need, and must maintain, far more."

The word "efficiency" as used here refers to the strength of the line of battle.

Naval Policy.—The expressions "Naval Policy" and "Naval Efficiency," it may be observed, have been used by certain writers as convertible terms. This has led to no little confusion of thought on naval matters. England's naval policy, as we have seen, is to maintain the two-Power standard; while the naval policy of France is to keep the main body of her fleet in the Mediterranean, for France applies the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to certain sections of the north of Africa. In the one case it is a question of the number of battleships of the first category; in the other the disposition made of those ships.

"Naval Efficiency" is construed by some authorities as meaning the number of battleships available for war, as in the case just quoted from the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty; by others again as the normal state of discipline of the fleet, and the judicious use made of it. There have been fleets powerful in numbers of ships and guns, manned by a personnel of good fighting material, and yet wholly inefficient for purposes of war. Mere numbers do not constitute efficiency. To the unskilled, excess of numbers means discomfiture.

From the English we get the very expressive term "fighting efficiency." Thus, in "A Statement of Admiralty Policy," we gather from the Navy Estimates Committee that the following considerations obtained: "first, the whole object of the Navy Estimates is to secure the fighting efficiency of the Fleet and its instant readiness for War; secondly, the least amount [of money] compatible with that end."

The Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives, is represented in an alleged interview as saying: "Our navy will be of no benefit to us unless the men know how to handle the ships, and how to work the guns. Efficiency is more important than any other consideration, and it can be gained only through practice. I feel there is a strong sentiment throughout the country in favor of maintaining an efficient navy, and, as I said before, *efficiency is more important than size.*" These words are the words of wisdom.

Efficiency is the power to accomplish a desired end: the possessing of adequate skill for the performance of a duty. "The swordfish can kill the whale," said an American gentleman when asked, in 1894, of the probable outcome of the War then imminent between China and Japan.

Naval policy, in its broadest sense, comprehends Statesmanship. It is the relative rank, as a naval Power, which the State aims to assume and maintain in the family of nations. It includes: first, the creation of a floating force adequate to make good its pretensions; and, secondly, the ability to use that force effectively—in brief, the weapon and the skill to wield it.

Despite its alleged structural defects, no American can have looked upon the fleet of battleships now circumnavigating the globe without a feeling of pride. The Navy Department is certainly entitled to credit for this imposing display of sea power. But the credit must be shared by others—it must be shared with the iron and steel industries of the country and by the great ship-building plants now in operation.

To the Navy Department alone belongs the credit of initiating the movement which has led to this result—a movement which has given the country for the first time in its history a fleet in the true technical sense.

The genesis of what is called the "new navy" was in 1881. In that year the first Advisory Board convened by the Secretary of the Navy, the Hon. W. H. Hunt, recommended the building of steel ships on the ground "that such a step would give an impetus to the steel industries of the country." That end has been accomplished far beyond what the most fervid imagination could have pictured; and it is largely to those same steel and ship-building industries that we are indebted for the formidable line of battle we now have. Taken together they have trained up a body of skilled artisans which it would be difficult to duplicate in any part of the world. Congress is wise and far-seeing in providing them with work.

By what means soever the fleet has been brought into being, its existence is an established fact, and its continued growth is assured. The weapon has been forged. Where is the hand to wield it? Where is the power to insure efficiency? These are very present questions, and call for intelligent answers.

As to Naval Efficiency.—In a speech delivered on June 22nd, 1905, President Roosevelt is reported to have declared that he would give up the Monroe Doctrine and the Panama Canal, rather than refuse the means which can alone render our attitude as a nation worthy the respect of mankind. "Therefore," he added, "keep on building [battleships] and maintaining at

the highest point of efficiency the United States Navy, or quit trying to be a big nation." That, in brief, is the President's Naval Policy. It includes the power, coupled with the ability to wield that power effectively.

The building programme of Congress has supplied the power. It only remains to consider the question of efficiency—the consummate ability to wield that power. The duty of devising measures for securing naval efficiency rests, under wise laws, exclusively with the Executive. This all-important factor of Naval Policy the President must, perforce, leave to his Secretary of the Navy. The latter, a civilian, well versed in public affairs, but unfamiliar with naval or military arts, must in turn defer to his advisers in the Navy Department. The Secretary on assuming office finds himself associated with a civilian Assistant Secretary and eight "admirals," so called,* each one of the latter presiding over one of the eight Bureaus of which the Navy Department is composed. Five of these admirals belong, singular to say, to the non-combatant class, and three of them to the combatant class.† The five non-combatant admirals naturally regard questions of naval efficiency from the non-military point of view: the admirals of the combatant class from the military point of view. Moreover, each of the offices over which these admirals preside — combatant and non-combatant alike — belongs to the civil branch of the Department, and have to do with material and finance. It does not take long for the Secretary of the Navy on assuming office to discover that naval efficiency is a very broad and comprehensive subject, and one which belongs exclusively to the military side of his office. With this discovery is revealed the fact that the military side of his office does not exist. There is no such thing. This fact, taken in conjunction with the fact just stated, that there is a radical and irreconcilable

* Section 7 of the Personnel Act of March 3, 1899, prohibits the changing of titles of officers.

† The Act of July 5th, 1862, provided that the Chiefs of four of the Bureaus should be appointed from the list of officers of the Navy not below the rank of commander. This gave the advisers of the Secretary the Chiefs of four line Bureaus and the Chiefs of four staff Bureaus. As this equal division did not accord with the views of the civics, a clause was introduced in the naval appropriation bill of June 29th, 1906, providing "that the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks (which, by the Act of '62, had been assigned to a line officer) shall be selected from the members of the corps of Civil Engineers of the Navy, having not less than seven years' active service." This gave the non-combatants a majority.

difference of opinion on the part of his advisers on vital questions affecting naval efficiency, would, in time of war, leave the Secretary of the Navy in an unenviable position. Divided counsels are fatal to military operations.

A navy that requires time for preparation after war has been declared is far from being in an efficient condition. On February 5th, 1904, Japan severed diplomatic relations with Russia, and at midnight of the 8th Port Arthur was startled from its slumbers by the guns of the Japanese fleet. It was a complete surprise. Three days after the diplomatic rupture Japan struck the first blow at Port Arthur and Chemulpo. There was no such trifling as is said to have occurred at Fontenoy: "Fire first, gentlemen," about the military movements of the Japanese. They knew the great moral and military advantages of taking the offensive, and they assumed it at once and effectually.* But they were enabled to do so only by a long and thorough course of preparation during peace. So much for the readiness to strike. The point where the first blow is to fall can be determined best by those who have made such questions the subject of careful study, undisturbed by administrative duties. There must be no mistake as to the true objective. To be master of the situation at the outset may prevent a war. Some of the most important strategic moves are those made during peace.

It may be stated right here once for all, without circumlocution, that naval efficiency, in its true sense, is unattainable under our present form of naval administration. It is far better that the people should know this in order that the responsibility may be placed where it belongs. The truth of this statement we now purpose showing.

How the American method of governing the fleet, a purely military organization, works in practice may be illustrated by examples taken from official documents of recent date, documents which are easily accessible to all the world.

The President, recognizing the inherent defects in the constitution of the Navy Department, knowing that the efficiency he has so much at heart is not attainable under existing conditions, urged Congress to amend the law under which the Navy De-

* Compare the prompt action of the Japanese with ours when we left it to a British Colonial Governor to "request" Commodore Dewey to leave Hongkong, April 24th, 1898. (See Naval Administration II, pages 848-9, Proceedings Naval Institute.)

partment is organized with a special view to increasing the efficiency of the navy. In his message to Congress of December, 1903, Mr. Roosevelt said: "We need the establishment, by law, of a body of trained officers who shall exercise a systematic control of the military affairs of the navy, and be the authorized advisers of the Secretary concerning it." In order to carry out the views of the President, the Secretary of the Navy prepared and presented to the Naval Committee of the House "*a bill to increase the efficiency of the Navy,*" the object of which was to legalize the General Board. In presenting the bill to the Naval Committee of the House, its adoption, by Congress, was ably advocated in person by the Secretary of the Navy, the Hon. William H. Moody. He was followed by the Admiral of the Navy (Admiral Dewey) and by the Chiefs of three Bureaus representing the combatant class of the Department. Secretary Moody's presentation of the case, on the part of the administration, was lucid, logical and learned, leaving absolutely nothing to be said in advocacy of the President's plea for naval efficiency. But the majority of the Secretary's advisers—the non-combatant admirals—would not have it. The bill was vehemently opposed by the non-combatants, represented by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy of that day, and the Chiefs of what are known in the navy as the five Staff Bureaus.* As the bill has never been heard of since it was presented to the Naval Committee on April 11th, 1904, it is natural to suppose that it received its quietus then and there.†

The motives of the Committee in thus turning down the General Board are not open to question. But, as the record stands, it would appear, to the world at large, that the Chiefs of the five Staff Bureaus had influence enough to defeat an urgent measure of the administration to increase the efficiency of the navy.

In plain terms, the President was defeated by Bureaucracy. This was the literal fulfilment of a prophecy. During the "Investigation of the Navy Department" in 1875-6, Commodore D. McN. Fairfax, U. S. N., stated, in his testimony before the House

* The Chief of Bureau of Supplies and Accounts publicly criticised the President's plea for naval efficiency. (See "Army and Navy Journal," January 30th, 1904.) This flagrant violation of Navy Regulations seems to have elicited no comment.

† Those interested in this subject should read "Hearing before the Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives, April 11th, 1904, on 'A Bill (H. R. 15403) to increase the efficiency of the Navy.'"

Naval Committee, that "the Bureau system was gradually undermining the discipline of the Navy Department and must sooner or later be changed." The time for the change has arrived. "If a house be divided against itself that house cannot stand."

True, the General Board continues a potentiality, but this is due to the President and not to Congress. The General Board was established by the Navy Department, General Order No. 544, March 13th, 1900, which order was embodied in the Navy Regulations of 1905, thus giving it for the time being the force of law (Sec. 1547 R. S.). But as it is competent for some administration of the future to rescind this order and delete it from the Navy Regulations, it is obvious that the character of the General Board lacks the quality of permanence which statute law alone can give. To insure this permanency of character was the request preferred by the President, as we have seen; a request to which the House Naval Committee declined to accede.

Some Functions of the General Board.—The General Board represents the military element of naval administration—hitherto wanting—as distinct from the civil branch represented by the eight Bureaus. It is the legitimate Council of War of the civilian Secretary of the Navy on all matters pertaining to war and to the preparation for war.

When the Spanish War broke out, it was seen at once that, to meet a foreign naval Power on the ocean, further trifling with our radically defective system of naval administration must cease at once. One of the first steps, therefore, in this direction was the convening of a Naval War Board, a body separate and distinct from the Bureaus, but in close touch with the office of the Secretary of the Navy. To this Board was intrusted the very responsible duty of a careful study of the whole theatre of the war, and of watching closely the movements of the enemy's fleet, squadrons or single cruisers, as far as could be done by means of the reports which were constantly reaching the Department, day and night, by wire or mail. These reports, sometimes of a conflicting nature, had to be carefully sifted, differences reconciled, and the real designs of the enemy penetrated as far as possible. The questions arose: "What was the objective of Cervera's fleet?" and, after the battle of Manila Bay, May 1st, 1898, and the destruction of the Spanish squadron, "What would be Spain's

next move in that direction?" These were questions the members of the War Board were obliged to study carefully and to answer out of their knowledge of naval strategy. As a result of these studies, the Naval War Board was enabled to keep the Secretary of the Navy fully informed, at all times, of the movements of the enemy, and to place before him recommendations for such counter movements of our own forces as the conditions, varying from day to day and even from hour to hour, required. Incredible as it may appear, these highly important military duties had not been provided for in our scheme of naval organization. It will be seen from this that the Naval War Board was not of the nature of an advisory board, as that term is understood in the Navy. It had higher, and vastly more responsible, functions. The transactions of the War Board cover 860 typewritten pages of copies of communications sent and received. This was departmental duty performed mainly by officers having no part in the organization of the Department; hence its extra-legal character. The nature of the War Board and the necessity for its existence are so clearly set forth by Secretary Moody in his testimony before the House Naval Committee, on April 11th, 1904, as to leave little to be said.

On the conclusion of the war with Spain, the Naval War Board, through some singular misconception, was dissolved. But it had proved itself so indispensable as a part of the organization of the Navy Department that the Secretary of the Navy issued General Order No. 544 with a view to its permanent establishment under the title of the "General Board."

Once more the President essayed to induce Congress to increase the efficiency of the Navy. In his special message to Congress of December 17th, 1906, on the Personnel of the Navy, Mr. Roosevelt made certain specific recommendations, failure to adopt which, "by judicious legislation, the future of our Navy will be gravely compromised." "In my last three annual messages I have invited the attention of Congress to the urgent necessity of such legislation . . ." but the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy did not take into the account the deep-seated defection in the ranks of his own immediate command, in his own official family, as it were. The Personnel Bill, so earnestly advocated by the administration, was strangled in its birth. Congress has thus, through its House Naval Committee, put itself on record

as opposing measures which have for their object the increasing of the efficiency of the Navy. It is clear that the views of the administration on naval affairs carry little weight with the Naval Committees of the two houses of Congress. There is a good reason for this. The Navy Department is divided against itself, and the majority of the Secretary's Colleagues * are opposed to any change in the present method of administering the affairs of the Navy. Congress has endowed them with great powers, and it is only natural that they should exert those powers to protect their vested rights—rights which must be safeguarded though the heavens fall.

As political power goes with the control and expenditure of the revenues of the State, so power, patronage and influence go with the expenditure, with limited accountability, of considerably over one hundred million dollars a year by the Chiefs of the eight Naval Bureaus. This explains why a Chief of Bureau has in certain directions, far more influence than the responsible head of the Department—the Secretary of the Navy himself. It is scarcely necessary to say that in this discussion of the business methods of the Department, not the slightest reflection is intended to be cast, either directly or by implication, upon the high character and strict integrity of the Chiefs of the several Bureaus. We sincerely trust that goes without saying. One may be permitted to criticise a system without impugning the high character of the components of that system—the Bureaus.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the navy, a distinctively military body, is governed, practically, by an oligarchy of non-military men. To govern, in its original sense, means to pilot or to steer. Hence we are led to conclude that our fleet is piloted or steered by "admirals," who belong neither to the military nor to the seaman class. This method of governing a navy is saved from being preposterous only because of the fiction that it is in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Congress. Mr. Secretary Bonaparte acted wisely in recommending, as he did in effect, the total abolition of this archaic and demoralizing form of naval government by Bureaus. Put none but militant seamen at the helm.

* The Secretary's Colleagues.—This is the only Executive Department where the law places the Secretary and his associates in office on an equal footing.

Bureaucracy.—"My experience during the past year," declared Secretary Bonaparte, in his annual report of November 28th, 1906, "has greatly strengthened my belief, as expressed in the last annual report of the Department, that the system of autonomous Bureaus is open to very grave theoretical objections; and that only the very high character of the personnel employed in these Bureaus . . . prevents these theoretical objections from seriously affecting the *efficiency* and *economy* of the Department's work. It seems to me, therefore, desirable *that a very radical and thoroughgoing change should be made in the organization of the Department.*" He then outlines a plan (the appointment of a commission on the Navy Department) which, he says, appears to afford a reasonable promise of satisfactory results and which in effect would, as already observed, abolish the present archaic system of trying to govern the navy by Bureaus.

Secretary Bonaparte's diagnosis of the case was perfectly correct. His prescription—a commission to examine into, and report upon, the whole subject of naval administration, pointing out the defects of the present system, and suggesting the remedy therefor, would result in immediate relief at the hands of Congress. There can be little doubt of that. To insure intelligent legislation Congress must have bed-rock facts to go upon; and those facts can be ascertained and formulated best by a board of experts appointed for the purpose. Such is the disease which afflicts the Navy to-day and its remedy.

Bureaucracy aims exclusively at augmenting its own official powers at the expense of more extended interests. It is characterized, asserts one authority, "by the inefficient and obstructive performance of duty through minute subdivisions of functions, by inflexible formality and pride of place." A Bureaucrat is defined as "an official who endeavors to concentrate administrative powers in his own bureau."

All the privations and suffering of the English Army in the Crimean War, through lack of provisions and clothing, resulting in the loss of thousands of lives, was due directly to army bureaucracy; and English army bureaucracy repeated its mismanagement fifty years later in the Boer War. Bureaucracy greatly damaged our own military prestige during the war with Spain, and might have been fatal to the navy but for the timely advent of the Naval War Board. It was Russian bureaucracy, not Togo,

that defeated Rodjestvensky in the Sea of Japan. Togo simply gave the *coup de grâce*. Villeneuve, Du Pont, Cervera and Rodjestvensky, each in turn, was the victim of inefficient naval administration. Is there a demand for another American victim? Said Premier Stolypin: "My hope and purpose are, with the aid of the Duma, to get rid of the bureaucratic system. Such is the Emperor's firm and unshakable will." Bureaucracy defeated President Roosevelt in his efforts to promote naval efficiency in 1904; and Bureaucracy dominates the Navy of the United States to-day. Let this truth be pondered by that portion of an irresponsible press that so airily fans the flame of enmity between this country and our good friend, Japan.

A decision of the United States Supreme Court defining the administrative authority of the Secretary of the Navy sanctioned the exercise by the Secretary, of the military functions of the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. The principle enunciated in that decision has been applied to the relations sustained by the Chiefs of the several Bureaus to the Secretary and through him to the President. Thus the Chiefs of the several Bureaus have become the representatives of the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy, and clothed with all his authority touching the affairs of their respective Bureaus. Their orders must be respected and obeyed as the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. The Act of August 31st, 1842, makes this very clear. It declares explicitly that "the orders of a Chief of Bureau shall be considered as emanating from the Secretary himself, and shall have full force and effect as such." But, as the orders of the Secretary are to be regarded as the orders of the President, it is plain that the orders of a Chief of Bureau must also be regarded as the orders of the President. This makes practically nine Secretaries of the Navy, with power in their respective spheres, equal to those of the constitutional Commander-in-Chief. All the evils of bureaucracy are thus aggravated by the law which put it in operation. Sixty-five years' experience and the testimony of numerous Secretaries of the Navy show conclusively that this unbusiness-like system is conducive neither to efficiency nor to economy, but the very reverse. It insures the greatest amount of extravagance with the least amount of accountability, and is fatal to efficiency.

While we are vainly struggling to increase the efficiency of the

navy, Germany continues building big ships according to a carefully matured plan. She remembers that the Hague Peace Conference of 1899 was the precursor of a great war. In her next conflict she does not purpose being found wanting either in ships or in naval efficiency. Japan indulges in no idle dreams of universal peace, or Utopian restrictions of sea power. In the late war she demonstrated to all the world the absolute necessity of an efficient naval administration, without which naval efficiency is absolutely impossible. This she devised and perfected long in advance of the collision she saw to be inevitable. Russia, also, taught us the equally valuable lesson that naval efficiency does not consist in the number of ships alone. The battle is not always to the strong. Strength, to be effective, needs intelligent direction.

Fortunately, Congress has authorized the building of two more 20,000-ton battleships, coupled with the assurance of a continuous building programme. But on the vital question of naval government—the power to handle the forged weapon, the means of insuring naval efficiency—it is the purpose of the oligarchy which shapes the conduct of our naval affairs to maintain the *status quo*.

It is now the naval oligarchy *versus* the people. The question of the hour is: Which shall prevail?

S. B. Luce.

THE PERIL OF ANTI-INJUNCTION LEGISLATION.

BY HENRY HARRISON LEWIS.

It would be absurd to assert that the entire economic prosperity of the country now depends upon the passage or non-passage of anti-injunction legislation, but there is no doubting the grave peril to our industries and, in fact, to our national welfare which would result from the enactment of any anti-injunction bill based upon the promises of either political party. This peril does not threaten the laboring interests alone. The menace is to the manufacturing classes and to those who employ bodies of men, and the danger reaches almost directly the public at large, the ordinary citizen, the consumer, the housewife and the family.

The history of labor disturbances in this country shows that three distinct classes are always involved or affected. Whether the disturbance is inaugurated by employer or employee, the fact remains that the third party, the general public, comes in for its loss and its share of discomfort and misery. The great railway strikes—interstate, local or street railways—invariably have resulted in serious annoyance, if not positive loss, to the ninety-and-nine citizens who have no direct interest in the controversy.

The loss and annoyance, generally resulting from the disturbance to traffic, are not lasting, but the suffering caused by such strikes to the families of the working-men themselves goes far beyond this. It is estimated that the five great strikes of the past decade practically swept away ninety-six per cent. of the savings of the laboring classes involved.

Beyond this, however, we have the enormous damage to property resulting from strikes, a loss estimated almost in the hundreds of millions, and the incalculable loss due to a retarding of industrial output. It is not necessary to quote statistics; the

general reading public is familiar with the blighting effect of labor disturbances. And it is understood that such losses and damages to capital, labor and to the public resulting from strikes have occurred under existing laws.

The purpose of this article is to show that what is popularly known as anti-injunction legislation as demanded by organized labor will, if enacted, increase a thousandfold the possibility of loss and damage—not only to vested property rights, but in no less degree to labor itself and to the individual citizen.

The average man might readily infer, from the clamorous denunciation of "government by injunction," that the Federal courts do little but issue injunctions in labor disputes. One would imagine their approaches crowded with jostling employers, petition in hand, the judge distributing restraining orders as a bill-boy scatters circulars. But, with the record spread open, before we consider how frequently the writ issues, let us pause to ask ourselves what it is. The writ of injunction is an extraordinary remedy. It does not issue with the frequency of a summons or subpœna. It is an order of a court of competent jurisdiction generally prohibiting the doing of certain things, but sometimes assuming a mandatory form to require the doing of others. It proceeds from an equity tribunal, whose chief function is to prevent the doing of wrong, an office in which it is distinguished from courts of law, whose purpose is to compel compensation after harm has been inflicted; and, since the very essence of equity power exercised through this writ is prevention rather than cure, it acts upon the presentation of allegation of fact, supported by affidavits and such other evidence as it may require, to prevent not merely future irreparable injury, but that which is immediately present and threatening, and might either destroy or impair the subject-matter of controversy before the court could adjudicate upon it, or would work irremediable harm while the plaintiff was proving the danger of his position. As it is in the office of a court of law to hear and give judgment in compensation for injury suffered in the past, so it is in the very nature and purpose of an equity court to interpose its arm to prevent the commission of an injury immediately menacing, and for which law courts can provide neither adequate protection nor adequate compensation.

The injunction law, as it now stands on the statute-books, per-

mits the issuance of an injunction or restraining order by any properly authorized judge, at the request of any one whose rights are in danger. In labor cases, it is generally requested against the exercise of the boycott, or at times when violence is threatened, or damage to property or to life is imminent. The most important effect has been in connection with the boycott. This degree of importance comes from the fact that the boycott is regarded by organized labor as its most potent weapon against the employer, and by the employer as most drastic and damaging to property rights and to business.

During the past year, two important boycott cases—that of the Bucks Stove and Range Company, and that of the Loewe (Danbury) Hat concern—have been fought out in the courts. Permanent injunctions against a continuance of the boycott were secured in both cases, greatly to the dismay and discouragement of organized labor. The loss of these two cases has resulted in a most determined effort, on the part of organized labor, to have legislation enacted which will practically nullify the power of the injunction or at least make the injunction far more difficult to secure.

During the past session of Congress, twenty-two bills were introduced providing for a modifying of existing injunction laws. Several of these bills, notably the Pearre Bill, were strongly urged by labor and strongly combated by the employing interests. Congress adjourned without enacting any of them.

So earnest and emphatic have been the demands of organized labor for anti-injunction legislation that the highest executive official of the nation finally became involved in the controversy, as well as several important industrial and civic bodies.

For more than two years, the President in his messages to Congress has iterated and reiterated his belief that there has been a continuous improper and oppressive use of the writ of injunction in labor disputes by courts of the United States. Summing up these serious statements, he declared in his special message of April 27th, 1908:

"First as to the power of injunction and of punishment for contempt. In contempt cases, save where immediate action is imperative, the trial should be before another judge. As regards injunctions, some such legislation as that I have previously recommended should be enacted. Those in whose judgment we have most right to trust are of the opinion that, while much of the complaint against the use of the injunction is unwar-

ranted, yet that it is unquestionably true that, in a number of cases, this power has been used to the grave injury of the rights of laboring men. I ask that it be limited in some such way as that I have already pointed out in my previous messages, for the very reason that I do not wish to see an embittered effort made to destroy it."

In his message transmitted to Congress at the beginning of the last session, the President made the following serious charge:

"Instances of abuse in the granting of injunctions in labor disputes continue to occur."

There is no mistaking the meaning and gravity of these statements made officially in public documents by the President of the United States. Plainly and frankly, they imply a condition abhorrent to every American citizen. Our laws have been made for the benefit of all alike, irrespective of color, creed or politics.

A foreigner reading this note of warning in a public document, such as the President's Annual Message, could obtain only one impression, that our just laws are being used unjustly, and that our courts are discriminating between classes. Any citizen of the country would receive a similar impression.

Let us inquire upon what facts these grave reflections are predicated. It would seem that the President must possess facts to verify these declarations, but he has not supplied them to Congress, as at other times and in other cases he has offered evidence to substantiate the wisdom of his recommendations. Do those to whose protests he alludes offer proof of the numerous abuses to which they complain they have been subjected? We have heard the indictment, let us examine the evidence.

The accusation implied finally received the attention of a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, the Hon. Charles E. Littlefield. It was extremely fitting that a representative of that particular legislative Committee should take up the question, because the accusation was directed against the judiciary.

Mr. Littlefield requested Mr. James A. Emery, an attorney for the National Association of Manufacturers, who with James W. Van Cleave, President of the Association, was directly interested in such legislation, to make a careful examination of the "Federal Reporter" since January 1st, 1893, for the purpose of ascertaining how many injunctions of all kinds have been issued by the Federal courts since that date. This investigation disclosed that, in all, there have been 328 injunctions, only twenty of these

involving labor controversies. In five of these twenty, there were notice and hearing before the order was issued, leaving only fifteen since January 1st, 1893, up to date, issued without notice or hearing. The results of the investigation show further that there is absolutely nothing in the records to indicate that any of them were excessive or oppressive in their scope, or that they were not fully justified by the facts presented to the court.

In presenting his report, Mr. Emery makes the following decisive analysis of a number of restraining orders, injunctions and decisions filed with the Judiciary Committee of the House by the President of the American Federation of Labor:

"These acts of the courts cover a period of approximately fifteen years. Your counsel has given them careful examination, finding among them eighteen injunction cases, in fifteen of which *ex parte* restraining orders were issued, seven of which were not contested, and could not therefore be said to be objectionable; two were dissolved on hearing, one has not yet been heard owing to continuances at the request of the defendants; and the remainder, with one exception, were continued in force after hearing and argument, and only one injunction, during fifteen years of judicial action, was modified by a higher court. No other department of litigation can present so remarkable a record of freedom from judicial error. Confirming the injustice and inaccuracy of recent criticism, Mr. Townsend, of Michigan, leading the movement to reform the abuse of the injunction, admits, in a public statement recently made to his local press, that he cannot find 'one case' where the writ has been 'improperly issued.'"

Summing up the results of the entire investigation of official court records, Mr. Littlefield solemnly declared on the floor of the House of Representatives:

"Under these circumstances, I do not hesitate to say that the Committee cannot itself perceive that there have been instances of abuse in the granting of injunctions. I submit, with entire confidence, that it seems to me that when we have called upon the attorney for the American Federation of Labor for instances and specifications, and he fails to furnish them; when we have called upon the head of the organization itself for the same information, and he furnishes information without calling attention to any criticism; when we have made a thorough and exhaustive investigation of the reported decisions of the courts; when we have applied to the Department of Justice and ascertained that they have no information in relation thereto; when the gentleman from Michigan has made his independent and disinterested search and found nothing; when the Supreme Court, though not referring specifically to labor controversies, says that the judges have exercised due care; and when there has never been, from any quarter, prior to the letter of the

President, the slightest intimation upon the part of men representing the labor organizations that any abuse of the writ of injunction amounting to a high crime and a misdemeanor has ever been committed—and I think it is hardly necessary to suggest that the gentlemen who appeared before our Committee for the promotion of legislation of that character have never been backward in their assaults upon the judiciary—it appears that we have, with reasonable diligence at least, exhausted every available source of inquiry. I feel certain that the President has been deliberately misinformed as to the facts as they exist in connection with this question, because, in my judgment, there are no facts that warrant the suggestion or the intimation, at least since 1893, that a single judge, anywhere, at any time, in any place, under any stress, has been guilty of any abuse of the judicial power in issuing either a temporary restraining order or a preliminary injunction."

Not only has the endeavor been made to prevent the issuance of an injunctive writ until the wrong threatened has been inflicted, but it has been suggested and recommended by the Chief Executive of the nation that the judge who issues an injunction shall not try the violator of his order; that the court commanding shall be deprived of the power to enforce obedience; that he who is the last protection of property and personal rights shall leave to another court the vindication and protection of the judicial power reposed in him.

The purpose aimed at in the attempt to restrict the issuance of injunctions has, usually speaking, been expressed in general terms, but in the Beveridge Bill, for example, the requirements of notice and hearing applied only to cases involving controversies between employer and employee. The mere statement of the proposition involved refutes it. Such a measure would declare to the courts of the United States: "We do not question your right or duty to issue an injunction for the protection of property rights against irreparable damage in the absence of an adequate remedy at law; but we do say to you that the same property rights are not to be equally protected by the same court against all forms of attack."

Thus, if property or property rights be threatened in a dispute over a patent, by unfair competition, by the negotiation of securities fraudulently obtained, an injunction must issue. If the stability of your walls is threatened, if one asserting title to a portion of their support undermines them, if a nuisance threatens your health, impairs or obstructs the highways, the writ must issue; but if the manufacture of your patent, the same building, the same business, the same property right elsewhere protected be,

in the course of an industrial dispute, threatened with damage and destruction by men who declare that you may not operate your factory, execute your business or exercise your rights unless first you accept the industrial conditions under which they demand you shall operate, then these identical property rights, protected against every other form of attack by every court of the United States, shall not be protected until the parties menacing, attacking and destroying your property and preventing the exercise of your rights, shall first have notice of your intention to demand the protection of a court.

This, then, seems to be the issue confronting us. Both political parties have approached the subject and, under stress of a great political campaign, have gravely considered a change in the law which now offers to capital and labor, to man and woman and child, the sane protection of a judiciary which never before, in the long and honorable history of our country, has been questioned.

HENRY HARRISON LEWIS.

WOMAN IN THE ITALIAN NOVEL.

BY JOSEPH SPENCER KENNARD, LL.D.

LESS than half a century ago, there were many Italian peoples, but there was no Italian Nation. Out of these petty duchies, kingdoms and states, the ideals of unity and liberty have made the constitutional Kingdom of Italy. Essential differences distinguished the Roman from the Lombard, the Venetian from the Sicilian; and these social, lingual, intellectual and temperamental differences were not obliterated by a stroke of the pen, as the petty political divisions were swept away by a decree. Much, indeed, yet remains to be accomplished; but to-day the whole Italian peninsula is inhabited by one Italian Nation.

Doubtless because of these diversities, the words "Italian woman" do not evoke one clearly outlined figure, though they do suggest a vision of indefinite beauty.

If, indeed, even now, there exists a true "Italian Type" of woman, blossoming from an ancient stock, in a nation new-born, its presentation will be a genuine contribution to "feminism" and a valuable study in social evolution. Especially valuable because the phenomena of Italian feminine development and adaptation epitomizes the story of other slower national evolutions and indicates the direction of certain world-wide currents.

Not only are Italian women everywhere aspiring after better education and seeking for larger personal independence, but, as the pursuit of these aims has established a closer affinity between women's organizations, Italian women have discovered many unsuspected resemblances, which, in the aggregate, make up the "Italian Type"—a type whose psychological and social aspects will be best revealed through the Italian novel, if that novel satisfies Taine's luminous definition, "*Le Roman est la confession d'une société*"; because this "confession," besides avowedly and

purposely presenting facts, describing customs, painting portraits and landscapes, also unmasks the feminine soul. For the most sincere confession will disclose emotions unsuspected even by the penitent. There is eloquence in omission, and reticence may be as instructive as speech.

How true this is of the Italian novelists! How much they write about their countrywomen! But how much there is which they neither say nor comprehend! D'Annunzio's romances are masterpieces of suggestive poetry; Fogazzaro's novels are philosophic studies; hundreds of Italian novels supply valuable information on many subjects; yet how often do these writers imperfectly understand feminine psychology!

And—fact significant—the more these novels are untrue to the soul of the Italian woman, the more often are they characteristic of Italian life. For the Italian rarely studies, or cares for, the psyche of his women. Except for gallantry, the sexes keep much apart. Few men confide in the women they most love and honor; few consent to accept advice from them, and scarcely one will willingly grant them authority.

Of that close communion, that perfect confidence, which should begin with a mother's kiss to her babe new-born, and continue to son, brother, husband; vivifying and ennobling, comforting and supporting all along life's rugged path, even attending the old man to his final rest, there is a singular lack among Italians. The Catholic Church is partly responsible for this. Despite the exaltation of The Virgin, woman's inferiority and the debasing nature of her influence are preached. It is a corollary to the exaltation of celibacy and to the teaching that sexual love is degrading and that the flesh wars against the spirit. Immorality is not checked by such teaching, but tenderness is blunted and respect for woman is lessened. The struggle for bread has also brought the sexes into conflict. Everywhere, woman now competes with man. If masculine opposition is fierce and pitiless, Amazonian invasion is bold and eager. Poverty among the Italian masses and failure to recognize that the success of the woman does not necessarily imply the defeat of the man, have accentuated this antagonism.

The moral avarice of the primitive male savage still poisons Italian social intercourse. There are still retrograde spirits that feel as a loss to one sex every advantage obtained by the other.

All that the Italian woman has gained, she has obtained by her own unaided efforts. No one has smoothed the rough way for her; no one has cheered her victories or applauded her bravery. Patient, long-suffering and unpresuming, she has availed herself of every opportunity, and made marvellous progress in the development of her own personality and as a factor in the social economy. The Italian novel, being the reflection of Italian society, has participated in this misconception, which is the capital failing in much otherwise praiseworthy fiction.

Of twin birth with the national ideal of a free and united Italy, the Italian romance echoed the first heart-beat of classic patriotism. It sang the passionate aspirations of those romantic heroes, and played an important part in the general revolt against foreign oppression. This first and heroic period of novel-writing produced several historic romances, and one of them was a masterpiece; but in all their pages there is not one great feminine character. Foscolo's Teresa is but the mirror of passionate Jacopo Ortis, and Manzoni's religious scruples, compelling him to omit from his novel all love-passages, have resulted in shadowy profiles instead of achieved types of womanhood. Manzoni's imitators have crowded their books with unreal heroines of foreign pattern, in no wise resembling the typical Italian woman who was then awakening from centennial apathy and earnestly desirous of sharing in the common danger and common responsibility.

Not until the end of this patriotic and sentimental period,—in 1859, when Ippolito Nievo produced his "Memoirs of an Octogenarian,"—do we have lifelike feminine portrayal in an Italian novel. Pisana, the best of these characters, is the typical romantic heroine. With characteristic passionate impulse, recklessness and generosity, she lacks moral principle, is an unbridled coquette and sentimentalist. Her every act and word is consistent with her surroundings; yet she lives, her heart-throbs are real and she possesses a distinct individuality. Like all vital creatures, she suggests a whole series of complementary ideas, which arouse the reader's criticism and perplex his judgment. When her generosity becomes folly, when her passion passes into immorality, when she lies and plots, when she demeans herself to an inexcusable sacrifice, there is no recognized standard of propriety by which such a nature can be measured. Pisana is a law unto herself, as must be every imperial personality.

Underlying all the romantic atmosphere,—so characteristic of the literary moment,—there is a deeply observed evolution of one woman's soul. The startling events of the story are logical, if considered as mile-stones in Pisana's development. Even her adventures and intrigues are the blind strivings of a soul urged onward by the thirst for self-sacrifice, and an unsatiated craving for love, for love which finally becomes redemption. So true is this character of Pisana, that the modern reader, trained in psychological analysis, better appreciates it than did Nievo's contemporaries. Half a century of enlightened criticism has sifted the priceless ore from its encumbering romantic rubbish.

Only fifteen years separate Nievo's picture from the first efforts of the Italian realist school. Yet that short interval marks an important change in Italian life and thought. To a period of enthusiasm and heroism succeeded the despondency that so often follows the realization of a dream. The cold light of sordid achievement dimmed the lustre of bright expectation. Poverty, and the limitations of liberty, disillusioned even the most fervent fusionist about the perfections of United Italy. In this dark hour, literary realism, with its pitiless thirst for facts, its pessimistic interpretation of truth, its dogmatism about the scientific redress of wrongs, was accepted by the Italian artist as a necessary reaction from romanticism, and appeared to the Italian novelist an adequate formula for fiction.

This dogma of pure realism was opposed to the serene and poetic traditions of Italian literature. Yet, for a time, realism was rampant; and even when in part displaced by the torrent of new ideas, broad traces of its passage remained in the Italian novel. The clamorous success of Zola's *études de moeurs* was mistaken for Italian preference; but these purposely gróss and deliberately vulgar descriptions were so contrary to innate national tendencies as to produce only a temporary obsession.

Giovanni Verga was the first author of stories and novels of genuine Italian realism. Wisely he chose his subjects from the simple Sicilian life. Discarding facile dialect, he speaks in fragmentary sentences pregnant with the rude passion and confused ideas of the common people. The Sicilian noonday glare outlines the landscape in high relief. Unembarrassed by self-consciousness, unrestrained by reticence, the unfeigned feelings and uncurbed passions of these simple people are revealed in all their

impulsive sincerity within a rude environment of mediæval customs. From this gallery of pastoral figures emerges a type of womanhood which is delineated with truth, vigor and originality. This is the passive, Eastern, almost Biblical, woman. As in an Egyptian or Byzantine picture, there is the unconscious hieratic pose; her movements are slow and dignified; she is not obedient, —since obedience implies the surrender of conscious will,—but she is utterly submissive. Curbed by fatalism and timidity, she questions neither the moral law which enslaves her nor the right and power of man, her master. Her religion is superstition, her chastity instinctive. Yet there is in her,—as there is in every Arcadian creature,—a harmony with her environment. She is a part of her moral world; her beauty blends with the lines and colors of surrounding sea and sky.

A sunburnt pallid face is illumined by great dark eyes that gleam under a glossy mass of sombre hair; a body that ill usage and toil have strained, reveals, under its rags, the slender elegance of a Tanagra; the slowness of her gesture attains to stateliness in the simple rites of her faith; the mellow accents of her deep-toned voice mingle in concord with the song of the waves on the pebbly shore. Nor is her spirit less attuned to her moral world. There is no vulgarity in her ignorance. She meekly bends to the fatal necessity of her master's will; and when, in blind impulse, she commits some unpremeditated crime of jealousy or vengeance, her responsibility is limited by her utter ignorance of self-control. Like any other dumb, hard-used creature, she acts instinctively.

Diodata, the farm girl in "*Mastro Don Gesualdo,*" represents this type. To her master, Don Gesualdo, she has granted all that was hers to give, her virginal innocence, her patient toil, her unrequited devotion that shines out of her eyes, doglike in their dumb entreaty, imploring his caress. Yet, when told that he is to marry a noble-born Signora, she makes no protest, scarce dares show her grief, and crouches at his feet, gulping down her heavy tears. With the same unquestioning submission, she had accepted the master's will when this will was to possess her. She now accepts from his hand a complacent lout, who will take her to wife and with her embrace the master's children and pocket the master's money. Fate preordained this arrangement, and in Diodata's soul there is no protest. But when sickness and age

have reduced the wretched millionaire to that awful solitude of the unloved and the unlovable, then Diodata returns, bringing Don Gesualdo the balsam of disinterested affection and genuine pity.

In Grazia Deledda's Sardinian sketches, the feminine characters, though delineated in accordance with Verga's æsthetic principle, are remarkable for originality, sincerity and direct observation.

Centuries of patriarchal life in a land of barren fallows and extensive forests, of traditional superstition and relentless struggle, have powerfully moulded the Sardinian woman. She reverences the head of the family, yet maintains her self-respect; her large share in field labor and cattle tending, the importance which inherited Oriental jealousy gives to her possession, the deadly feuds that any misbehavior on her part is sure to kindle, endow her with a dignity in singular contrast with her lack of education. Zia Grazia, the stern widow of a brigand, who sits by her fireless hearth and mourns the departed hero and laments the coward spirit of her pious son; Olì, the degraded mother who commits suicide, to save her son from shame and to escape his reproaches, are truly feminine characters and entirely Sardinian.

Federigo De Roberto has in his novels so enlarged the formula of the realists as to present not merely one entire family, or even one entire section of society; in his novel, "The Viceroys," he includes the whole social world of his native Sicily. This ample reconstruction contains a notable gallery of masculine portraits, but the feminine characters are shadowy representations. In another novel, "Illusions," where De Roberto presumes to give the complete history of a woman, he only records a series of her love-affairs, from the precocious mishap of her unguarded childhood to the sad fate of the white-haired woman who has always pursued an *ignis fatuus* of illusions, and has fallen into moral marsh and mire.

Individualism, that predominant characteristic of the Italian mind, soon invaded the realistic school. Its writers adhered to the fundamental dogma of objective investigation and truthful rendering, but they followed personal preferences and aptitudes. Matilde Serao's emotional temperament sometimes leads her into sentimental wanderings, but she has never swerved from her fundamental conception of the psychology of her sex: love is for Serao the sole master-passion, the only fount of joy or sorrow.

Carmela Minimo, the ballet girl, is a very beggar for love. Her plainness has saved her from temptation, but she has been infected by contact with the wicked world around her; and, when love does come, it is in the poisoned atmosphere of a Neapolitan theatre. The fashionable and adored Terzi ridicules her proverbial chastity. So the infatuated girl (in her desire to conform to her idol's standard) takes a lover. This shop clerk, who treats her to cheap suppers and bad wines in tawdry restaurants, who shocks her religious sentiments, and wounds her feelings, dismisses her rudely when he realizes that she is no credit to his snobbery. Carmela, thinking to come nearer to Terzi's ideal, accepts a second lover.

But suddenly the scene changes; the doll becomes a woman! Terzi is dead! He has preferred suicide to facing the consequences of folly and extravagance. In a cheap lodging-house he lies alone. Carmela finds him; she claims the privilege of watching by that corpse and of weeping for that dead man who now is hers. By the ruin of her life, by the loss of her hopes of heaven, she has purchased the right of kissing those cold lips, that in life gave her only a mocking smile and a ribald joke. Yet, such is the divine folly of love, she does not regret the exchange.

The overmastering passion, so enslaving the will that the entire life drifts like a rudderless boat to final wreck, is the characteristic trait of all Matilde Serao's women. In "Sister Joan of the Cross," the object of that passion is changed, but the incapacity for resisting it remains. By Government decree the little wizened nun is thrust from her monastery out into the world. Her soul is obsessed by passion for conventual walls, for the black veil, for the enforced silence, for all those practices that gave dignity to her life. Blinded by her infatuation, she slips down, ever down, into more miserable situations, serenely content to accept every humiliation if only she can have a black gown and shawl of monastic fashion, and save her religious name from contamination. How pathetic the last scene of all! She sits at a table which charity has spread for the poorest mendicants, and she partakes humbly of these alms; but, when a grand lady patroness asks for her name, she gives her religious surname with the pride of a duchess handing her emblazoned visiting-card.

In the novels of another woman writer,—Neera,—are to be found more complex psychological studies. Thus, Teresa, reared

in a slow country town, is surrounded by that besotted selfishness which crushes the weak, and burdens with misery the uncomplaining. Even before her tenth year she is the family drudge, the maid of all work, the sickly mother's nurse. She rears a brood of younger brothers and sisters, and patiently endures her father's complaints. That her marriage portion may be saved for her brother, her parents refuse consent to her marriage. Teresa's nature is embittered in resisting the desires of her own heart and the pleadings of her *fiancé*. She becomes a fretful spinster, and the man whom she might have inspired to a useful life, discouraged and unrestrained, slips into snares and pitfalls.

Lydia, another of Neera's heroines, is petted and flattered by a brilliant social circle, is led into extravagance, tempted to coquetry, and initiated into the corruptions of the Neapolitan aristocracy, but never helped toward a more noble life. At first she scorns the banality of marriage, and when disillusion, wounded vanity and overwrought nerves finally bring her to the verge of a darker precipice, she finds refuge in suicide.

Thus even noble-minded Neera arrives at the same conclusion as passionate Serao—that, since woman is only meant to inspire and feel love, it is useless to study any other phase of her psyche and superfluous to claim for her any other right than the free satisfaction of her sensualism. These strange advocates of feminism, ignoring the higher demands of the woman's nature, only ask that this unique demand be recognized.

It was inevitable that the profounder truths resulting from psychological investigation should succeed the superficialities of realism. The lens and lancet system was not discarded, but its method was extended to the more complex problems of the human soul. Writers strove to rise above the rude description of obvious phenomena to a consideration of motives; winged imagination and poetical reconstruction added their charm, where heretofore there had only been objective analysis and dogmatic assertion.

To these new elements of the novel Fogazzaro has added his genial philosophy. He is a trained thinker, who, when impelled by his religious convictions to a larger interpretation of life, demands a scientific assurance to confirm his faith. He belongs, with Blaise Pascal, to that *élite* of storm-tossed souls who are perpetually tortured by their craving for certainty and by their thirst for absolute faith in a revealed religion. In his desire to

reconcile the Darwinian and Spencerian theories with the Catholic creed, he devised a pretty formula when he defined the evolution of man and the survival of the fittest as the "*modus operandi* of Divinity"; yet no formula can quiet the soul drawn to an ideal, and shackled to reality by scientific training.

This dualism, which informs all Fogazzaro's writings, and peculiarly his novels, is also the key-note of his interpretation of feminine characters. The double current of ideas, ever at war within him, yet ever blending in artistic creations, makes him scrupulously respectful of truth in the rendering of objective elements, and poetically imaginative in their interpretation. This excellent method gives to his delineation of women greater power and completeness, because he perceives that there are other emotions and other desires in a woman's heart than her longing for masculine admiration and love.

Having adopted this view-point, Fogazzaro has not disdained to trace portraits of women who, though they have outlived the age of sexual emotion, are not less interesting subjects of study. Thus, the characteristic traits of Marchesa Scremin, one of the secondary characters in "*Piccolo Mondo Moderno*," is pictured in a few vivid sentences which tell of maternal grief borne with Christian fortitude, and silently.

Dowager Maironi, in "*Piccolo Mondo Antico*," is a complete and unforgettable character. She symbolizes a fast-vanishing society, yet is she a living and throbbing personality. Her avarice and superstition, her obduracy, her stately manners, and the peculiar authority which she exerts over her entourage, give to her plump colorless face originality and power.

But there are other pictures, full-length portraits, which better illustrate Fogazzaro's feminine ideal.—Elena di San Giuliano, for instance, in "*Daniele Cortis*." Nothing can be more realistic than the preliminary analysis of this character. All the biological antecedents of her race, all the conditions and influences of her surroundings, are strongly, crudely presented. Her fatal abasement is a logical sequence. Her own mother's depravity, her slight education and neglected upbringing, culminating in marriage with an irreclaimable wretch; the levity of all her companions, save courageous though bigoted Uncle Lao, and their tacit approval of the fault which she has not committed, but which they imagine inevitable; even the outrage of her vile hus-

band's jealousy; everything urges her into sin. Yet she renounces the love that would mean an honored and easy life and joy unspeakable; with breaking heart she condemns her beloved Daniele to misery, and follows her husband into shameful exile.

Fogazzaro leaves this final step unexplained. Having sounded the abyss of scientific analysis and measured its limitations, for the ultimate result he provides only a metaphysical solution. At the time he wrote "*Daniele Cortis*," his own religious development would not have suggested a miraculous intervention of Divine Providence to account for this sudden resolution of a woman without religious instincts. Yet Fogazzaro is a Latin, living in a country where neither public sentiment nor private feelings as to the obligations of the marriage state would suffice to deter a woman of Elena's rank and education from following the impulses of her heart. In place of the restraining influence of public opinion in regard to the sanctity of marriage, or craven fear of breaking the Decalogue, he suggests that in every human soul there is an unerring guide to right action, a power strong enough to uplift the world.

Fogazzaro's selection of a feminine character to exemplify this moral struggle was a promising earnest, which has been realized in the character of Luisa Maironi, in the novel "*Piccolo Mondo Antico*," one of the most noble types of womanhood in Italian fiction. In order to elucidate the one decisive crisis in her life, with careful analysis Luisa is studied under every aspect of her development. Altruism, the key-note of her character, informs her every act and thought. Tender solicitude for her sickly mother, grateful appreciation of her uncle's protection, encouragement of her husband's plans, unwearied care for her child, everywhere and always she scatters the sun-bright light of her affection in active charity, kind words and unfailing good-humor. Her ideal is of justice, courage, endurance and human love. Her affection for Franco is strong and passionate, but it has none of that moral cowardice which bids the intellect and conscience surrender their right of control. The opposition between her ideas and those of her husband is always conscious; and when the struggle comes, when she has to choose between Franco's Christian submission to wrong and her own notion of right, she accepts the fatal estrangement rather than purchase her happiness by a renouncement of her ideal.

In the second part of the novel, Fogazzaro strained the evolution of his character so as to serve his purpose: his moral thesis required that Luisa be "converted" and that Franco's piety triumph. Accordingly, he presents grief, the maddening grief of a mother who, gazing on her only child's dead body, feels that she is in part responsible for this loss. Luisa's rebellious spirit at first is crushed, and then come conscientious misgivings; whilst Franco's pious soul finds consolation in thoughts of eternal happiness for his dead child, and something of joy in the feeling that his little one has been removed from the temptations of this wicked world. Luisa, in her despair, turns to the delusions of spiritism, but through her love for Franco she finally accepts his theory of Christian resignation and is comforted by the same Faith.

In his last noved, "*Il Santo,*" Fogazzaro has adopted the sterner and more Catholic standpoint, and his Jeanne de Salle appears like an embodiment of Evil, tempting the "Saint" to the sin of love; but, when he wrote "*Piccolo Mondo Antico,*" he had not yet decided for this interpretation of the great problem. His less prejudiced mind, in its eagerness for the complete truth, could still discern some of the complex changes of the human heart; he could see that, after the softening influence of grief, a woman's craving for pure tenderness and comfort must revive with tenfold power; he could also interpret in its double current of sensations and feelings the conjugal love and the blind maternal instinct that were stirring after a long period of depression in Luisa's heart and nerves; and above these elements of love, he knew that an infinite desire of making this bond everlasting, beyond the limits of time and space, must lead to a belief in the life after death and the promise of the joys of heaven. Luisa is not persuaded by argument, nor is she enslaved by an impetus of passion, but she is influenced by a blending of many diverse sentiments. Under the stress of threatening danger, the forebodings of an uncertain future and the necessity of immediate parting, her affection for her husband revives, and in the perfect communion of the two hearts all doubts are dispelled. The importance of the religious sentiment in the relations between man and woman, so conspicuous in many English and American novels, was almost a novelty in Italy, but Fogazzaro pursues it in his subsequent novels.

Elena di San Giuliano, Luisa Maironi and Jeanne de Salle are three important creations in Italian romance. They are impersonations of human tendencies, instinctive desire and every other natural craving which stands in opposition to the pietism and mystic religious exaltation of the three men whom they love, Daniele Cortis, Franco and Piero Maironi.

Despite certain juvenile experiments and the profession of realism contained in the introduction to "*Giovanni Episcopo*," few modern novel writers have borrowed less from direct observation than has D'Annunzio, yet in his novels are to be found some of the most characteristic representations of Italian woman. This apparent contradiction may be explained by the fact that, although D'Annunzio lacks the aptitude for patient observation, he is richly dowered with the poet's gift of assimilation, with the artistic sense that instinctively grasps the elements of beauty and synthesizes them in an æsthetic composition. His right to the epithet of "*immaginifero*" (producer of images) is enforced by the finish of his feminine figures, while his shallow psychology is evinced in his attempted analysis of their feelings.

There is no humanity, no life, in these characters; the clumsiness of their reconstruction dulls the sense of disgust which some of their acts inspire. Thus, Giuliana Hermil, not merely consenting to the death of her new-born babe, but praying for success for the murderous enterprise; thus, Ippolita, in "The Triumph of Death," always obeying her lowest instincts. "The Virgins of the Hills," because they never assume to be anything but allegorical symbols, exemplify the author's power for thus creating figures of unparalleled beauty devoid of any psychic life, merely swayed in their actions, or moulded in their appearance, by the reflections emanating from the mind of their lover; ever flitting and changing according to his flitting and changeful moods. Indeed, this essential trait is common to many of D'Annunzio's characters of women. They are phantoms created by the imagination of one man, embodiments of his desire, realizations of his æsthetic dream.

"*Piacere*," one of D'Annunzio's earliest works, wherein he has lavishly scattered the gifts of his poetic inspiration and the dross of his artistic sensualism, contains three very original feminine figures. Around this Child of Volupty these three shadows arise, projected by the fire of his perverted imagination. Maria Fleres,

the empress of his higher thoughts, the artist who stirs within him an almost chaste admiration, is the reflected image of all that is still unsullied in his soul. Elena Muti, the queen of volupty, perverted in her refinement, mixing with her utmost depravity a worship for art, is the incarnation of his less avowable feelings. Francesca d'Ateleta is the dimly shadowed profile of his blurred reminiscences of social bonds, family ties and intellectual friendship.

These three personages move clumsily around the man they love, their feelings remain unexplained, their motives confused, and little sympathy is felt for their fate; yet every reader feels that they are stamped with a genuinely Italian physiognomy.

Maria Fleres, of stately beauty, wears her modern gown like the drapery of an antique statue. Her interpretation of music, both passionate and imaginative; her love, both chaste in its spirit and sensual in the deed; her religious scruples and her humbleness before her lover all fix her Italian figure and her Italian mind.

Elena Muti has inherited from the Borgias that perverted sensualism, that intellectual depravity, which blends the most refined æsthetics with the most cruel desires.

Francesca D'Ateleta, too, is eminently an Italian character, an impersonation of that subtle charm, that *gentilezza* which distinguishes the Italian *dama* from every other gentlewoman. She has little of the Frenchwoman's *esprit* and none of the Englishwoman's *hauteur*. Her attitude and her intonations are less studied, her manners more stately, her smile warmer, her glance more direct; she ignores shyness and scorns etiquette, but has an instinctive abhorrence for vulgarity. It has taken centuries of Petrarchism and Arcadia, of courtly life and seclusion from vulgar contact, of communion with masterpieces of art, to produce this type of *Signora*, and that peculiar character of *gentilezza*, which may be termed a politeness that is sincere, an art that has become nature. It is an untranslatable word, because it answers to a conception of social intercourse without exact equivalent in other countries.

But another woman in D'Annunzio's novels claims, with better right, to synthesize the Italian woman, because, beside all these characters of external beauty, she also possesses—that which the others lacked—a living and throbbing soul, and because this soul is Italian. Foscarina, of "*Il Fuoco*," the grand tragedienne, is,

like all those things of beauty which have been much incensed and much admired, peculiarly attractive in the hour of her decline. It is as if the beauty of the poetry she has interpreted, the flame of the amours she has inspired, the perfume of the incense she has received, still clung to her, adding to her power of seduction. She shares with the golden sunset on the *laguna,* with the autumnal glory of fiery leafage, and the crumbling magnificence of her Venice, the evanescent charm of that which is doomed to disappear. This charm, made of exquisite sensations and spiritualized impressions, has been rendered by D'Annunzio with his usual power of expression, and also with a sincerity that is novel. Foscarina is not merely beautiful, and she does not merely appeal to the senses of her lover. She stirs within him deeper feelings, and in her turn she is actuated by higher motives. The dazzling picture of beauty, the delightful symphony of harmonious language, is not the final aim of the book, but only the background to a story of passion, of love and sacrifice. Foscarina, for love, will renounce her lover, and part from him almost without hope of future meeting. And this devotion, this tragic crisis, shows how essentially Italian she is: Italian in the stately pose which no emotions can ruffle, Italian in her unconscious preoccupation with beauty, Italian in her forgetfulness of reality, in the triumph of love over the long-enslaved flesh.

After the barren attempts of realism and the clumsy studies of pure psychology, this poetical reconstruction of the feminine type indicates a new manner of interpretation. Neither cold observation nor scientific analysis has produced any satisfactory literary representation of the Italian Woman. Has not the time come for trying a new method? The preliminary studies have indicated some of the elements of reality. It now remains for some comprehending spirit to seize them and idealize them in a poetic reconstruction. If this shall happen, it will have been once more the poet's glory to show the way and indicate the method. Others will follow, and, considering the activity of modern Italian novelists, will perchance promptly achieve that only picture which is yet wanting in the gallery of Italian fiction: the true portrait of the Italian Woman.

JOSEPH SPENCER KENNARD.

THE FUTURE OF WESTERN TRADE.

BY J. B. CASE, PRESIDENT OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI COMMERCIAL CONGRESS.

For twenty years there has been going on in the Middle West a change in trade method and direction of which not even those most intimately connected therewith have been fully aware. The coming of the railroad into the grain-raising territory west of the Mississippi has been accepted so generally as a matter of course that the gradual transformation it brought passed unnoticed by the average business man.

During these two decades, the West has been tremendously busy. It has had so many opportunities for wealth-making, and has seen so many chances for development, that it has assumed that conditions were changing only with the ordinary course of events and not in any marked manner. Western people have learned much during their years of prosperity. They have been extensive travellers. They have gone back East to visit the old home and have taken notice of things by the way. They have returned and told their neighbors that in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and on East, every little town has some sort of manufactory, which is making furniture, shoes, automobiles, breakfast foods, implements, or something else. As a result, the laboring classes have employment at high wages; the merchants have prospered; the farmers have had good prices for their products close at home; and land values have been held at a high figure. They have argued, naturally, that a community depending for its prosperity mainly upon growing crops and shipping them for long distances before reaching a final market can never become wealthy.

In consequence, the Commercial Clubs and Boards of Trade, with which the Western States are sprinkled, have held meetings, adopted resolutions, raised funds for exploitation and encouraged

in every possible way the establishment of manufacturing concerns. Hundreds of institutions have been located in the West by this means. Their coming has encouraged hundreds of others, until the manufacturing statistics of the Prairie States, where once were produced only wheat, grain and live-stock, are startling.

The old argument that it is foolish for a Western community to pay freight on its raw product 1,600 miles, then pay for having its product transformed into manufactured goods, and then pay freight on the manufactured goods 1,600 miles back again, has seemed so logical to the average Western community that it has done much to convince investors of the Trans-Mississippi country that they can make good returns on their capital. So, to-day, the Western merchant, instead of buying his goods entirely in the East, may place a large portion of his orders with reputable and successful concerns west of the Mississippi.

All through the Prairie States are found busy little factories that make many of the necessaries and luxuries of life. Not many years ago, the traveller who came West to "spy out the land" saw practically no smokestacks. It was a wide range of farms and villages. To-day, the aim of every town between the Mississippi River and the Pacific is to secure some sort of enterprise that will give employment to its laboring classes. Some of these are but the beginnings of much greater institutions. For instance, at Kansas City is a cotton-mill, which proposes to handle the product of the cotton-fields of Oklahoma, Arkansas and Northern Texas. Its promoters argue that this product can be manufactured with Western capital and by Western labor as satisfactorily as in Massachusetts or Rhode Island. In that city is also a paper-mill; glassware is manufactured extensively in Southeastern Kansas; woollen-mills are numerous; two or three successful Western automobile factories are making cars that sell in competition with those constructed a thousand miles farther east.

In direct connection with this trend of the Middle Western States toward making their own manufactured articles is an openly expressed desire for transportation facilities that will widen the market therefor. It is not enough in this age that several trunk lines reach directly to the Atlantic and Pacific coasts —the north-and-south waterways and more railways to supplement them are looked upon as necessary to complete equipment for the new trade conditions in the Trans-Mississippi country.

The whole prairie region has been gridironed by north-and-south railroads — mostly on paper. Surveying parties have tramped down acres of growing crops, laying out imaginary lines that would run with the meridians of longitude. A few of these have been in a degree successful. Still fewer have resulted in tremendously effective traffic-ways from the lower wheat-raising sections to deep water.

In its earliest phase, the transportation question of the great West was necessarily along east-and-west lines. The men who developed the Prairie States were the agents of capitalists in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston. Naturally, their one aim was to bring to their home cities every possible advantage. Every trunk line had its terminal in one of these great cities.

But the West has outgrown those old conditions. It has developed some capitalists of its own. The day has passed when it was necessary for the man who would organize a company and handle a big business enterprise in the Prairie States to load himself with letters of recommendation and take the train for New England. He is able to find within a few hundred miles' radius of his own home men who know the West, understand its conditions, and who can, in homely phrase, "talk the Western language"— men who have the money with which to finance his enterprises. Definite gain is in this: it does not take so much explanation to describe to the Western capitalist the opportunity before him as it does to convince one in the East.

Then the West has been earning and saving so much money during the past two decades that it has a tremendously large loan fund, for which it is seeking investment. It is willing to utilize this in building up Western institutions. As a result of better understanding of the chances that lie in undeveloped sections, it is finding plenty of opportunity for profit. The statistics of accomplishment are surprising to those who have not carefully studied the subject. California's manufactories turn out a product worth more than that of Ohio, Maine or Michigan; Oregon has as great a production from its factories and shops as Michigan; Missouri has more than Vermont; Kansas more than Virginia; Colorado more than Indiana. The Pacific States are producing five hundred million dollars' worth of manufactured products every year, and the Rocky Mountain group of States, five hundred million dollars' worth more, making a total annual output in

these sections of the country of over one billion dollars. This development of its manufacturing interests, particularly as the amount is constantly increasing, has a definite effect upon the trend and sentiment of Western commerce. They tend to make the Western business man feel that he is absolutely competent as a rival of his Eastern competitors. In other words, he has attained an independence that a few years ago was unknown. This is not alone because of the greater wealth and prosperity that have come to the Prairie States. The intelligent business man of the West knows now, even if he had forgotten it before the financial crisis of last year, that the financial operations of this nation are so closely intertwined that every section is bound to every other. He realizes that, in this respect, he cannot hope to stand aloof from the financial centres of the East. It may be that the editor of his local paper declares the "plutocratic East" a conscienceless enemy of the nation's granary, worthy of boycotts and anathemas —but the business man and capitalist know that, in the final analysis, there must be harmony and wide-spread confidence between East and West if prosperity is to be maintained as a feature of our national life. The intelligent Western business man is no ranter; he does not howl against the "red dragon of Wall Street," nor does he abuse the financial kings of America. He realizes that there is an interdependence in which all have a part.

Methods of Western merchandizing have changed greatly in two decades. Where formerly the country towns of the Prairie States had a large number of small stores, they now contain not only many small stores, but a large number of greater establishments that have grown up through the necessity for combination in meeting the needs of a rapidly developing patronage. In almost every county seat will be found two or more large department stores carrying stocks worth $40,000 or more, and embracing every kind of merchandize, from farming implements to dry goods. These are not the old-fashioned "country store" with its conglomeration of every sort of goods badly arranged, but they are equipped with every modern facility possessed by the average city emporium. It has been found profitable to conduct this kind of store because of the added advantage of buying goods in large quantities.

For the buying end of the Western mercantile establishment has become the important end of it. The close competition grow-

ing out of the mail-order business has compelled the country merchant to figure on a small margin of profit. The mail-order houses of Chicago, Kansas City and St. Louis have found a rich field for operations in the country settlements of the West. They bring to the door of the settler, who may reside a dozen miles from a village, the entire stock of the great department store and at prices which seem to the buyer remarkably low. As the towns have increased in number, the advantage of lessened distances has been given to the home merchant; and few farmers, except in the high-plains region of Western Texas, are many miles distant from a home store. The telephone and rural mail delivery have become adjuncts to the home merchant, and he is probably in closer touch with his customers to-day than ever in his history. To be sure, he still has the mail-order house as a great competitor and the huge mail-order catalogues give him much annoyance. However, he realizes that if he can buy at lower prices he can meet nearly every competition of this sort, provided he can make his customer understand his ability so to do.

This advantage in buying, which the Westerner seeks, is at the bottom of his patronage of Western factories of every sort. The business man of the West, consequently, encourages the establishment of manufacturing concerns in every possible way. He does not advise the giving of bonuses, as was the illogical method of stimulating this sort of enterprise two decades ago; but he does put his money into the stock of such companies and buys the products of such institutions.

To the Western farmer comes another problem, which is closely aligned with those of the home merchant. He is desirous of securing every possible advantage in prices for his grain and live-stock. To do this, he must secure the minimum rate on two factors of the handling of his product: its transportation and the commission for handling. He has attempted to control the former by some radical railroad legislation, that has resulted in comparatively little actual advantage. He has fought for the latter by means of "Farmers' Unions" and co-operative elevators, which have brought into a community of interest tens of thousands of farmers scattered through the grain belt of the Middle West. All in all, he has accomplished most in the handling of his wheat. His live-stock market is as greatly dominated from its business centres as ever.

Likewise the farmer has been waking up to the fact that there are other possible ways in which he could add to his income. One is a more direct route for export. In consequence, he has joined the business man in urging north-and-south railways and better waterway transportation, so that the products of the farm may move to foreign markets by way of the Gulf of Mexico, instead of by the Atlantic seaport. The increase in the export trade of the Gulf ports in the past decade has been a manifestation of the growth of this sentiment. Nor is the end yet reached. The increase in shipping from Galveston, Port Arthur and New Orleans during the next ten years will be greater than that from any other ports in the United States. The opening of the Panama Canal will mean the turning of all eyes in the West to water transportation to the Orient by way of the Gulf of Mexico. It will mean the building of new railway lines to tap every part of the grain-raising section, and the hurrying southward of huge shipments to be loaded for foreign trade.

With the Western merchant buying at home, and with the Western farmer shipping his product to the Gulf of Mexico either by rail or by improved waterways, will the Eastern manufacturer and transportation manager be left out? Will the Eastern factory be robbed of its patrons to such an extent that it will find itself crippled? It is not likely that any such results will follow. The nation is growing too rapidly, both East and West, for that. But this can be predicted: no such growth of Western trade for Eastern manufacturers will be seen in the next decade as has been the case in the one just completed. Changes are going on in the West by which it is attaining to a larger commercial independence. The broad sympathy that a Western institution receives from business men, both large and small, shows how strong is the sentiment for the encouragement of Western concerns.

When the financial crisis of 1907 caused a sudden suspension of investment by Western banks in "commercial paper," the first limitation was put on securities that originated in the East. The first purchases after the subsidence of the flurry, and when the bank deposits again became abundant, was of paper issued by Western firms. Bankers generally had more confidence in securities that were based upon Western business than upon those coming from the Atlantic coast cities. They may have been wrong in this, but the fact remains that such was their instinctive action.

Multiply this feeling by increasing success in meeting the demands of the rapidly growing area where luxuries are becoming as common as in States settled for a hundred years, and it is plain that the Western manufactory and wholesale institutions are to have a positive advantage that will increase as the years go on.

Along with the evident advantage arising out of having the manufacturing done near home and having a more direct outlet for the products of farm and ranch, the Western business men have of late years come to understand what is to be gained from co-operation in pushing their claims for trade recognition. In the earliest history of the West, all its enterprises were at the mercy of the East—that is, they were managed by Easterners, either through the government or by private enterprise. With the gain of capital and the greater amount of investment made from the savings of Western people, there has come also a unity of interest manifested in both political and commercial ways. Three great commercial bodies meet every year in the Western States: one is devoted to mining, one to irrigation and one to commerce. The direct object of these organizations is to build up the struggling enterprises of the West. The purpose is to unite in one effort the politicians, the capitalists and the business workers who live between the Mississippi and the Pacific. They point especially to the fact that, if all the Senators and Representatives who come from that territory will stand together for their home interests, they can get practically everything the Government has to give.

One outgrowth of this co-operation of the Western people is seen in the wonderful accomplishment in the reclamation service, which is taking from the dry lands of the desert vast areas and transforming them into productive farms. Already the enterprises along this line have involved an expenditure of fifty-one million dollars. There are under way twenty-seven great projects, among which are the greatest dams ever constructed and 2,000 miles of ditches and laterals, with more to be completed during the present year. The plans of this one service alone now contemplated mean the expenditure of a hundred million dollars, every cent of which will be repaid by those who obtain the land that is to be watered at Government expense. These schemes do not benefit any one portion of the West, but include districts located in the Dakotas as well as in Arizona, on the Pacific coast and in Oklahoma.

When it is considered that seventy per cent. of the area of the United States lies in the Trans-Mississippi country and that four hundred thousand immigrants are crossing the Mississippi every year to people its rich acres, it can be understood how great is the opportunity that lies before the Western business man during the next two decades. It should be remembered, likewise, that he lives in a section where there is practically no poverty, where poor-houses stand empty because none applies for entrance. Neither extreme wealth nor extreme penury exists in all this wide stretch of America's plain and mountain regions. The few millionaires who have been made rich by fortunate mining discoveries usually go East to spend their income. Farming regions of the West do not produce millionaires, but they do produce a high standard of competency that makes every family independent, and brings to every merchant a patronage which enables him to meet his obligations regularly and to obtain a steady income.

These are some of the factors that enter into the conditions surrounding every-day business transactions in the Western States. The one thing that interests the merchant is stability. He wants to know that those with whom he does business and those whom he trusts in a commercial way will be able to meet every obligation. With the newer discoveries in better methods of agriculture and the transformation of large areas of semi-arid and arid lands into productive irrigated farms, he has a stable constituency with which to deal. Compared with the homesteaders of twenty-five years ago,—those who came West because they had no other place to go, who owned little except a title to a quarter section of land which few knew how to farm successfully, a debt-burdened, struggling population, frequently discouraged and never over-prosperous,—he has, indeed, most satisfactory surroundings.

It should not be forgotten that the Trans-Mississippi section has a population of nearly thirty million, a country producing more corn, wheat, cotton and other agricultural products than any similar area on the face of the globe. Its mines yield silver and gold by the shipload, and coal enough to supply the world. This section, during the past fifteen years, has increased the value of its agricultural products from $701,000,000 to $1,714,000,000, or more than 144 per cent. Who can tell what the next decade will bring in the magnificent outpouring of wealth from this great granary of the world? Those who have watched the upbuilding

of this magnificent portion of our nation and have helped to develop it realize that, with this increasing production, there comes a large problem of transportation.

Indeed, it overshadows in many ways all other questions bearing upon future advancement. It is recognized that railroad transportation is already overburdened. Only one other outlet is open to the great Middle West, and that is through the waterways that reach their streams up into the foothills of the mountains. It is not only because of convenience that it looks to this method of solving the pressing problem, but because it will, through the competition afforded, give cheaper rates for the immense amount of grain and coal that must be transported to the greater centres of population. It is realized throughout the Trans-Mississippi country that every cent saved in transporting the natural products of soil and mine means millions in surplus revenue. The people of that section have been reading and studying this question and they look to a time in the not distant future when ships shall be loaded regularly at Kansas City, Muskogee and other interior points, and landed at Chicago, New York, New Orleans, Galveston, then across the seas to Europe, South Africa, South America and the Oriental countries, giving us access for our raw material to all the world's markets at the lowest possible cost of transportation. For the present, our message to the East is this: We are glad to sell you our products, to loan your factories our money, to keep our surplus funds in your banks, to buy your finished products, your manufactured goods; but we expect to sell you our raw material and we are determined to transport it to you at a minimum expense.

The Western business man is at present only beginning the accession of his independence. He has some ideas in legislation and business methods that are not in harmony with those of the average Eastern merchant. He works on a swifter basis, with quicker turning of his stocks into money. The activity of the West is proverbial and it is seen nowhere more strikingly than in the ordinary business procedure.

Probably no portion of the nation was so little affected by the recent financial flurry as the Middle West, the great granary where the farms have been producing so liberally during the past eight years. The banks were quick in returning to their normal conditions and the people resumed their usual methods of doing

business rapidly after the scare had in a measure subsided. The important thing is not that the West has been prosperous, but that it has continued to prosper when the rest of the country was to a degree overwhelmed with the situation of doubt.

Just for a single example of the kind of prosperity that the West possesses: It is stated by the dealers in automobiles that more cars were sold last spring to the farming sections of the Prairie States than in any other part of the United States. In one town, three hundred miles west of the Missouri River and half as far from the mountains—a town of little more than 3,500 inhabitants—are seventy-two automobiles. Counties that one year ago had less than half a dozen machines, now have seventy-five to one hundred. The people have gone on making money and spending it—and many of the expenditures have been made on Western-manufactured machines.

These things are important as indicating on what basis Western trade of the future is to depend. It may be that the plans for building up of home factories will not advance so rapidly as now seems likely; but the present rate of progress is so positive and so satisfactory to the investors that it is not to be doubted that something good is to come in this direction. The West is building up some jobbing-centres that are to be reckoned with. Kansas City, which was a straggling village within the memory of this generation, has half-a-million population and will have a million in another decade. Wichita and Oklahoma City, the latter bare prairie eighteen years ago, have over 40,000 population each, with trolley cars, electric lights, and every modern luxury that the East possesses. In the north are the Twin Cities and Omaha, while on the Pacific coast are Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, Spokane, San Francisco and Los Angeles, all growing in business importance, not only in the local trade, but as distributing points for a wide territory that was once supplied from the East, or would have been so supplied under old-time conditions.

In other words, Western trade will seek the lines of least resistance, and the indications are that these lines will lead to the local manufactories, to the home concerns and away from the old-time centres. As the years go on, the tendency will increase and the Western business man will have a greater independence because he has a personal interest in the affairs that are nearest to him.

It is not to be inferred from this that the West has a grudge against the East, nor that it has in its mind a boycott because the East is where it is. On the contrary, the business men of the West feel most kindly toward the East; they have done business with the East so long that they realize more keenly, perhaps, than the farmer the good qualities of the Eastern wholesaler and his associates.

But it is the natural outcome of growing importance and business strength and a desire for individuality, that shall in the end bring to the West a supremacy in trade that will divorce it to a large degree from its former associations. The Western trade of the future will be given to Westerners when possible—as, indeed, it is to-day—and the increasing number and importance of the Western localities where it can thus be turned is a significant factor in the situation.

The fact that Western politicians and business men are joining hands to get things for the West, and are asking the Government and the business interests that there shall be fuller recognition of the needs of the West, is in itself but an indication of what is to come when the manufacturing and wholesaling interests of the West are fully developed.

It is but a matter of short time when trolley lines will gridiron the Prairie States as they do the States east of the Mississippi; the telephone and rural mail delivery reach practically every family to-day; the Western business man is in touch with his patrons as closely as is the Eastern business man with his.

The prospect for future development is most encouraging, and the Western States are looking forward to a time when the shorter distances of transportation and the increased business connections will make the Western business centres as prominent and as prosperous as those of the Atlantic States. The tendency of Western trade is in that direction—it is merely a matter of time when it shall arrive.

J. B. Case.

THE DRESDEN ESPERANTO CONGRESS.

BY HENRY JAMES FORMAN.

THE success of any world-congress depends upon three things: the importance of its object, the enthusiasm and interest of the members in their cause and the general influence it diffuses for the good of humanity. Assuming that these premises are true, the Dresden Esperanto Congress held from the 16th to the 22nd of August last was one of the most successful of world-congresses. The German Empire, which despite all its progress is of an exaggerated conservatism, paid close attention to the doings of the Congress, looked upon the spectacle of thirty nationalities united by a common speech with profound interest and, so far as one could judge from conversation and the press, applauded its fundamental idea.

The fundamental idea of Esperanto, it may be briefly restated here, is the same fundamental idea upon which all progress rests. It is the increase of facility in human intercourse. Just as the invention of the printing-press made it possible for all the world to be educated, or the discovery of the telegraph to know what is happening in every section of the globe the same day, so Esperanto has for its object the promotion of a simple, flexible auxiliary language by means of which every human being will be able to understand its fellow. So simple is this tongue that any one can learn it in a space incredibly shorter than is required for any natural tongue now in existence, and when every one does learn it the barriers of speech that make the many nations so alien to each other will have fallen away. It has, moreover, the advantage of neutrality, so that the jealousy of one nation over the prosperity of another's language abroad is absolutely eliminated. We may then, I believe, concede that such an object is of sufficient moment to animate a world-congress.

And the Dresden Congress, it may be added for the benefit of some readers, was the fourth in the series of universal Esperanto congresses, the three preceding ones having been held at Boulogne, at Geneva and at Cambridge, England, respectively. So that the animating spirit is no new thing, but general propaganda aside, has already been brought to the close observation of various European nations.

Last year, in describing the Cambridge Congress, we had occasion to speak of the satisfying spectacle of thirty nationalities assembled in one church attending a divine service in a common tongue and giving ear to a sermon in a language understood by all. At the risk of repetition, it must be said that to those who were last August in Dresden that seemed just as wonderful a phenomenon as it did the very first time they had seen it. Secular movements for universal unity and harmony among mankind, however well founded, are still recent when compared with the ancient striving of the Church. For centuries upon centuries the Christian Church has preached universal brotherhood as among the most precious and fundamental of its doctrines. And how near soever may be the approach to "good-will to man," the barrier of alien speech still separates the nations. To those who attended either the Catholic service at Dresden, or the Evangelical, both conducted in Esperanto, and saw the hundreds of worshippers from every clime assembled under one roof and under one pastor, saying their simple prayers and singing their hymns in one language, could not but feel that the curse of Babel was at an end.

This feeling was intensified by the meetings of the Bible translators. Some years ago the present writer came upon a collection of Bibles in many tongues and dialects, and, though their number was very large, they by no means represented all the translations extant. One could not but reflect upon the time and energy that could have been spared, and upon the simplicity and benefits to mankind of some common medium of speech that would do away with these numerous tomes, that all could understand. The simplicity and the benefits of such a speech have not only appeared, but have even done their work. The greater part of the New Testament and much of the Old Testament lay upon the table already translated, and the balance will soon be completed. The book of Proverbs, translated by Dr. Zamenhof himself, is

even now appearing in this REVIEW. The endeavor in a task like this, most people will surely agree, is not only useful, but noble and beautiful. In short, take it all in all, the object of Esperanto seems to grow in importance with every concrete instance of the uses to which the language is put.

The opening of the Fourth Congress on Monday the 17th of August was one of the most impressive pictures that I have ever witnessed. About three thousand people filled the Vereinshaus, which was decorated with the flags and shields of all nations. Upon the platform, as is customary, sat the *eminentuloj* identified with the cause of Esperanto. Dr. Zamenhof was there, and M. Boirac, the earnest Rector of the University of Dijon. General Sébert, also of France, sat close to Dr. Mybs of Altona, Germany, the chief organizer of the Fourth Congress. H. Bolingbroke Mudie, the energetic and wealthy young Englishman who has dedicated all his time and energies to Esperanto, still seemed to exert an influence over this Congress, as he did last year over the Cambridge Congress, of which he was largely the organizer. Felix Moscheles, the artist and peace enthusiast, whose motto in dealing with millionaires is, "Give me money and I'll give you peace," sat beside Colonel John Pollen, C.I.E., England's official friend of all the Rajahs and Newabs of the Indian Empire. As Colonel Pollen has been obliged to learn most tongues of Europe and Asia, he knows the value of such a medium as Esperanto and has ever been zealous in its cause. With considerable pride those of us who came from the United States looked upon still another delegate, Major Paul Straub, officially chosen by our War Department to attend the Congress and to report upon the uses and merits of Esperanto.

The gold and silver galloon of the German army and of official Saxony glittered among the multitude, for His Majesty the King of Saxony graciously bestowed his protection upon the Congress, and every Minister of State in Saxony was an honorary member of the Congress. There were official delegates on behalf of Saxony, the city of Dresden and the Kingdom of Sweden.

Colonel John Pollen as President of last year's Congress formally ceded the chair to Dr. Mybs of Altona, and then, as is customary, Dr. Zamenhof arose and gave his annual message to the Congress. Dr. Zamenhof's message this year, as every year, was one of progress, but in addition he announced the formation of

an Academy, after the pattern of the French Academy which should pass upon matters of linguistic growth and, where necessary, reform. The ovation which Dr. Zamenhof receives every time that he appears before an Esperanto gathering has often been described, and yet there is to the observer always something novel in it. There is always a peculiar sense of exultation in beholding a man who has created a living language in which thousands upon thousands already exchange ideas the world over.

The burgomaster of Dresden extended to the Congress the greetings and welcome of his city, which had already substantiated this ceremony by considerable financial aid. The many delegates from all over the globe then brought their messages to the Congress. From India, from Iceland, from Siberia and from Peru, as well as from every country in Europe, came the intelligence that Esperanto was flourishing and prospering there. But the most enthusiastic reception, perhaps, was accorded to the Japanese delegates, and to Major Straub representing the Government of the United States. The Europeans in some way have grown accustomed to imagine that Japan and America were recently all but at war with each other. And to see delegates from each of the quasi-belligerents thus juxtaposed on a platform that makes for nothing if not for peace, confirmed their notions of the ultimate ideal of Esperanto.

The balance of that week was filled up with the general activities of a congress. At the daily business meetings the thousand and one problems of propaganda, of organization and of general improvement of conditions that would naturally confront such a movement, were discussed freely and forcibly in the language with which they were concerned. The afternoons were given up to special meetings, sight-seeing and excursions in and out of the city. The municipality of Dresden courteously presented free transportation to every member of the Congress upon all the street railways, which constantly gave one the feeling of actually being the city's guest. There were delightful excursions to the beautiful region known as the Saxon Switzerland and to Meissen, the home of Albrecht's castle and of the famous porcelain works. Meissen showed its pleasure in receiving the Congress by a public demonstration and a reception by the Mayor and Corporation. The Congressists came up the river from Dresden in three large boats, and the Mayor was at the landing with an orchestra to wel-

come Dr. and Mrs. Zamenhof as well as the other Esperantists. From a balcony of the Rathaus the Mayor made a graceful speech to the guests and welcomed them to the ancient city of Meissen. The maidens of Meissen then served a glass of wine to every member of the Congress to drink the city's health withal. The return home by moonlight was like a triumphal procession, what with the cheering and the fireworks all the way upon the banks.

An Esperanto Congress is a cosmos in little. Aside from the general meetings there are meetings of the various nationalities, special meetings of the scientists, the lawyers, teachers, physicians and various others. Even the Esperantists among the Dresden police had their meeting. One of the most interesting of these sectional meetings was that of the Red Cross.

The Red Cross societies the world over have found that Esperanto is perhaps the best "supply" they could take into the field in time of war. The benefits of a ready understanding among the Red Cross workers of different nationalities in the field are too obvious to need dwelling upon. Lieutenant Bayol, an instructor at the French military school of St.-Cyr, has been organizing this particular department for some time, and has already published a handbook of Esperanto for the special use of the Red Cross. Major Straub, it is believed, will report favorably to the War Department and urge the adoption of Esperanto for the use of the Red Cross, the medical corps of the army, as well as generally.

The week of the Congress drew speedily to a close, and on Saturday, the 22nd of August, was held the last session of the Congress. On that day the present writer had the honor of inviting the Congress, on behalf of the editor of this REVIEW and the Esperanto Association of North America, to come to America. The invitation was accepted. We cannot but hope that every one at all interested in Esperanto will do all in his power to make the Fifth Congress a success.

HENRY JAMES FORMAN.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY GERHARDT C. MARS AND FREDERIC TABER COOPER.

"TALKS ON RELIGION."*

"TALKS on Religion" might serve as the title for a volume of Sunday evening addresses by some favorite pastor. In the present instance, however, it indicates a broad and far-reaching inquiry into the fundamentals of religion, participated in by a dozen or more academic and professional men who are well known in their respective vocations, but whose identities are concealed from us under the cover of anonymity. The editor of the volume, Mr. Henry Bedinger Mitchell, does not undertake to record their exact language, but claims to present a faithful transcript of what they said, and adds much to the interest of his reports by retaining their original conversational form.

This religious symposium has its origin in the somewhat unusual but pleasing anomaly of a philosophical mathematician whose wide and deep acquaintance and sympathy with all manner of religious thought and endeavor, lead him to assemble the talkers, outline the problems and, from time to time, summarize the results.

In view of general vagueness in definition, the Historian suggests that a beginning be made by each, in defining his notion of religion. Although there is a tendency throughout to lay stress upon some one element in religious experience, the outcome is pretty clear that religion is a pervasive and intricate complex of thought, emotion and will. There is always some grand cosmic object of thought which calls forth the various emotions of fear, awe, reverence or love and arouses the will to manifold activities.

* "Talks on Religion." A Collective Inquiry Recorded by Henry Bedinger Mitchell. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co.

The discussion now enters upon two main lines of investigation which the Mathematician had already marked out—that is, the sources of those intimate convictions and sentiments which constitute the inner spirit of religion, and those outer ecclesiastical forms which religion has taken on and which have accompanied and influenced the historical development of civilization. In general, we are to deal with all that is involved in questions of the inner life and the outer organization, or of spirit and form.

The Clergyman is fortunately chosen to open the discussion. He proves to be one of those all too rare members of his class who are as widely interested in what the scientist and philospher think as they are in what the saint does. Faithful son of an historic Church, and deeply prizing her creed and ritual, he is nevertheless alive to a progressive enlightenment that demands reinterpretation for religion, and seeks for such a reinterpretation by giving to the inner spirit of the Church a larger and more rational form of outer expression. He sees that while the spirit is the life of religion, there is not only value, but necessity, in outer organization in order to give to that life practical efficiency. As to the inner life of religion, he points out that its sources are revealed in nature and in history, for nature not only manifests a supreme intelligence in its law and order, but also a progress toward some great spiritual outcome, as indicated in its rising evolution; while history shows the unfailing presence and inspiration of Christ, in spite of the paganization of Christianity. The result is that, in its essential meaning, "the liberal Christianity of to-day," the Clergyman declares, "is nearer Christ than the Church has ever been before." His position starts all sorts of oppositions and agreements.

The Zoologist is inclined to support him in recognizing the lessons from nature which the evolution of life brings to light. Not only is there the universal egoistic struggle for existence, but equally the altruistic subordination of the individual to the whole; but more especially a mutual working together in the common interest, whether it be in a cell group or a pack of wolves. The Golden Rule is embodied in nature, and out of this grand fact develops human morality. But the Zoologist finds in nature no revelation of the Clergyman's Christian God. He sees rather a gradual development of the religious sense from dreams and animistic beliefs to the notion of an all-pervasive, Supreme Being.

This is all that is necessary to arouse in man the cosmic emotion which is quite sufficient to give meaning to religion.

The Social Philosopher now enters with an emphatic protest against this ethical religion of nature which to him is a "great, big, clumsy, blundering thing, caught red-handed in its idiotic incompetency, cruel, wasteful, remorseless! We should," he exclaims, "curse nature, not worship it. Or, better still, we should be snobbish to nature. Use it and despise it." This somewhat heated antagonism to nature, we must admit, has a rational basis; for nature, taken merely as such, utterly fails to meet and indeed often combats our highest human needs, and that, because man always rises above nature, is supra-natural and therefore can find nowhere in nature that freedom and self-realization which the reason in him imperatively demands. Hence the Social Philospher finds ethics and the religious ideals only in our own hearts. Men recognize at first a power about them upon which they must depend, but the worth of which they can little respect. With their refinement, however, this power assumes a higher worth, but, at the same time, becomes less real; until, finally, when the notion of ideal perfection gives supreme worth to the all-pervasive power, that power fades away into the realm of unreality. The protest raised against this denial of reality to the ideal rather misses the Social Philosopher's point, who, resting his position on Kant's unknowable "*Ding-an-sich*," does not seem to mean that God as the ideal does not exist at all, but rather that so far as we are immediately concerned, He is so transcendent, so far exalted above our actual world, as to come into no real relations with it, does not rule in it; so that life is entirely our own affair, and we must get along with it as best we can without looking for any real support or guidance from God.

The mystic Oxonian now comes upon the scene to deliver us from this godless world. And he does so by bringing God back to the world through *spirit* and *faith*. Man, unlike the brute, is a spiritual being—that is, one who rises above the reactions of the immediate environment and seeks satisfaction beyond the present and the seen. Amid the wild disorder of contending forces that surround and threaten to overwhelm him, he must seek the central and controlling governance of them all in which he can find security and peace. It is to this One that his spirit responds

in confident faith as that which will deliver him from the dangers and snares of the many. And it is in this mystic attitude that religion finds its consummation. If at first the feeling is a mere sense of dependence for benefit and safety, it rises in time to reverence, and then to love. "With love comes the desire for union, and from the desire is born the fact and the experience—the mystic union with the core of things."

But, however rich and varied these views of religion may be, when it is regarded as an inherent fact of the individual life, there is also to be considered its social side, or the religion of the community as embodied in the Church. This institutional aspect of religion is dealt with by the Historian, who in a brilliant and rapid sketch of Church history concludes that Christianity, both in its Roman and Protestant forms, has not only flagrantly departed from the example and teaching of Jesus, and embodied extraneous and un-Christian elements, but, resting stubbornly in its unprogressive dogmas and traditions, has throughout persistently obstructed the advance of humanity. He will not even admit the Clergyman's claim that Christianity has made for righteousness or worked for a moral progress in civilization over the past. For while granting that "in our sense of brotherhood, of unity, of responsibility for the welfare of others," we have developed to a degree never before known in the world, he persists in asserting that "it was not due to religion, but to democracy and science to which the Church has always been opposed." When confronted by the possible distinction between the inner spirit of religion, which the Church has enclosed, and the outer organization as a fallible and erring form, he insists upon their practical identity in the Church of history; and this he finds to be invariably opposed to progress. He refuses to see that the historic organization was necessary to produce and nourish the germs of a new life which, while they needed more room for their development than the old form could afford, nevertheless had their origin and gestation there.

If, however, the question arises as to the possibility of religion without organization, the Pragmatist comes to the Historian's aid by showing, as he sees it, the growth of true religion away from the necessity of communal organization to the sufficiency of individual faith. With pagan polytheism and the monotheism of Judaism and Catholic Christianity there seemed to be felt the need

of loyal attachment to the tribe or the Church. But with the Protestant reformation, God ceases to be the God of the Church or even of Christendom and becomes cosmic and absolute. So general, complex and intimate, therefore, becomes the relation of every soul to God that "no one organization can possibly confine it or make it exclusively its own." From the nature of the case, as the Pragmatist views it, "religion must be immediate, personal, wholly individual, containing and expressing all that the man himself is." And he even goes so far as to say that organization for religion is not only unnecessary, but positively harmful.

But the Oxonian again comes to our rescue. He points out with much cogency that, at any rate, so far as Christianity is concerned, religion by its very nature is social, and that fellowship is a prime factor in the development and enrichment of the individual religious life. Moreover, all spiritual ideals demand for their growth and sustainment a congenial atmosphere, and it is precisely the Church that offers, before all other means, just this atmosphere. Has the actual Church of history, by its superstitions, corruptions or fixity of ecclesiastical forms obscured the pure spirit of Christ? It has also continued and cherished that spirit, has successively put off its superstitions and corruptions, modified, to the growing need, its forms, and, in any case, "stands before us to-day an immense fact, the stimulus and instruction of communities. Fools may build houses—yes, and knaves too—that wise men may dwell in them." Is it asked again whether the contemporary Church is not ill calculated, in its forms of worship and preaching, to nourish cultivated minds? Then enter and modify them! answers the Oxonian.

But the problem is not satisfactorily solved as to how cultivated men of the present day can get into the Church—except on the old terms; or how they can stay there—on their own new ones. The Church has not yet learned the natural secret, as the Zoologist puts it, of renewing its shell with its inner growth. It does not even emulate the crab by casting its old rigid shell to form a new one. Expansion and growth are still effected by the formation of altogether new organizations with their own rigid shells.

But it is just this diversity of religion that especially pleases the Social Philosopher as an indication of the manifold richness

of religious aspiration. To him "it is all infinitely beautiful, infinitely pathetic and infinitely dear."

The final discussion brings into view the "signs of the times," which seem clearly to indicate the wide-spread conviction that religion needs a broader and more rationally significant interpretation than may be found in any of the past historical forms, an interpretation which not only conserves the deep fervor and lofty idealism of the Christian spirit, but does so in the light of the larger and more luminous world-view of our modern scientific era. Such an interpretation or reinterpretation must satisfy the total reason of man in its rational unity. On the one hand, true religion cannot exist where reason is bound or stultified by unquestioning obedience to human authority. On the other hand, natural science and logic as such, free as they are, cannot supply a content rich enough to satisfy the entire demands of religion. The activities of thought, feeling and will, in their completeness, must be brought to such a developed unity as to see in the objective Truth of the cosmos the supreme Beauty of all things, because it rests upon an infinite and eternal energy which means the creative and sustaining Will of Goodness. The forms that would symbolize or embody such a religion might well be left to take care of themselves.

It would be impossible to indicate adequately in the course of a single review the rich variety of theme, felicity of expression, and breadth of spirit which characterize "Talks on Religion." Those who are interested in living religious problems should read the volume for themselves.

GERHARDT C. MARS.

THE NOVEL.*

ALTHOUGH the modern novel is confessedly the youngest and most elastic of creative literary forms, no one can seriously study its contemporary development without marvelling at the rapidity of its growth and the refinement of its methods. Its earlier looseness of structure, its inclusion of story within story, its confidential asides between author and reader, which we still accept complacently from Thackeray, are only some of the cruder and

* "The Technique of the Novel." By Charles F. Horne. New York: Harper & Brothers.

more obvious faults which the finer technique of to-day has rendered obsolete. And while the importance of mere form is easily exaggerated, yet a certain degree of understanding of the methods by which technical difficulties are overcome and the desired results obtained adds to the profit as well as the pleasure we gain from any artistic creation, whether it be the *David* of Michelangelo, or the *Venus d'Ille* of Prosper Merimée. Accordingly, any book which, from a study of admitted masterpieces, succeeds in formulating the leading principles of the technique of fiction is performing a real service alike to the writers and the readers of novels.

Such a task, however, requires a rather unusual combination of qualities: a wise impartiality and kindly tolerance, as well as a keen appreciation of comparative values; a wide range of reading, and a no less broad and sympathetic understanding of life. And equally essential is a consistent self-restraint which contents itself with formulating the rules of technique as practised in the past and present, without attempting to dogmatize as to the way in which they ought to be practised to-morrow. For the rules which govern the making of a novel may aptly be compared to the principles of the common law,—resting on the basis of established precedent, and likely to be overruled at any time by the requirements of some new and exceptional case; but never to be formalized into the rigid dogmatism of a revised statute. And, to carry the analogy one step further, the technique of the novel, like the study of the common law, may be taught in either of two ways: either, in law-school parlance, by the method of cases or of text-books,—the historical method or the method of deduced principles.

These two methods, as it happens, are well illustrated by two volumes, of kindred aims and ambitions, but otherwise contrasting rather sharply, that appeared simultaneously a short time since. "The Technique of the Novel," by Professor Charles F. Horne, of the College of the City of New York, is a painstaking example of the historical method. It is evidently the outcome of a long and conscientious study of fiction, ancient and modern, on the basis of which the author has tried to show in precisely what order the several essential elements of the modern novel were evolved. Since the goal towards which the whole study moves is a determination, not of what the technique of fiction may have been a hundred or

a thousand years ago, but rather what it is to-day, the value of the book is not vitally impaired by a lack of thoroughness in the earlier portion. Yet, inasmuch as the author has expended well-nigh one-third of his space upon the development of classic and mediæval fiction, there is legitimate ground for complaining that his conclusions are at least weakened by the inconsistency and incompleteness of his use of available material. Certain principles of technique the novel and short story possess in common with the epic and the drama. And in the case of the Greeks and the Romans, from whom only scanty and for the most part fragmentary examples of prose narrative have come down, it would have been quite justifiable to resort to Homer and Æschylus, Vergil and Plautus, before deciding that the classic world did or did not understand the value of certain forms of narrative structure. Professor Horne, however, bars out the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," because they happen to be in verse, but he inconsistently admits the various mediæval cycles of stories, in spite of their verse form, and without attempting more than a perfunctory justification. The only specimen of realistic fiction that Rome has bequeathed to us, the "Satirae" of Petronius, he dismisses with a foot-note; the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius he seems to have passed over altogether; and while he does devote an entire chapter to a crude and primitive Egyptian story, he is silent regarding the influence of Hindu fabulists, and of the still more important story structure of the Hebrews; the books of "Ruth" and "Esther," the "Apochrypha," and the Parables of the New Testament. It does not follow that an examination of this neglected material would have seriously modified Professor Horne's conclusions. But at least it would have left an impression of greater thoroughness.

"Materials and Methods of Fiction,"* by Clayton Hamilton, deliberately rejects the historical method, and seeks to deduce the fundamental principles of technique from the world's admitted masterpieces of fictional narrative, drawing quite impartially from Cervantes and Jane Austen, from the "Iliad" and the "Prodigal Son," with the one constant purpose of finding the citation that will best illustrate the point at issue. It is not, however, too

* "Materials and Methods of Fiction." By Clayton Hamilton. With an Introduction by Brander Matthews. New York: The Baker & Taylor Company.

much to say that the very real value of Mr. Hamilton's book depends far less upon direct and specific research involved in it than upon a certain wise and healthful outlook upon life in general, that lies at the basis of his careful and logical subdivision of his book; his initial discussion of the purpose of fiction, his suggestive distinction between the rival methods of realism and romance, his consideration of the three essential elements of narrative,—plot, characters and setting; and supplemental chapters of emphasis, on style, and on the distinction between novel, novelette and short story,—which, by the way, he insists throughout upon hyphenating. It is because of his wide horizon, his underlying interest in the big things of life, as well as his keen appreciation of the delicate art of some short story by Mr. Kipling, some subtle paragraph by Maupassant or Coppée, that one can read with enjoyment and profit chapters in which one may differ strongly with the author's main conclusions. For it has this vital quality of a book that is really worth while, that where it fails to convince it helps you to clarify your own reasons for believing just the opposite.

For the most part, however, where one finds one's self seriously at issue with "Materials and Methods of Fiction," the point of divergence lies in a definition of words. Anatole France has somewhere maintained that the essence of certain types of fiction is that they shall be ingenious and consistent lies, because there is in most of us "an inborn need of being lied to." Mr. Hamilton, on the contrary, in his admirably logical opening chapter, maintains that a fundamental quality of all fiction, whether "Vanity Fair" or "Alice in Wonderland," is that it shall tell the truth,—and when you understand that by truth Mr. Hamilton means that each and every part of a story must live up to what is expected of it, then you realize that he really means precisely the same as Anatole France, who insists upon a continuous and consistent lie.

Similarly, in his somewhat radical chapter on "Realism and Romance," there is no room for quarrel, so long as you accept the careful definitions with which Mr. Hamilton reinforces each step of his argument. The difference between these two divergent schools of fiction has from their origin been a bone of contention, and no two critics or novelists have quite agreed upon their respective characteristics, or their reason for existing. Mr. Hamil-

ton propounds the ingenious and suggestive theory that it is nothing more abstruse than the difference between induction and deduction—the realistic novelist working from a series of actual happenings up to a general truth, while the romanticist leads us in the contrary direction, namely, from the general to the particular. Undoubtedly a certain class of novelists habitually follow the inductive method of thought, and certain others the deductive method; and to a considerable degree this means of classification might coincide with the division we have been in the habit of making between realist and romanticist; yet, if we apply the test extensively, there are sure to be found, sooner or later, a number of writers whom we had always looked upon as romanticists, and whom Mr. Hamilton's theory would place in the realistic school, while a similar number would change places in the opposite direction. Obviously, here also the issue involves a question of definition; but that does not prevent the chapter from being one of the most suggestive contributions to this vexed question that have appeared in many years.

It is inevitable, in a volume that covers so wide a range, that there should be many minor points on which one is tempted to take issue with Mr. Hamilton. For instance, when, in the chapter on Plot, he writes of Mr. Kipling's "Kim" that it is "picaresque in structure," "without beginning and without end," and that its central subject is "a healthy and normal, but not clever boy," any one who has deeply studied and admired "Kim" feels like protesting that, on the contrary, far from being picaresque, it has one of the most subtly and elaborately constructed patterns of any English novel of corresponding scope, and that the boy concerned is almost as abnormal in his way as is Mowgli of the "Jungle Tales." But, as already hinted, a distinct part of the stimulus of this vital and enjoyable book arises from precisely this sort of independent and incisive opinion, on a great variety of subjects, in books and in life. And the fact that the whole is couched in uniformly smooth, harmonious and lucid English adds not a little to the satisfaction of those readers whose minds and ears are attuned to an appreciation of style.

FREDERIC TABER COOPER.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *September, 1908.*

BY the time this letter appears in print Mr. John Redmond and Mr. Devlin will be stumping the United States on behalf of the exchequer of the Irish Nationalist Party. England is used to such missions and is not greatly perturbed by them.

Yet it is a most curious and interesting phenomenon—a phenomenon, indeed, so far as my knowledge goes, without parallel in the world of politics—that eighty members of the British House of Commons should be drawing their inspiration and to a very large extent their sustenance from sympathizers in a foreign land. On general principles alone one would be fairly safe in calling it also an unhealthy phenomenon. But to any one with the smallest knowledge of the realities of Ireland and of the Irish character it is more than unhealthy—it is absolutely poisonous. Look at it whichever way you please, it is a reflection on the virility of the Irish Nationalists and on their capacity for self-sacrifice that they should show this constant and pronounced unwillingness to support their cause out of their own pockets. It is not as though they had not the money. There are at this moment some three hundred million dollars on deposit in the joint stock banks, the post-office and the savings-banks of Ireland. The number of professed Nationalists in the country can hardly be less than three million. I am willing for the purposes of this argument to write two-thirds of them off the list as non-effectives. That would leave a million convinced Home-Rulers. If each of them were to subscribe to the Party funds a sum of twenty-five cents a year, an annual income of $250,000 would be the result; and this amount would be amply sufficient to provide for the support of the eighty-odd Nationalist M.P.'s and leave a handsome

margin for the purposes of propaganda. I repeat that the Irish people have the money. They spend about seventy million dollars every year on drink and some seventeen million dollars every year on tobacco, and there always appears to be plenty of loose cash when it comes to a question of horse-racing or of building a new church. Yet they are so niggardly in the support of the cause of Nationalism that their leaders have to tramp the world, cap in hand, begging for the means to carry on their work. With an endless flow of rhetoric they reiterate that nothing but Home Rule will satisfy them, yet they hand over to Americans and Australians the irksome duty of financing the agitation that presumably lies so near their hearts.

But Americans also, as it seems to me, have a considerable responsibility in this matter. They have given with astounding generosity, but do they, I wonder, really know to whom they are giving or for what purposes their contributions are used? Ireland is a most difficult country to understand; indeed, except for those who live in it and are in daily touch with its amazing problems I would go so far as to say it is incomprehensible. Are Americans, for instance, aware of the wide-spread revolt against the personnel and policy of the Nationalist Party that has grown up throughout all Ireland in the last few years? Do they realize that it is the fixed habit of the Nationalist politicians to postpone all work of practical amelioration until the constitutional issue is settled? Do they also realize that when others who either do not favor Home Rule or are tired of waiting for it, have initiated movements of immediate and constructive beneficence, movements eagerly accepted and welcomed by the people, the Nationalist politicians have done all they could to cripple them? Have Americans heard of the treatment meted out by the Irish Party to Sir Horace Plunkett, the best and most helpful friend Ireland has ever had? Have they been told that the official Nationalists oppose with all their might the idea that the salvation of Ireland is to be wrought, not by speeches and stratagems in the House of Commons, but by the practical work of Irishmen in Ireland? Is it even understood in America that Home Rule has absolutely ceased to be a vital issue in British politics and cannot be resurrected so long as Irish Nationalism is conducted along its present lines? Do Americans appreciate the fact that the moneys they so lavishly contribute are used to

perpetuate clerical control over popular education and to suppress agricultural co-operation in the interests of the rural shopkeeper and money-lender? Have they considered how demoralizing it must be that the cause of Irish Nationalism should be financed from extra-Irish sources, by men who do not live in Ireland, who know very little about it, and who are in no way responsible for its welfare; that the centre of gravity of the Irish movement should thus be shifted from Ireland itself to another country; and that the Irish people should thus be relieved of the necessity of thinking and acting for themselves and of bearing the expense of their own political work?

I am myself a convinced Home-Ruler, to the extent of desiring and working for a radical change in the system and spirit of English rule in Ireland that will directly associate the Irish people with the management of their own affairs. Moreover, I profoundly admire the extraordinary fidelity of Irish-Americans to what they believe to be the cause of Irish welfare. But I am confident that in supporting the Nationalist Party, with its present policy and its present personnel, they are unwittingly defeating the very end they have in view. They are helping to foist upon the Irish people a set of politicians who no more represent Irish Nationalism than Mr. "Fingy" Conners represents America. They are making possible the continuance of a Party that turns away from the problems of industrial and agricultural betterment in Ireland in order to strut and fume and pose and manœuvre in the English House of Commons. They are standing, in short, between the Irish people and the genuine, constructive, Home Rule movement which, but for the politicians, would assuredly be evoked. That Americans, the supreme individualists and business men of the earth, should be subsidizing an agitation which suppresses self-reliance, disdains industry and is controlled by priests, publicans and usurers, is to me a most amazing paradox. There are any number of directions in which their assistance would be invaluable in promoting Irish well-being. There are schools to be built, technical colleges to be founded, the whole field of industrial enterprise to be developed, Sir Horace Plunkett's magnificent work in organizing the Irish farmers in co-operative societies to be expanded, the Gaelic League to be enabled to redouble its vivifying efforts.

Except for one incident British domestic politics have been

moribund during the holidays. That incident, however, is not without its interest. The Labor Party, a strong and usually a statesmanlike Party in most matters of social policy, is singularly weak and uninformed on foreign and Imperial questions. I fancy that the time will come when this defect will cost it dear. The common-sense of the English people does not relish such mischievous exhibitions as Mr. Keir Hardie's tour in India or as the opposition to the King's visit to Russia a month or two ago. The electorate, again, without any distinction of Party, is firmly resolved to maintain British supremacy at sea. A popular revulsion, therefore, is by no means impossible against a Party many of whose members seem to favor governing India as though it were a larger Yorkshire, speak with cold contempt of the Empire, regard it as a sort of treason to the cause of democracy that Great Britain should have any relations with Governments whose constitution is less liberal than her own, and would willingly devote to social reform the millions that are now spent on armaments. The conditions and training of the Labor men have not, in fact, given them any opportunity of studying international politics at first or even second hand. They drift, therefore, easily enough into that kind of sentimental Radicalism which refuses to regard war as a possible contingency and which subordinates national security to the claims of internal betterment. The supreme question in British external relations is the German question. An Anglo-German war may or may not be inevitable, but there is no doubt that a great many people on both sides of the North Sea believe it is. Nor is there any doubt that Englishmen generally look upon the growing naval strength of Germany as the greatest menace which has threatened their national existence since Napoleon's day. The Liberal Government is vaguely trying to deal with the situation by agreeing with Germany on a mutual limitation of armaments. The proposal is destined to fall through, because Germany positively declines to entertain it. It is much more probable, therefore, that the Government will next year meet the German challenge by floating a large naval loan that will lay down the British ship-building programme for some years to come and decide for another decade at least the relative strengths of the British and German navies.

This is a policy which is sure to meet with the resistance of the Labor men. The Labor men will not listen even to the sugges-

tion of Anglo-German enmity. They declare the threatened German invasion of England to be "a deliberately manufactured scare concocted by the ghouls of both countries, who live by playing on the credulity of the public." These are Mr. Keir Hardie's own words. Those who endorse them believe apparently that to send a deputation of Labor M.P.'s to Germany as "messengers of peace and good-will" will suffice at any time to "kill the war spirit even before it is born." They rely on the pacific influences of "the organized Labor movement in both countries" to prevent all possibility of war. But not all Labor men are able to take this facile view of the situation. The Socialists in particular scout it utterly and their journals for the past few weeks have been filled with extremely able articles setting forth the plain facts of the case and attacking Mr. Keir Hardie's complacent myopia with the utmost vigor. That is a most interesting development. The Socialists are keenly aware of the German peril, do not flinch from whatever expenditure may be necessary to meet it and even advocate the creation of a national service army on the Swiss model. There cannot be much doubt that on this matter it is to the Socialist rather than to the Labor side that England as a whole inclines.

PARIS, *September, 1908.*

WHATEVER the reasons may be, no country can be more interested in another than France is in the United States of America. The amount of French literature on this subject appears almost overwhelming to the occasional student, and one wonders how one author after another succeeds in challenging rather than discouraging attention; but it is a fact that hardly one month passes without some addition to the already formidable mass, and that volume after volume finds readers. No less than seven or eight have been published in the course of the present year, and while I am writing another is announced from the pen of the editor of the "*Matin.*" I will content myself with noticing four of these books written from very different standpoints.

One is the work of M. Hugues le Roux, an amateur explorer in high favor with select female audiences, whose incentive in seeking distant shores is evidently the pleasure of being able to describe them. His latest production is called "*L'Amour aux Etats-Unis,*" but it would have been much more accurately en-

titled: "Of the Incredible Difficulty of Finding and Keeping a Wife in America." It is a chatty, frothy, heartless and, on the whole, depressing explanation of America, from the fact that there are two million more men than women in the country, and that the latter take a merciless advantage of these conditions of the matrimonial market. The book has not gone far beyond the *boulevard,* for which it had been written, but it has been successful there, and many clubmen will rest satisfied that things are the same everywhere, after all, and not so very difficult to understand, either.

It seems a mockery to place the Vicomte d'Avenel beside the brilliant theorist we have just mentioned. A remarkable historian, first of political and religious, then of economical, development, he has been gradually drawn toward a plain description of the modern economical phenomena, and he refrains from going further than the mere statement of their conditions. He is not a good, nor even a correct, though he is sometimes a very impressive, writer; but he is a guarded, accurate observer, and, in spite of his aversion to classifying and generalizing, the facts, as he has seen them, speak so well for themselves that the reader feels enlightened as well as informed. Certainly no amount of speculation would strike us as much as the plain sentence with which M. d'Avenel begins his work: "It is by her agriculture that America keeps up her industries," or even as the order in which he arranges his notes under the headings, Agriculture, Business, Ideas.

Most French people would reverse the order, and, after inquiring about American customs and ideals, would have some curiosity left for what seems generally the immediate fountain of American prosperity, but none for its initial factor. No reader of "*Aux Etats-Unis*" will make that mistake after being told that the agricultural concern supplies the manufactures, not only with their materials, but with almost a billion dollars of their capital. I must add that nothing is more interesting than the presentment of these technicalities by M. d'Avenel. Scientific agriculture, as he has seen it carried on in New Mexico, for instance, can fail to interest only the hopelessly frivolous. However, in spite of his admiration for the methods and their results, he complains that the fields, subject to this treatment, look almost like factories, and that the American farmer has no love for Mother Earth.

The chapters devoted by M. d'Avenel to what he calls "Business" will startle the French reader—by the assumption that the wealth of a nation is not the money heaped up in its coffers or lurking in "woollen stockings," but its spirit of enterprise. It is in vain that other travellers have already told the story of enormous stocks of machinery being thrown away by their proprietors, just because a new invention had left them a little behind the times. The faith implied in these acts of plain common-sense must still appear to the European mind as sublime folly.

The lucid, sober, but very French, work of M. André Tardieu, "*Notes sur les Etats-Unis*," though professing to cover a comparatively wide field, has the fault of being pre-eminently the work of a specialist, unconsciously magnifying the details more especially interesting to him, and leading the reader astray in consequence. M. Tardieu's chief interest is politics, above all, foreign politics; and the result is that his very interesting pages are little more than a photograph of the political and diplomatic circles in Washington.

Two aspects of the political life seem to have particularly arrested M. Tardieu's attention. One is the situation of the President, because that is a wonderful novelty for the French; and the other, the possibility of American interferences outside the United States, because that is in the writer's own province. The importance of the Presidency of the United States and the heat of the contest for it cannot fail to strike the Frenchman, even the professional Frenchman, who finds himself for the first time on the spot. It is all so different from what he has seen in his own country. The Presidency of the French Republic has been, with all its occupants but three, so entirely nominal that the change from one to another passes completely unperceived.

How different the rôle and situation of an American President, especially when he happens to be a Roosevelt. M. Tardieu goes into all the details of delegation, convention and election with which the Parisian papers will be amply provided until November, and describes at length the working of the American executive power. There is something piquant in a Frenchman's pointing out the differences between the power of the so-called irresponsible head in a real democracy and the universal irresponsibility in a monarchy in disguise, like the French Republic. M. Tardieu,

like most French people, has the greatest admiration for Mr. Roosevelt, and reverts constantly to his magnetism, his ideas and utterances. But it is impossible to spend ten weeks in America at the present moment without hearing much that will not fit in with the ideal Roosevelt of the French newspapers. M. Tardieu points out the moralizing excess in the President, his habit of changing a conference into a lecture, and quotes a judgment of Mr. Vanderlip speaking of Mr. Roosevelt as a preacher instead of being a financier, a man who knows nothing of economical questions, and chooses to deal with them just when they are the most difficult, thus adding a panic to the economical crisis. On the other hand, he thinks the President right in insisting on definite regulations for the railways.

Of the chapters devoted in these "*Notes*" to the foreign policy of the United States, nothing can be said that would seem otherwise than commonplace to the American reader. The impression carried away by M. Tardieu is that, "in spite of a grumbling Senate and a passive public opinion, the United States has a foreign policy and interferes in the affairs of the world." He feels sure that interventions, like those we have seen during the Moroccan difficulties and during the Russo-Japanese negotiations, will become more and more frequent—as, for instance, in the Congo Free State! But this is a matter in which impression means only divining the future. There is more to be said of an impression regarding the present, almost sentimental in its nature, and which M. Tardieu has recorded in two different chapters of his work. I mean his impression of the American feeling toward France.

Many people have told him their surprise that Mr. Barrett Wendell had judged France as favorably as he has done in his "France of To-day." M. Tardieu, like every Frenchman who comes to America, has found there a warm welcome and a traditional sympathy, but the attraction that France exercises does not seem to him the right one. To most Americans, France is still the home of art, taste, elegance, but she has ceased to be a power with which one ought to count; nay, he knows it and does not care much. Of the amount of French wealth, of French aspirations and passions, of the continuity of the foreign policy of France, nothing is said, because nothing is even suspected. The disaster of 1870, the assumption that French literature is

exclusively of the kind that is commonly exported, account for that opinion.

Such is the judgment, if not of the man in the street, at least of the man in a reading-room at New York or Washington. M. Tardieu has put questions to persons in higher situations, and the impression derived from their answers is that all the sympathies or dislikes of Americans are tinged by one sentiment deeper than all the others—viz., the unquestioned superiority of their own country. America is, in his own words, supremely and splendidly egotistical. One statesman whom he was interviewing told him quite frankly that "the American policy toward Europe was one of indifference, and, to be quite honest, of indifference slightly touched with disdain." America is too careful of her greatness not to make everything and everybody subservient to it.

M. Tardieu invites his countrymen not to forget the gratitude they owe the United States for its attitude at the Algeciras Conference, but draws their attention at the same moment to the fact that this attitude was evidently influenced by an anxiety to see German power at a standstill. This observation may help one more than all the rest of his book to understand the spirit and position of a Frenchman strongly drawn toward America, but on his guard against a sentimental policy.

Both M. d'Avenel and M. Tardieu devote at least one chapter of their books to the state of Catholicism in the United States, but the Abbé Klein has written a whole volume and a series of articles in the "*Correspondant*" on the subject. His tone is constantly sympathetic and admiring, and leaves the impression that the author has been too well received everywhere by his clerical brethren not to have lost in some degree his critical independence. However, this presentment of facts leaves the facts where they are, and the wide circulation of the Abbé Klein's "*Au Pays de la Vie Intense*" is a most fortunate circumstance just at this stage of the religious history of France. Many a French Philistine will stare on reading in M. Tardieu's book the account of a luncheon at the White House, where two Catholic Bishops were in company with one of their Anglican brethren, and many a despondent Catholic will pluck up spirit at hearing how the same power of adaptability, energy and enterprise which characterizes the American merchant is also revealed in the work of the American priest. M. d'Avenel hints in one place of his volume that some Catholics

refrain from mentioning their creed, as the disclosure might be in the way of their worldly advancement. But this misleading notice of probably one or two individual cases is contradicted on every page of the Abbé Klein, and the general feeling among the reading public of France will remain that the American Catholics are proud of being so, and not without reason.

The upshot of the object-lesson presented in these attractive pages is that the American clergy are successful with their people because they do something for them. In fact, whoever has inquired into the causes of the religious greatness of the Middle Ages must have noticed that the Church was beloved and revered not because she was strong and powerful, but because she was a beneficent factor in the civilization of the day. France has to re-learn now from a young country the teaching which her own history is no longer sufficient to remind her of. Will she do it? Probably. Books on American zeal and earnestness would be of little value if the French clergy were not inclined to read them so as to profit by the reading. Now, it is a fact that after years of passivity, during which the most contagious examples would have left them indifferent, the Bishops and priests of France have suddenly become attentive to what takes place outside their own country and try to copy it. In the last two years, the necessity of bringing a sufficient number of men together and of raising sums adequate to meet the difficulties of their new situation, has compelled them to appeal to their flocks and see more of them than they had done in the thirty years before. There is, undoubtedly, a revival of interest among the faithful in the Church they have just begun to support, and there is a rapidly growing feeling among their leaders that, as long as they keep in contact with the people, the methods matter little. It is mostly through rural banks and through societies intended to promote mutual assistance that they have endeavored till now to renew acquaintance with their estranged compatriots. Twelve years ago, this used to be called "Americanism" by people who knew no more of America than they did of the moon; now it is only called "Catholic action." Of American "Modernism," the Abbé Klein wisely refrains from speaking, but M. d'Avenel concludes his volume wondering whether the Church which has first adopted modern ways in its every-day dealings will also adopt modern ways of thinking. Is the *Zeitgeist* to be reconciled to faith in America before it is

in Europe? The question has been put by many another inquiring mind before, and never answered. Perhaps the solution lies in the prudence of a Scot's answer: in what country is the demand for and adaptation of Christianity to the undoubted principles of the new criticism and philosophy greater? Not in the Catholic American community, it seems to me; and the details of an Episcopal nomination which have lately found their way into the papers demonstrate that, even in the United States, doctrinal supervision is as strict as in the oldest countries. Modernism will remain for a good many years to come the business of a few quiet gardeners engaged in the grafting on old plants of new ones in ancient European gardens. When their work is perfect, the seeds that they will have created will be eagerly sought in America, and nobody can tell how much stronger they will become in that life-giving soil.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September, 1908.*

NOBODY, of course, expected any energy to be injected into the Presidential campaign on either side before September, and even September was pretty well advanced before the Republicans awakened to the fact that they had a fight on their hands. The State elections in Vermont and Maine seemed to indicate the existence of a certain amount of apathy, so far as national issues were concerned. Very little comfort, however, could be found by Mr. Bryan in the returns from Vermont, where the Republican plurality must have appeared tremendous to any one who did not compare it with that obtained in September, 1896. In Maine, on the other hand, the Republican plurality fell below 8,000, but so it did in 1906. Most people seem to forget that in 1880 the Democrats, in conjunction with the Greenbackers, actually elected a Governor in September, but the fact did not prevent Garfield from carrying the State two months later by a plurality of nearly nine thousand. We may continue, therefore, with absolute confidence to place Vermont and Maine in the Republican column, where in Presidential years they have always been since 1860. The outcome of these State elections seems to have had an electrifying effect on the Republican campaign managers, for, on the one hand, they have convinced Mr. Taft of the expediency of taking the stump himself, while, on the other hand, they have

recognized the wisdom of uniting in earnest support of their candidate all elements of the Republican party. In Ohio Senator Foraker, whom it would have been folly to alienate, has been won over, and the same thing is true of Senator La Follette, who undoubtedly represents the dominant political force in Wisconsin. The Republican managers also became alive in the nick of time to the unquestionable truth that their organization could not pose any longer as the party of moral ideas, if the petty wirepullers in New York were permitted to withhold a renomination from Governor Hughes. After much pondering, they arrived at the conclusion that they could better afford to lose New York with Hughes than by a repudiation of him to imperil their hold upon the Middle West. In the singularly complicated condition of New York politics, they perceived it to be quite on the cards that the Republicans might lose the Governorship in that State, and yet secure its electoral votes for their Presidential candidate —as happened in 1888, when Warner Miller "fell outside the breastworks." So far, then, the Republican managers seem not to have made any serious blunders in political strategy, and we do not observe that their organs are belaboring with ferocity the Hearst candidates, every vote for whom is a half vote for Taft.

We must, on the other hand, acknowledge that the canvass-making by and for William J. Bryan is more vigorous, and, perhaps, we should add, more promising, than that which he undertook in 1900. He made some blunders at the Denver Convention, but he has done his best to correct them, by placating Guffey in Pennsylvania and McCarren in Brooklyn. Some plausible first-hand evidence from the trans-Mississippi States seems to show that he has recovered much, if not all, of the popularity which he possessed in that region twelve years ago. If this report should prove well founded, the Presidential contest may prove much closer than it was supposed likely to be. Well-informed persons say that, but for Hearst, Bryan would carry California, Oregon and Washington, and that he has a fair chance of winning not only Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Colorado, North Dakota and South Dakota, but even Kansas, Nebraska and Minnesota. All of those States, put together, would produce a total of 73 electoral votes, which, added to those which Bryan is credited with by his opponents, would give him 234, or only 8 less than are needed to elect. There would remain Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and

New York, which the Democratic managers now seem to think worth fighting for.

A phenomenon which is giving the Republican managers some uneasiness is the tendency of conservative Democrats to give Bryan more or less hearty support, instead of obeying the Republican injunction to vote for Taft as they voted for McKinley. Much less impression than was expected seems to have been made upon the sober-minded members of the Democratic party by Mr. Cleveland's posthumous letter. Judge Alton B. Parker, who presided over the New York State Democratic Convention, made an earnest and, manifestly, a sincere, appeal for Bryan, who, by the way, has accepted invitations to visit the Judge at Esopus and ex-Senator Hill at Albany. On September 17th Mr. Bryan was invited to dine and meet the Democratic leaders of Delaware at the house of Judge Gray, who must be accepted as a typical Cleveland Democrat. The most remarkable demonstration in favor of Bryan, however, on the part of conservative Democrats was made on the same day by Richard Olney, Secretary of State in Mr. Cleveland's second administration, in a letter of some five columns, addressed to the New York "World." In that letter the writer examines and undertakes to refute all of the arguments brought forward to convince conservative Democrats that they ought to vote for Mr. Taft, and then goes on to maintain that there are sufficient grounds on which not only Democrats, but even Republicans who do not make a fetich of party allegiance, may well reach the conclusion that the Republican party itself, as well as the country at large, would be benefited by the defeat of that party next November. In the matter of tariff, for instance, a large and influential section of the Republican party would be benefited by the victory of the Democracy. The professions of the Republican campaign managers that genuine tariff reform would be brought about by the Republican party, should it obtain control of all branches of the Government, Mr. Olney brushes aside as bait for gudgeons before election, and negligible quantities forever afterward. Admitting that a Democratic President and a Democratic majority in the House, although supported by a large and influential section of the Republican party, might be beaten by a Republican Senate, Mr. Olney insists that a long step would be taken toward the ultimate triumph of tariff reform, by demonstrating what a great body of public opinion is behind it. Even

Senators, he says, can be convinced that the public sentiment in favor of a measure or a policy is too powerful to be trifled with.

To the plea that Democrats should vote for Mr. Taft instead of Mr. Bryan, because the former's election would mean good business and the latter's the reverse, ex-Secretary Olney replies that it is the Roosevelt policies, enforced by the Roosevelt methods —there is nothing to the Roosevelt policies, he says, except the methods—which have brought bad business, and, if Mr. Taft is elected, and does what he is leading the Roosevelt wing of his party to expect, he will continue, not only the Roosevelt policies, but the Roosevelt methods. Even though it be granted, on the other hand, that Mr. Bryan's election would mean the pursuance of the Roosevelt policies, it would also mean, in Mr. Olney's judgment, decent and sane methods of executing them, not merely because such methods may fairly be expected to be his choice, but because any other methods would be beyond his power. With one branch of Congress against him, and, perhaps, both branches, any measures proposed by the National Executive would be doomed to failure, unless commended by their own intrinsic merits.

After declaring that what the country is most pining for, after a long period of hysteria, is rest, and that what its business prosperity most needs is stable business conditions, Mr. Olney submits that, if a Taft Presidency means a perpetuation of the unsettling, exciting and perturbed conditions which have characterized the Roosevelt administration—if Taft is to be a second Roosevelt, as he and his friends represent and promise—then the advance of the looked-for prosperity boom will be delayed as much as politics is able to delay it. The advantage which Mr. Olney sees in a Bryan Presidency from a business point of view is that for an indefinite period novel and startling experiments with the industries of the country would be at least deferred, and that capital and labor alike could for a season at least count upon the facts essential to the intelligent and successful conduct of business.

Ex-Secretary Olney also declares it unquestionable that the Republican party's defeat next November would tend to check encroachments of the general Government on the rights and powers of the States. That such encroachments are now going on is undeniable. United States Circuit Courts have had to re-

buke two of them in the Standard Oil and anthracite-coal railway cases. Of the Democratic party, on the other hand, it is the distinguishing merit that it is, and is sure to remain, opposed to any infringement of the constitutional jurisdiction of the States.

Finally, Mr. Olney drew attention to the great evils resulting from the inordinately long continuance in power of one political party. Compared with such evils, any possibly injurious consequences of a change of administration seemed to him insignificant. We are reminded that the Republican party has now been in power almost uninterruptedly for nearly fifty years—during the whole of that period the Democratic party has been in control of all three branches of the Government only two years. The inevitable, of course, has happened. The Republicans have come to believe that they can do pretty much as they choose, any uprising against their party by the people being almost unthinkable. It must not, for a moment, be supposed that Mr. Olney exempts the Democratic party, as at present constituted, from grave criticism. He begins his letter by being as severe in his strictures as was Mr. Cleveland. Yet he ends by recognizing that, taken as a whole, the Democratic party is the best organized protest there is against Republican misrule, against the excesses of all sorts brought on by the long Republican revel in unlimited power—against excesses in expenditures, in taxation, in territorial expansion, in the creation and maintenance of military armaments, in the enlargement of the sphere of executive action and in the concentration of power in the Federal Government to the enfeeblement of the State Governments.

There is no doubt that Mr. Olney's letter is the most cogent thing yet said on behalf of Mr. Bryan, and, should the latter by any chance become President, he will be ungrateful if he does not urge Mr. Olney to become again Secretary of State. We cannot but feel, however, that Mr. Olney has come forward as the champion of a lost cause. We do not believe that Mr. Bryan can carry all, or even most, of the trans-Mississippi States claimed for him by enthusiastic partisans. We do not believe that he can carry Iowa, Illinois or Indiana. We find it difficult to believe that he has any chance of carrying New York, because, aside from the handicap which it is said the presence of Governor Hughes on the Republican ticket may prove, it seems to us that the defection of the Hearst vote will defeat him.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

Jewish Criminality in New York.

POLICE COMMISSIONER T. A. BINGHAM, of New York, has authorized the publication of the following statement in relation to his article on "Foreign Criminals in New York" which appeared in our last number:

"My attention has been called to a serious complaint, made by Jewish citizens concerning a passage in an article recently published in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, entitled 'Foreign Criminals in New York,' in which I said that, under existing conditions, 'it is not astonishing that with a million Hebrews, mostly Russian, in the city (one-fourth of the population) perhaps half of the criminals should be of that race,' and in which comment was made on the percentage of Jewish boys in the House of Refuge.

"My purpose in writing the article was not to publish statistics, nor to enter upon a scientific inquiry into the race or religion of those charged with criminality, but solely to make a plea for a secret-service fund in order that criminality might be more effectively dealt with than is now possible.

"To indicate the necessity for additional weapons to cope with crime, it was pointed out that crimes of various kinds are committed by those of our population who are of foreign origin which cannot be adequately reached by the police force as now constituted. It was only incidentally that the remarks were made which have been challenged.

"The figures used in the article were not compiled by myself, but were furnished me by others, and were unfortunately assumed to be correct. It now appears, however, that these figures were unreliable. Hence it becomes my duty frankly to say so and repudiate them.

"The idea which I sought to impress was that the number of foreigners with whom the police come in contact is very large, and that a special knowledge of racial customs and manners is essential to the attainment of the best results by the police in the investigations of crimes committed by and against those of foreign origin.

"The percentage given of Jewish boys in the House of Refuge is, it appears, also misleading. This proportion of boys, it is now pointed out,

should be considered not solely in relation to the total number of boys in the House of Refuge, but with reference to the total number of boys in all similar institutions where boys of this age and of other races and faiths are sent. The proportion of Jewish boys considered in relation to the inmates of other like institutions would be, of course, radically different.

"In view of all this, and of the fact that many estimable citizens feel hurt by what I wrote without the slightest malice, prejudice or unfriendliness, for I have none, I withdraw the statements challenged frankly and without reserve. I shall look forward with interest to the result of the research of the committee of representative citizens which is now engaged in making an accurate and exhaustive study of this whole question, and shall be glad to meet them."

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XXIII.

(1) KIAM vi sidiĝos, por manĝi kun reganto, rigardu bone, kio estas antaŭ vi. (2) Kaj vi metos tranĉilon al via gorĝo, se vi estas avidulo. (3) Ne deziru liajn bongustajn manĝojn, ĉar ĝi estas trompa pano. (4) Ne penu riĉiĝi, forlasu vian pripensadon. (5) Vi direktos viajn okulojn al ĝi, kaj ĝi jam ne ekzistos, ĉar ĝi faros al si flugilojn kiel aglo kaj forflugos al la ĉielo. (6) Ne manĝu panon de malbondeziranto, kaj ne deziru liajn bongustajn manĝojn. (7) Ĉar kiaj estas la pensoj en lia animo, tia li ankaŭ estas: "Manĝu kaj trinku," li diros al vi, sed lia koro ne estas kun vi. (8) La pecon, kiun vi manĝis, vi elvomos, kaj vane vi perdis viajn agrablajn vortojn. (9) En la orelojn de malsaĝulo ne parolu, ĉar li malŝatos la saĝecon de viaj vortoj. (10) Ne forŝovu antikvajn limojn, kaj sur la kampon de orfoj ne iru. (11) Ĉar ilia savanto estas forta, Li defendos ilian aferon kontraŭ vi. (12) Elmetu vian koron al instruo kaj viajn orelojn al paroloj de prudento. (13) Ne malvolu puni knabon: se vi batos lin per kano, li ne mortos. (14) Vi batos lin per kano, kaj lian animon vi savos de la infero. (15) Mia filo, se via koro estos saĝa, tiam ĝojos ankaŭ mia koro. (16) Kaj mia internaĵo ĝojos, kiam viaj lipoj parolos ĝustaĵon. (17) Via koro sin tiru ne al pekuloj, sed al timo antaŭ Dio ĉiutage. (18) Ĉar ekzistas

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

estonteco kaj via espero ne perdiĝos. (19) Aŭskultu vi, mia filo, kaj estu saĝa kaj direktu vian koron al la ĝusta vojo. (20) Ne estu inter la drinkantoj de vino, inter tiuj, kiuj malĉastigas sian karnon. (21) Ĉar drinkemulo kaj manĝegemulo malriĉiĝos kaj dormemulo havos sur si ĉifonaĵojn. (22) Aŭskultu vian patron, kiu vin naskigis, kaj ne malŝatu vian patrinon, kiam ŝi maljuniĝos. (23) Veron aĉetu, kaj ne vendu saĝon kaj instruon kaj prudenton. (24) Grandan ĝojon havos patro de virtulo, kaj naskinto de saĝulo ĝojos pro li. (25) Via patro kaj via patrino ĝojos, kaj via naskintino triumfos. (26) Donu, mia filo, vian koron al mi, kaj al viaj okuloj plaĉu miaj vojoj. (27) Ĉar malĉastulino estas profunda foso, kaj fremda edzino estas malvasta puto. (28) Ŝi embuskas kiel rabisto kaj kolektas ĉirkaŭ si malhonestulojn. (29) Ĉe kiu estas ploro? ĉe kiu estas ĝemoj? ĉe kiu estas malpaco? ĉe kiu estas plendoj? ĉe kiu estas senkaŭzaj batoj? ĉe kiu estas malklaraj okuloj? (30) Ĉe tiuj, kiuj sidas malfrue ĉe vino, ĉe tiuj, kiuj venas, por gustumi aroman trinkaĵon. (31) Ne rigardu la vinon, kiel ruĝa ĝi estas, kiel ĝi brilas en la pokalo, kiel bone ĝi eniras: (32) En la fino ĝi mordas kiel serpento kaj pikas kiel vipuro. (33) Viaj okuloj rigardos al fremdaj edzinoj, kaj via koro parolos malĝustaĵojn. (34) Kaj vi estos kiel dormanto meze de la maro kaj kiel dormanto sur la supro de masto. (35) Ili batis min, sed ĝi min ne doloris, ili frapis min, sed mi ne sentis; kiam mi vekiĝos, mi denove tion serĉos.

ĈAPITRO XXIV.

(1) Ne sekvu malbonajn homojn kaj ne deziru esti kun ili. (2) Ĉar ilia koro pensas pri perfortaĵo kaj ilia buŝo parolas malbonaĵon. (3) Per saĝo konstruiĝas domo, kaj per prudento ĝi fortikiĝas. (4) Kaj per sciado la ĉambroj pleniĝas per ĉia havo grandvalora kaj agrabla. (5) Homo saĝa havas forton, kaj homo prudenta estas potenca. (6) Kun pripenso faru militon, kaj venko venas per multe da konsiliĝo. (7) Tro alta estas la saĝo por malsaĝulo; ĉe la pordego li ne malfermos sian buŝon. (8) Kiu intencas fari malbonon, tiun oni nomas maliculo. (9) Malico de malsaĝeco estas peko, kaj blasfemanto estas abomenaĵo por homo. (10) Se vi montriĝis malforta en tago de mizero, via forto estas malgranda. (11) Savu tiujn, kiujn oni prenis por mortigi, kaj ne fortiriĝu de tiuj, kiuj estas kondamnitaj al morto. (12) Se vi diras "ni tion ne sciis,"—la esploranto de koroj ja

komprenas kaj la gardanto de via animo ja scias, Kaj Li redonas al homo laŭ liaj faroj. (13) Manĝu, mia filo, mielon, ĉar ĝi estas bona, kaj freŝa mielo estas dolĉa por via gorĝo; (14) Tia estas por via animo la sciado de saĝo, se vi ĝin trovis; kaj ekzistas estonteco, kaj via espero ne pereos. (15) Ne insidu, malvirtulo, kontraŭ la domo de virtulo, ne ataku lian ripozejon; (16) Ĉar sep fojojn virtulo falos kaj tamen leviĝos, sed malvirtuloj implikiĝas en la malfeliĉo. (17) Kiam falas via malamiko, ne ĝoju, kaj ĉe lia malfeliĉo via koro ne plezuriĝu; (18) Ĉar eble Dio vidos, kaj tio ne plaĉos al Li, kaj Li returnos de li Sian koleron. (19) Ne koleru kontraŭ malbonfarantoj kaj ne enviu la malvirtulojn; (20) Ĉar la malbonulo ne havos estontecon, la lumilo de malvirtuloj estingiĝos. (21) Timu, mia filo, Dion kaj la reĝon, kun ribeluloj ne kominikiĝu. (22) Ĉar subite venos ilia pereo, kaj kiu scias, kiam venos la puno de ambaŭ? (23) Ankaŭ ĉi tio estas vortoj de saĝuloj: konsideri personojn ĉe juĝado estas ne bone. (24) Kiu diras al malvirtulo "vi estas virtulo," tiun malbenos popoloj, tiun malamos gentoj. (25) Sed kiuj faras riproĉojn, tiuj plaĉas, kaj sur ilin venos bona beno. (26) Kiu respondas ĝustajn vortojn, tiu kisas per la lipoj. (27) Plenumu vian laboron ekstere, pretigu ĉion sur via kampo, kaj poste aranĝu vian domon. (28) Ne atestu sen kaŭzo kontraŭ via proksimulo, ĉar vi trompus per via buŝo. (29) Ne diru: "Kiel li agis kontraŭ mi, tiel mi agos kontraŭ li: mi redonos al la homo laŭ lia faro." (30) Mi pasis tra kampo de homo maldiligenta kaj tra vinberĝardeno de sensaĝulo; (31) kaj jen ĉie elkreskis urtiko, ĉio estas kovrita de dornoj, kaj la ŝtona muro estas detruita. (32) Kaj kiam mi vidis, mi prenis ĝin en mian koron, mi rigardis kaj ricevis instruon: (33) Ne longe vi dormos, ne longe vi dormetos, ne longe viaj manoj restos kunmetitaj por kuŝado; (34) Kaj venos via malriĉeco kiel migranto, kaj via senhaveco kiel viro armita.

ĈAPITRO XXV.

(1) Ankaŭ ĉi tio estas sentencoj de Salomono, kiujn kolektis la viroj de Ĥizekio, reĝo de Jehudo. (2) Honoro de Dio estas kaŝi aferon, sed honoro de reĝoj estas esplori aferon. (3) La ĉielo estas alta, la tero estas profunda, kaj la koro de reĝoj estas neesplorebla. (4) Forigu de arĝento la almiksaĵon, kaj la puriganto ricevos vazon. (5) Forigu malvirtulon de la reĝo, kaj lia trono fortikiĝos en justeco. (6) Ne montru vin granda antaŭ

la reĝo, kaj sur la loko de eminentuloj ne stariĝu; (7) Ĉar pli bone estas, se oni diros al vi "leviĝu ĉi tien," ol se oni malaltigos vin antaŭ eminentulo, kiun vidis viaj okuloj. (8) Ne komencu tuj disputi, ĉar kion vi faros poste, kiam via proksimulo vin hontigos? (9) Faru disputon kun via proksimulo, sed sekreton de aliulo ne malkaŝu; (10) ĉar alie aŭdanto vin riproĉos kaj vian babilon vi jam ne povos repreni. (11) Vorto dirita en ĝusta tempo, estas kiel oraj pomoj kun arĝentaj ŝeloj. (12) Kiel ora ringo kaj multekosta ornamo estas saĝa instruanto por aŭskultanta orelo. (13) Kiel malvarmo de neĝo en la tempo de rikolto, tiel estas fidela sendito por siaj sendintoj: li revigligas la animon de sia sinjoro. (14) Kiel nuboj kaj vento sen pluvo, tiel estas homo, kiu fanfaronas per dono, kiun li ne faras. (15) Per pacienco oni altiras al si potenculon, kaj mola parolo rompas oston. (16) Kiam vi trovis mielon, manĝu, kiom vi bezonas, por ke vi ne fariĝu tro sata kaj ne elvomu ĝin. (17) Detenu vian piedon de la domo de via proksimulo, ĉar alie vi tedus lin kaj li vin malamus. (18) Kiel martelo kaj glavo kaj akra sago estas tiu homo, kiu parolas pri sia proksimulo malveran ateston. (19) Kiel putra dento kaj malforta piedo estas nefidinda espero en tago de mizero. (20) Kiel luksa vesto en tempo de malvarmo, kiel vinagro sur potaso, tiel estas kantado de kantoj al koro suferanta. (21) Se via malamiko estas malsata, manĝigu al li panon, kaj se li estas soifa, trinkigu al li akvon. (22) Ĉar fajrajn karbojn vi kolektos sur lia kapo, kaj Dio vin rekompencos. (23) Norda vento kaŭzas pluvon, kaj ĉagrenita vizaĝo kaŝatan parolon. (24) Pli bone estas loĝi sur angulo de tegmento, ol kun malpacema edzino en komuna domo. (25) Kiel malvarma akvo por suferanto de soifo, tiel estas bona sciigo el lando malproksima. (26) Virtulo, kiu falas antaŭ malvirtulo, estas malklara fonto kaj malbonigita puto. (27) Ne bone estas manĝi tro multe da mielo, kaj ne glore estas serĉi sian gloron. (28) Homo, kiu ne povas regi sian spiriton, estas urbo detruita, kiu ne havas muron.

Ninety-fourth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 188: No. 5.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

November, 1908.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

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The International Council of Women, IDA HUSTED HARPER

Matthew Arnold as Poet . . . . . W. C. WILKINSON

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THE EDITOR'S DIARY

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

GOLDWIN SMITH,

the venerable scholar, historian, critic and publicist, has enriched the pages of the REVIEW, at intervals, for many years, by contributions embodying his views and reflections upon subjects of public interest. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and he acted for some time as tutor in University College, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1847. In 1858 he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and his tenure of that chair, which terminated in 1866, was distinguished by the delivery of a large number of lectures of extraordinary brilliancy which attracted the widest attention. On the opening of Cornell University, in 1868, having accepted the invitation tendered to him, he settled in the United States as Professor of English and Constitutional History in that institution. In 1871 he exchanged his post for that of a non-resident professorship. Among his works are "Irish History and Irish Character," "Lectures on Modern History," "Three English Statesmen —Cromwell, Pitt and Pym," and "The United Kingdom" —a political history of England down to 1841.

THE REV. DR. CHARLES F. AKED

was born at Nottingham, England, and educated at the Midland Baptist College and the University College, Nottingham. He was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1886, and occupied, successively, pastorates at Syston, St. Helens and Earlstown, and Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool. From the last named pastorate he came last year to the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York. From 1893 to 1907, Dr. Aked was Vice-President of the United Kingdom Alliance, and he was one of the founders of the Passive Resistance League (England). He is the author of a number of publications, including, "The Courage of the Coward," "A Ministry of Reconciliation" and "Mercies New Every Morning."

IDA HUSTED HARPER

studied at the University of Indiana and, later, took almost an entire course at Leland Stanford University. Mrs. Harper was for a number of years on the editorial staff of the Indianapolis "News," and for five years edited a signed department in the New York "Sun." She has travelled exten-

sively and written for many of the leading newspapers and magazines. In 1899 she was sent to the International Council of Women in London as speaker on "The Women Journalists of the United States" and was elected Chairman of the International Press Committee. She was delegate and speaker at the International Council of Women which met in Berlin in 1904, and at the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen in 1906. Mrs. Harper is the author of the "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony" in three volumes, and, jointly with Miss Anthony, of "The History of Woman Suffrage and the Progress of Women to the Close the Nineteenth Century."

PROFESSOR W. C. WILKINSON

is a graduate of the University of Rochester and of the Rochester Theological Seminary. He has filled important chairs in a number of colleges and universities, and since 1892 he has been Professor of Poetry and Criticism in the University of Chicago. He is the author of a number of volumes, including, "The Dance of Modern Society," "A Free Lance in the Field of Life and Letters" and "Edwin Arnold as Poetizer and as Paganizer."

FREDERICK COURTLAND PENFIELD,

after graduating at Russell's Military School in New Haven, Connecticut, went to Germany to pursue a special course of study. On returning, he joined the editorial staff of the *Hartford Courant.* In 1885, he went to London as Vice-Consul-General, and in 1893 he was appointed Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General of the United States to Egypt, with rank of Minister Resident, a post which he retained for four years. Mr. Penfield's efficient services were widely recognized. He was decorated by the French Government with the Palms of the French Academy, the Grand Cross of the Order of the Medjidieh was conferred upon him by the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive made him Grand Commander of the Order of the Osmanieh, and numerous other foreign orders were conferred upon him. In recognition of his vigorously advocating in the press that the American Government construct the canal at Panama, and abandon the Nicaraguan route, Mr. Penfield was made an officer of the French Legion of Honor. He has travelled extensively in Japan, China, India and Africa, and in 1907 was hon-

ored by Princeton University with the degree of Master of Arts.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN

was born in New York, where he made his studies at St. Francis Xavier's College, graduating there in 1874. On leaving college he took up newspaper work, in which he has since been engaged as editor of local papers and correspondent for other journals. He is now associate editor of "The Catholic Encyclopædia."

EMMET O'NEAL,

a native of Alabama, studied at the University of Mississippi and graduated at the University of Alabama. He was admitted to the bar in 1875. In 1893 he was United States Attorney for the northern district of Alabama. In 1892 he was Democratic Presidential Elector for the State at large. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention for the State at large.

PRICE COLLIER

received his early education in Geneva, Switzerland, and Leipzig, Germany. He graduated at Harvard University in 1882, and for some years he was a Unitarian minister. He served through the Spanish-American war as naval officer, and was honorably discharged in September, 1898. Among his published works are "Mr. Picket Pin and His Friends," "America and the Americans from a French Point of View" and "A Parish of Two."

BRITANNICUS

is a well-known English writer, who for many years has made a close and comprehensive study of international politics, and of the questions which arise out of, or affect, the relations between the great European Powers.

GIFFORD PINCHOT

graduated from Yale in 1889. He studied forestry in France, Germany, Switzerland and Austria. He began the first systematic forest work in the United States at Biltmore, North Carolina, in January, 1892. He is a member of the National Forest Commission and Chief of the Division (afterward the Bureau) of Forestry, and now the Forest Service, in the United States Department of Agriculture. He is a member of the Commission on the Organization of Government Scientific Work. In 1903 he was appointed Commis-

sioner on public lands. He is the author of "The Adirondack Spruce," "A Primer of Forestry" and (with H. S. Graves) "The White Pine."

ARTHUR C. HEFFENGER, M.D.,

is a well-known physician who is devoted to the interests of his profession. He has published various papers on medical subjects.

SYDNEY BROOKS

is an English journalist who has already contributed a number of articles to the REVIEW on a variety of subjects. He visited Ireland last year, and spent a number of months in observing on the spot existing conditions in that country.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS

was born in 1878 at Ann Arbor, Michigan. He studied at the University of Michigan and in Paris, and subsequently became a member of the faculty of his Alma Mater. At present he is a professor of Romance languages and literatures at Princeton. He has contributed both verse and critical articles to various magazines.

ALVAN F. SANBORN

was born at Marlboro, Massachusetts, in 1866, and was graduated from Amherst in 1887. After studying for a year in the Columbia School of Political Science in New York, he was associated editorially for some time with the D. Lothrop Company, publishers, Boston. In 1891, he was associate editor of the "International Cyclopædia," and, later, editor of "The Cottage Hearth." From 1889 to 1902 he was the regular Paris correspondent of the "Boston Transcript"; and, since 1905, he has been on the editorial staff of the "Boston Traveller." He has contributed freely to magazines, and among his published books are "Moody's Lodging-house and Other Tenement Sketches" and "Paris and the Social Revolution."

CHARLOTTE LOUISE RUDYARD

is a native of New York and a graduate of Vassar College. She engaged in journalism, being for some time connected with the news and editorial departments of the "Brooklyn Eagle," and later continuing in the field as free lance. She has been identified also with special study and tutoring in the English branches, and has made various contributions to the periodicals.

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Leonard Merrick

Few modern English novelists have received higher praise from the critics than has Mr. Leonard Merrick, whose latest book is *Lynch's Daughter* (McClure). Mr. J. M. Barrie counts Mr. Merrick among the half-dozen best novelists of the day. "A new book by Leonard Merrick," he writes, "is to me one of the events of the year," while Mr. W. D. Howells places his novels next after Jane Austen's in English fiction and Hawthorne's in American, and writes that he "can think of no recent fictionist of his own nation who can match with Mr. Merrick." Mr. Merrick's works have been translated into many languages including the German, Swedish, and Spanish, and M. T. De Wyzeva, the eminent French literary critic, himself translated *The Worldlings* for the benefit of his countrymen.

Paul-Dubois

In the blood of the Taine family there seems to be a peculiar strain of sentiment for the British Isles. Taine himself loved to write of England. His nephew, Paul-Dubois, has just published a work on *Contemporary Ireland* (Baker & Taylor). The book is an important study of the Irish question, beginning with an historical survey. Then the author deals with his subject in three parts—the social and political condition of Ireland at the present day, her material decline, and her possibilities of future intellectual and material regeneration. The book is said to be worthy of the Taine tradition.

The Broth Unspoiled

William Dean Howells, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, John Kendrick Bangs, Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews, Mary Stewart Cutting, Alice Brown, Henry van Dyke, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Elizabeth Jordan, Edith Wyatt, Mary Heaton Vorse, and Henry James have written a composite novel. The story is entitled *The Whole Family*, and has just been published, after having run as a serial in *Harper's Bazar*, where the puzzle was to find which author wrote what chapter. The plot hinges on the engagement of the daughter of the house to a fickle youth who is in love with her aunt, and the whole family gets delightfully tangled up about it. As a literary device this book is bound to attract attention.

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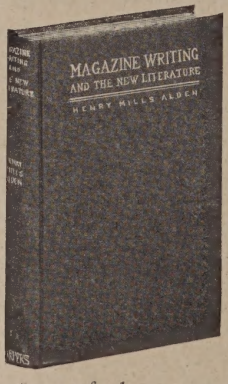

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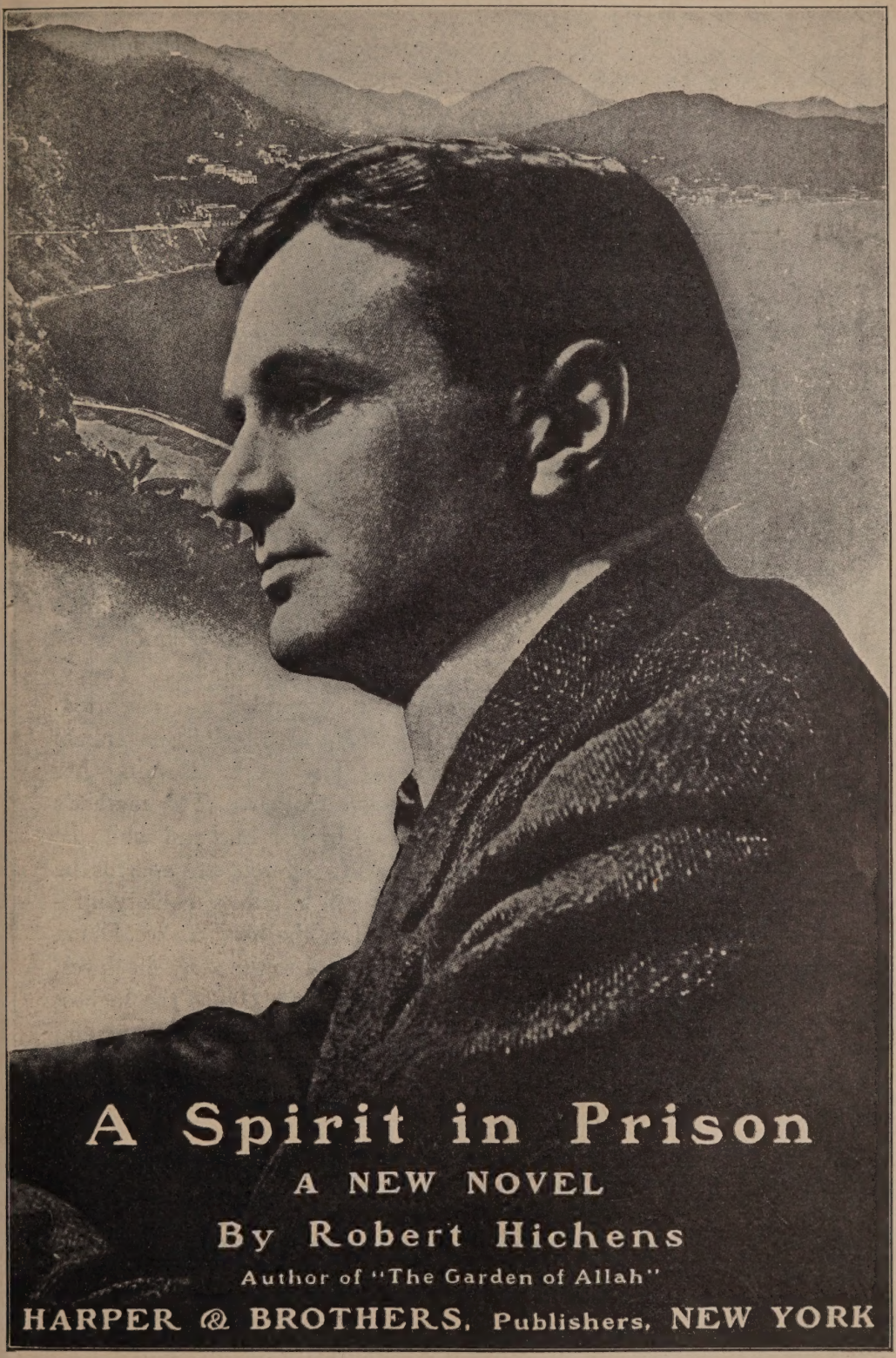
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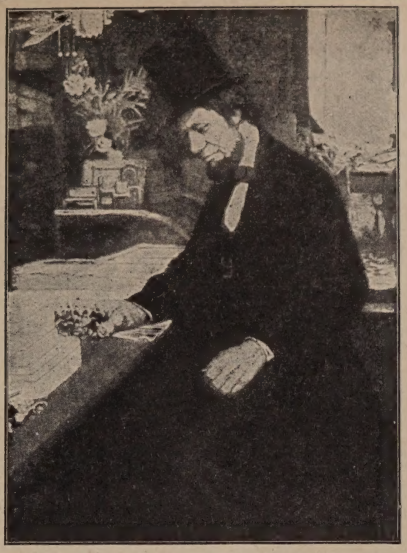

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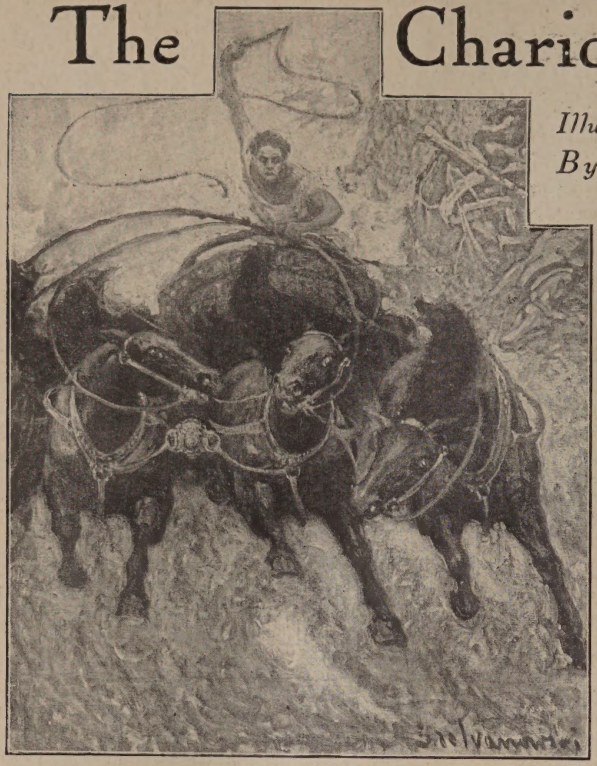

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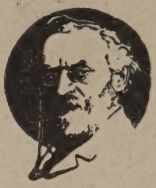

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXXXVI.

NOVEMBER, 1908.

PARTY GOVERNMENT.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

THE general elections are coming on at once in the United States and in Canada—in both cases under pretty normal conditions, without any engrossing issue. In Canada, there is a struggle against political corruption, "graft," as the people call it, but this is a subject on which all the world is, or professes to be, of one mind. In some quarters in Canada there is a desire to put a limit to French and Catholic headship of the State, which shows itself, as it signally did in enforcing the system of separate schools on the Northwest, an instrument of Papal domination. This also, however, may be almost regarded as a normal issue. Nor, in the case of the United States, is any division on a vital question discernible by an onlooker. Nothing of the kind certainly is deducible from the party names, one of which is Greek and the other Latin for the same thing. In Canada, the party names are "Conservative" and "Liberal"; but no one could easily tell what is now the political meaning of either. The original line of division was a survival, fast fading, of that between the United Empire Loyalists and the authors of the Revolution of 1837. The present Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, went into power a decided free-trader; but it soon became pretty apparent that, to use his own phrase of the other day, he was

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holding "a heart-to-heart conference with his friends the manufacturers," one of whom expressed his wish, not long ago, to build between Canada and the United States a tariff wall as high as Haman's gallows. I once at a farmers' picnic took aside one of the company, who was evidently an intelligent man, and asked him what was the real difference between his party and the other party. After a long pause came the answer: "We say the other fellows are corrupt."

Parties, of course, there will be in all free communities as often as differences of opinion on vital questions arise, and the engrossing importance of the vital issue of the day will constrain men on both sides to suppress for the time their differences of opinion on questions of less importance. Parties in this sense there were at Athens, at Rome, in Mediæval Italy, in France, in Holland; in all countries, in fact, where political sentiment has been free. But hardly any nation except England and her political offshoots can be said to have recognized as the normal system of government the party system based on a formal and permanent division of the people into two political sections, with standing party names, in one of which every active citizen is expected to enroll himself and remain, on penalty, if he deserts, of being deemed a political apostate. Not that party is recognized in the constitutions. Washington deprecated it, and tried to nip it in the bud by putting Hamilton and Jefferson together in his Cabinet. In England, parties of the most pronounced and militant kind were formed by the struggle for political freedom against the Stuarts; though they presently broke into sections, moderate and extreme. The struggle against the Stuarts ended only with the defeat of the last Pretender at Culloden, up to which time it had continued, forming not so much an application of the party system of government as the sequel to a civil war. After that date, the parties broke up, leaving only the nicknames "Tory" and "Whig" as vague designations of tendencies, monarchical or popular, and really very much lost in the struggle of the aristocratic leaders of "Connections" who wrestled and intrigued against each other for place and pelf, while the Crown strove, with the help of some parasitic adherents, to liberate its power from the encroachments of them all; Chatham alone trying to make government national with himself as dictator.

In this political era it was that Burke wrote the well-known

paragraph which has been taken as a definition of party and a vindication of the party system:

"Party is a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed. For my part, I find it impossible to conceive that any one believes in his own politics, or thinks them to be of any weight, who refuses to adopt the means of having them reduced into practice. It is the business of the speculative philosopher to mark the proper ends of government. It is the business of the politician, who is the philosopher in action, to find out proper means toward those ends, and to employ them with effect. Therefore, every honorable connection will avow it is their first purpose, to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution, with all the power and authority of the state. As this power is attached to certain situations, it is their duty to contend for these situations. Without a proscription of others, they are bound to give to their own party the preference in all things; and by no means, for private considerations, to accept any offers of power in which the whole body is not included; nor to suffer themselves to be led, or to be controlled, or to be overbalanced, in office or in council, by those who contradict the very fundamental principles on which their party is formed, and even those upon which every fair connection must stand. Such a generous contention for power, on such manly and honorable maxims, will easily be distinguished from the mean and interested struggle for place and emolument. The very style of such persons will serve to discriminate them from those numberless impostors, who have deluded the ignorant with professions incompatible with human practice, and have afterwards incensed them by practices below the level of vulgar rectitude."*

Burke, as the attentive student of his writings, much more of his course as a statesman, will presently find, while he was a consummate master of language and perhaps of political philosophy in general, was not a practical politician or trustworthy as a political teacher. Few things, indeed, more untrustworthy or more mischievous in their effect have ever been written than his essay, eloquent as it is, on the French Revolution, which took the country by storm and defeated the salutary efforts of Pitt and his colleagues to keep England clear of the raging conflagration. However, that which Burke has before his mind, called "party," is not the system of party government, as we understand and work it, but a "Connection" such as that of which his own patron, the Marquis of Rockingham, was the head,

* Burke, "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents."

and which struggled, on one hand, against the Monarchy and the courtiers, who were striving to make the power of the Crown supreme and put all the Connections, which they stigmatized as "Party," under its feet. He looked with jealous eyes also on Chatham's national dictatorship, which would have crushed and superseded the Connections. What does he mean by a "particular principle"? He can hardly mean a general principle of political morality or expediency. A perpetual division on one of these there can hardly be. He must mean some definite question of politics, which being settled, the necessity and the justification for party must apparently end.

Pitt's sweeping victory over Fox and North was largely personal, and for the time almost annulled party. Then came the reaction against the French Revolution and a number of secessions, including that of Burke himself, from the ranks called "Whig" to the ranks called "Tory." In fact, there was a complete ascendency of Pitt and his anti-revolutionary following, with an Opposition oratorically strong but numerically insignificant, so much so that at one time it took to the hopeless course of protesting by secession. This is hardly an illustration of party government.

The French Revolution over, the tide in England set the other way, till it reached the flood in the passing of the Reform Bill, with a train of other progressive measures. Then followed a real division into parties under the qualified names of "Conservative" and "Liberal," with a pretty equal division of forces. The idea of government by party as a system may be said perhaps now to have clearly presented itself for the first time. It presently betrayed its spirit in the intrigue which ejected from the headship of the Government Peel, incomparably our best administrator, and this at the time of the Irish Famine, when there was most need of his administrative skill. By the Protectionists, from whom he had conscientiously parted, he was everywhere fiercely branded as a traitor. The conspiracy against him was got up by a political adventurer who denied in the debate that he had ever asked Peel for office, but is now by the publication of Peel's correspondence proved to have asked for office in the most adulatory terms.

Since that time, amidst all the shufflings of the cards, temporary coalitions, and the personal rivalries connected with the

names of Palmerston, Russell, Aberdeen, Gladstone, the idea of government by party has certainly continued to prevail, and public men have felt themselves bound to respect the party tie and to apologize if they broke it. Graham suffered unjustly for his disregard of it, which was falsely ascribed to his personal ambition, though it now appears clearly to have been the dictate of his conscience. Perhaps of all those men he was worthiest to rule. The career of Gladstone, however, with its extraordinary transformations, shows that in moving times, where either ambition or conscience is strong, allegiance to party is not easily preserved. The mechanical arrangement of the House of Commons, divided into two down the middle, has probably not been without its effect in shaping the form and determining the course of English politics. It takes a moral effort to cross the House.

The system, of course, demands great repression of individual opinion, a thing evidently undesirable in any deliberative assembly. It exacts not only repression of opinion, but often active support, and sometimes even advocacy, of measures to which the voter is personally not inclined. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill gave Ireland, not only a Parliament of her own, but a delegated representation in the British Parliament, to play upon the balance of parties in it and keep it in subserviency to the game of the Irish politicians. It was hardly possible that the bulk of the Gladstone party in the House of Commons should have voted conscientiously for that Bill. Gladstone had been at first and for long the most vehement opponent of Home Rule, had thrown its leaders into prison, had denounced it as leading to the disruption of the Kingdom, had proclaimed the arrest of Parnell amidst the greatest enthusiasm to a shouting multitude at Guildhall. But the Irish members, playing their own game, had at the general election voted for his opponents; he must have seen that the Conservatives were coquetting with them, and that the party situation and his continuance in power could be saved only at the expense of the integrity of the United Kingdom. He may have reckoned on the Lords to throw out the Bill, and felt sure that they would be supported by the country. So, unquestionably, did not a few of his supporters. But Home Rule, though thrown out by an overwhelming majority in the Lords, was not killed and the integrity of the United Kingdom is in jeopardy at this hour.

In British Canada, the first political parties were formed in the struggle for political power and pelf between the Family Compact—that is, the group of families representing the exiles of the American Revolution, who were naturally strong Tories, and the later comers. In French Canada, now Quebec, the parties were formed by the struggle for power and pelf between the oligarchy of British invaders and the French-Canadian population. The connection between the two risings, that in British and that in French Canada, was only sympathetic at the time and soon gave place to the antagonism of race. Both risings failed in the field, but the political objects of both were practically secured to them by the ascendency of the Liberal Party in England consequent on the carrying of the Reform Bill. The expectation of Lord Durham that the French Province would be Anglicized was totally belied. The French Province remains largely a separate element in Canadian politics, the more so because it is under the temporal power of the Papacy, displayed the other day in forcing, by the hand of a Roman Catholic Premier, the system of Separate Schools in the Papal interest on the Northwest. The result was a series of shifting combinations and intrigues. In the end, there was a deadlock, neither party being able to secure a majority. Out of the deadlock an escape was sought in a confederation of the British North American colonies; with success so far as putting an end to the paralyzing balance between Upper and Lower Canada was concerned, though another difficulty was raised by geographical position, the line of Provinces stretching across the continent with wide intervals between them being unpropitious to perfect union. We in Canada have just had going on a party struggle for place, angry enough. What the parties to it were it would not have been easy to say. The party in power styled itself Liberal, while its rival styled itself Conservative. The party which styled itself Liberal before it got power was for free trade and reform of the Senate; both in the most pronounced and fervent way. But it had wriggled out of both those professions; while it was difficult to say what constituted the other party conservative, and its protectionism, though no doubt sincere, had for the time been rather hid under a bushel. Special interests and personalities really played the chief part. There was a strong popular feeling against corruption, but this is not a party

cry nor is its organ the local association or the caucus. The battle will be decided by the time this paper appears. The caucus, Parliamentary and local, morally rules. When an honest and independent member of Parliament rebels, the two local bosses combine to throw him out of his seat, and the head of the party approves what they have done.

In the United States, a foundation, only too natural and sure, for party was found in slavery, which from the outset, in fact, made the States styled "united" morally two nationalities in uneasy union. The rupture was sure to come. By some friends of the North in England it was felt to be so inevitable that they at first hung back; though, when the war was actually on foot, they could not hesitate in taking their side and doing all in their power to counteract the efforts of the aristocratic or ultra-mercantile sections which sympathized with the South. It is curious to trace the sequences of events in history, such as that which was brought to our notice the other day by the celebration of the British conquest of Quebec. Quebec was taken by the British to relieve New England of the fear of France. It did relieve New England of the fear of France; and, at the same time, as shrewd observers foresaw, of the fear of the British Government. The colonial war ensued. Into that war France rushed for revenge. Her financial difficulty, which before, though great, had not been past remedy by a Colbert or a Turgot, was thereby brought to a crisis, and the Government was thereby compelled to call the States General, thereby bringing on the Revolution. Nor does the chain of traceable causation end here. In England, the movement in favor of the abolition of slavery had been set on foot, with the young Pitt and Wilberforce among its coming champions, and with a moral certainty of success, which would have been earlier achieved but for the recoil from the French Revolution. The colonies, apparently, had they stayed a little longer with the Mother Country, would have shared emancipation. Blessed are the peace-makers, more blessed sometimes even than they may think.

The anti-slavery and negrophilist leaders in the United States, Charles Sumner especially, were impetuous, and their passions had been kindled by the war. They might otherwise have refrained from investing the negro at once with political power, to the use of which he was absolutely a stranger, and thus bringing

on Carpet-bagging, the Ku Klux, and in some measure this unhappy and ominous state of things. I conversed some time ago in the South with a very intelligent negro, the keeper of a light-house. He avowed his belief that his race would have been contented with a grant of personal freedom and equal justice, and would have at all events waited patiently for political power.

The issue is difficult to foresee. It is difficult to believe that these periodical affrays, in the midst of one of which this is written, with all their trickery, mutual abuse and corruption, are destined forever to be the mode of framing the Government and securing loyalty to it when it is framed. The incongruity will be the more manifest and noxious if the Church should lose its hold and the importance and sacredness of the State should thereby increase.

The United States are being filled with aliens to whom American institutions and ideas are strange, while the native race is not prolific. Public schools may improve the intelligence, but they cannot at once change the character. In the womb of the future there may be forming forces which by sheer necessity will compel you to put government above party.

A force, in fact, in England at least, is visibly forming which must apparently be fatal to the system. When it was a question between the Stuarts and Hanoverians—that is, between despotism and a free constitution—to preserve party unanimity and discipline was not so difficult. But those days are not ours. In England, the House of Commons is still divided down the middle in conformity with the party hypothesis; but on both sets of benches there is diversity of opinion; on the Liberal side not only diversity, but positive contradiction. The party called "Liberal," on which the present Government rests, is made up, in fact, of five sections with wide differences of opinion and object; Liberals, Radicals, Labor men, Socialists and Home-Rulers. The Labor men and Socialists have to be kept on terms with a very moderate Liberal such as Sir Edward Grey. The Opposition meanwhile plays its appointed part by doing all that it can to embarrass the Government. The consequence is that an extreme section of the other side can, by playing on the balance of party, control the action of the Government and thereby force its own policy. England is now in danger from this source. I learn on the best authority that the Home Rule question is on the eve of settle-

ment. Pressed by the Home Rule party on the weakness of the Government it can hardly fail to be a settlement dangerous to the unity of the nation.

Opinion, political and social, is increasingly active. New sects, female suffragism among them, are being formed and presenting themselves in the political arena. With these the two regular parties will have to reckon. A curious tessellation of objects and creeds is likely to result. The difficulty will hardly be met by dividing the House into two sets of benches with a gangway between them.

Not only in England but in the United States this process of disintegration of party by the formation of sectional combinations appears to be going on. The Temperance party, the Labor party, and the Female Suffrage party, seem to be forming in force outside the regular parties of Republicans and Democrats; they will probably soon learn the trick of playing on the balance. When they do, and thus acquire a power of passing minority measures as the Irish party, and, it may probably be said also, the Old-age Pensions party, has been doing in England, it will apparently become time for American statesmen to set their wits to work on the creation of something to come in the place of party government.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. CHARLES F. AKED, D.D.

THREE years ago, Great Britain was startled by the appearance on the political horizon of a new army of men bent on shifting the ground of battle. Thirty Members were returned to Parliament independently of the old political parties, breathing out threatenings and slaughter indeed against them both. Up to the hour of their appearance, Liberals and Tories had held undisputed possession of the field; undisputed, that is, save for the terrible Irish with their hands against every hand that grasps power in the realm. In the presence of this new force, men and editors stood aghast. The country breathed heavily as it looked upon so strange an evidence of the awakening of democracy, grew first alarmed, then fretful, and finally settled down to face the inevitable—the task of satisfying the demands of an aroused people whose banner-bearers these thirty were. Timorous souls the world over, asking what these things might portend, whispered the fateful word "Revolution!" And timorous souls were so far right that the legislative enactments of the last three years, not to speak of proposals which are still in the air, do unquestionably indicate that a revolution is in progress in Great Britain, a change radical and complete in the national point of view.

Side by side with this remarkable emergence of the dumb, inarticulate masses of the people into independent and aggressive political action has proceeded another movement, in some respects more remarkable still. It is the movement for the political emancipation of women. The juxtaposition of the two and their contemporary progress must not be regarded as a mere coincidence. Historically the workman and the woman have been alike the objects of exploitation. But the case of the woman has been worse than that of the man. The charge which Professor Thorold

Rogers, the historian of the economic development of the English people, brings against the legislation of centuries dead and gone might be preferred with little substantial change in justification of the clamant demands of women:

> "I contend that from 1563 to 1824 a conspiracy concocted by the law and carried out by parties interested in its success was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope and to degrade him into irremediable poverty. . . . For more than two centuries and a half the English law and those who administered the law were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out any expression or act which seemed to indicate organized discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights."

If the destruction of the poor has been their poverty, according to the Hebrew proverb, the weakness of the woman has been her womanhood. Equally as a woman and as a worker she has been exploited: equally as a woman and as a worker she has come to feel the need of the vote to protect her womanhood and secure to herself the fruits of her toil. The power of the ballot is for the woman as well as for the man. The realization of its value by the working-man could only issue in a demand for it by the woman. In the course of man's struggle for economic liberty women have learned the value of political enfranchisement.

To be sure, the women of Great Britain do not stand alone. In every civilized country of the world, and in some that are not civilized, the "Woman Movement" is upon us. In America, the professions are open to women as to men. In four States, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah, women possess the ballot. In New Zealand and some of the Australian States, women may vote. The women of Finland are eligible for a seat in their National Assembly, and twenty-five women have been elected to the present Parliament. Germany has just taken an important step toward granting equal educational privileges to its women in allowing them to enter its universities. The women of Norway are citizens. And so the story goes. The women of the harem are throwing off their veils, and the spirit that moves them is the spirit of the British Suffragists.

In their demand for the ballot, the women of Great Britain take ground common to the Suffragists of all countries. But the British movement has characteristics peculiarly its own. In the long

centuries of history in which it has its roots, in the enormous suffrage rights already possessed which it is intended to safeguard, in the volume of opinion by which it is sustained, and in the militant, devoted methods by which it has commanded the attention of the Imperial Government and of the world, the British movement is unique. And these special characteristics it is the purpose of the following pages to make clear.

The Woman Suffragists of Great Britain declare that they are not asking for something new in the life of their country. They claim the restitution of a right which, they assert, was possessed throughout the centuries, of which they allege they were deprived by the legislature as late as the year 1832. This alone differentiates the claim of the British Suffragists from that of their sisters in America. They admit that the suffrage was rarely exercised in those old days, and they are ready with an explanation as to why the power they now anxiously covet was suffered to fall into disuse. It is only recently that the power of the ballot has been understood. So far from its being regarded as a right and an instrument of self-protection, it was thought of as the performance of a duty involving great expense and trouble. The dangers of the journey were great. Travel was difficult. Roads were not safe. The number of those qualified to vote was necessarily very small. Organization, of course, had not been heard of, and, generally, the surprising thing would have been if the exercise of the franchise by women had been other than a rare and isolated phenomenon. Prior to 1832, the total electorate of Great Britain was not more than 700,000. The property qualification was formidable. As the property of women passed upon marriage to their husbands, those qualified for voting lost their qualification as soon as they left single life behind them. Obviously, in so small an electorate there could be but few widows and spinsters possessed of the necessary property qualification; and the English advocates of Woman Suffrage profess no surprise that in the course of the centuries such women gradually allowed a disagreeable and dangerous duty to slip into the background.

The Parliamentary franchise is, of course, the goal of the Suffragists' ambition. The Municipal franchise appears to have been theirs from time immemorial, and, it is alleged, was from time to time exercised by them except for a period between 1832 and 1867, during which they were deprived of it by law. This legis-

lative disfranchisement needs to be understood, for it is one of the several acts by Parliament and by the Courts tending to narrow the powers possessed by women, affording ground for fear that other attempts to curtail their rights will be made, and successfully made, unless the supreme power of the Parliamentary ballot can be utilized to safeguard the rest. In the Reform Act of 1832, the word "male" was used to qualify "persons." Nothing of the kind had ever been done by any statute. By this Act, women were legally disfranchised for the first time in the history of the British Constitution.

During the next great Reform agitation, the stormy times of 1867-8, efforts were made by the advocates of Woman Suffrage to secure Parliamentary recognition of their claim. In the Bill the word "man" was used, and it is curious to note that two amendments were defeated: one by John Stuart Mill that the Act should be made expressly to include women, and one with the contrary intention that the word "man" should go out and "male person" replace it. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Justice Denman, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, asked the following question:

"Why, instead of the words 'male person' of the Act of 1832, the word 'man' had been substituted in the present Bill? In the fifth clause he found that after saying that every 'man' should be entitled to be registered, it proceeds to say, 'or a male person in any University who has passed any senior middle examination.' In the light of Lord Brougham's Act, if the Court of Queen's Bench had to decide to-morrow on the construction of these clauses, they would be constrained to hold that they conferred the suffrage on female persons as well as on males."

After the Bill became law, thousands of women succeeded in getting on the register as voters, and the matter had to be fought out in the Courts, with the result that the judges decided at last that women had no statutory right to be recognized as citizens, and that until such a right was expressly conferred by Act of Parliament they must remain outside the Parliamentary franchise. Meanwhile, they had succeeded in securing the restitution of the Municipal franchise of which they were deprived in 1832.

In 1888, County Councils were established throughout England, and, as there was nothing in the Act of Parliament which implied the disability of women otherwise qualified to stand for election, an attempt was made by two distinguished women, Miss

Cobden and Lady Sandhurst, to gain seats on the London County Council. They were both elected. A defeated candidate, Mr. Beresford-Hope, took the matter into the Courts, and the Court of Appeal held that women were not eligible. Lord Esher, the presiding judge, said:

"I take it that neither by the Common Law nor by the Constitution of this country from the beginning of the Common Law until now can a woman be entitled to exercise any public function."

Yet at the very time Lord Esher spoke, it has been pertinently pointed out, women were acting as Overseers, Way-wardens, Church-wardens, Poor-Law Guardians and members of School Boards, which surely were public functions "within the meaning of the Act," and Lord Esher sat as judge by virtue of the authority of a female Sovereign! And all the time the words of Lord Brougham's Act stared him in the face: "That in all Acts words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females unless the contrary is expressly provided." The point of all this is, of course, to justify the contention of the Woman Suffragists of England that rights possessed by them under the Common Law and the Constitution have been filched from them by judge-made law, and that there is no security for rights of which they are still possessed except the ballot.

By the Local Government Act of 1894, another disability was imposed upon the voteless half of the community. Here it is a case of deprivation by the legislature and not by judges. The Bill provided that the Chairman of a District Council, "unless personally disqualified by any Act, shall be by virtue of his office a Justice of the Peace of the County in which the district is situated." A restrictive clause "unless a woman" was introduced, and women were robbed of a dignity which they had enjoyed certainly as far back as the reign of Queen Mary. Again, by the conversion in 1899 of the London Vestries into Borough Councils, women who were doing excellent work as members of the Vestries were turned out of office, for women were not eligible for membership of Borough Councils. Further, the Education Act of 1902, which converted the School Boards of the country into Education Committees of the Borough and County Councils, in like manner removed from office women who were successfully working in the interest of education. The Act allowed women to be "co-opted," but not elected.

These are only specimens of a continuous process by which the ancient rights possessed by women have been taken from them. And they constitute a part of their case for the Parliamentary franchise. It is perfectly true that some of these privileges have been restored by the present Parliament. Last year, a Bill passed both Houses, empowering women to sit on Borough and County Councils, if possessed of the necessary property qualification and unmarried. The disability of the married woman still remains in England, though for some reason past finding out the married woman in London may now sit upon the County Council. In a word, unmarried women possessed of the qualifications which entitle men to vote may vote in every election in England other than a Parliamentary election, and may be elected to every governing body except the House of Commons. It may be suggested that the reference to the Act of 1907 proves too much; that it shows how a Parliament of men elected by men is ready to redress the disabilities imposed on women as soon as the inequalities are clearly perceived. The answer to it is that there is no reason in the world to suppose that Parliament would have moved hand or foot but for the tremendous pressure of the movement which we are now discussing. The agitation has already justified itself.

Behind the demand of the women for the suffrage, great masses of the British people are already ranged. Reckoned in bulk, there cannot be fewer than six millions of people pledged through their organizations to equal suffrage for men and women. These organizations include the "Co-operative Society" with two and a half millions of members, "The Labor Party" with almost as many, "The Women's Liberal Association," "The British Women's Temperance Association," "The Women's Textile Union," "The Women's Labor League," "The Social and Political Union," "The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies," "The Men's League for Woman Suffrage" and many others. The work of some of these societies needs to be better understood.

"The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies" is a federation of the Suffrage societies all over the country which work on purely constitutional lines. It is an organization which grew up out of the agitation of 1865 when John Stuart Mill introduced the first Woman Suffrage measure into the House of Commons. Its Executive is composed of women elected by the delegates from the different affiliated societies and represents all the political

parties. Mrs. Fawcett, widow of a Victorian Cabinet Minister of Liberal principles, Lady Frances Balfour, related to Mr. Arthur Balfour, the Conservative leader, and Mrs. Philip Snowden, wife of one of the Parliamentary leaders of the Labor Party, are members of this Executive and illustrations of the wide range of view embraced by the Suffrage Movement. The work of this Society is strictly confined within limits admitted to be constitutional and decorous. Its influence has been felt in every recent by-election.

"The Women's Social and Political Union" was founded three years ago in Manchester by Mrs. Pankhurst, widow of a distinguished barrister responsible more than any other man for the passing of the "Married Women's Property Act," and associated with the Labor Party as one of its most capable leaders. Mrs. Pankhurst found even this, the most advanced political party in the State, indifferent to the Woman's question, and out of her resentment of this indifference came "The Women's Social and Political Union." It is this Society which has made the Suffrage Movement famous—its critics would say notorious—throughout the world. Its policy is to oppose in every way the Government which is in power, in the hope of securing through the tactics of the importunate widow the importunate widow's reward. It has taken this line with uncompromising boldness, adhered to it with resistless tenacity, and in the pursuit of it manifested a courage which has no parallel in British history. It is this Society which is responsible for the processions, the interruptions of public meetings, the disturbances in and near the House of Parliament, and, generally, for the tactics which have given to the vocabulary a new word of offence, "Suffragette." The members of "The Women's Social and Political Union" justify their policy on the following grounds: There are six hundred and seventy Members of the House of Commons. Of these, four hundred and twenty are pledged to Woman Suffrage. The Bill before the House in the early part of the present year passed its second reading by a majority of three to one in its favor. The Liberal Party owes its return to power with such an overwhelming majority very largely to the efforts of women. The Liberal Party is supposed to be the progressive party of the country. It has never lowered the flag on which it once inscribed "Taxation without representation is robbery," nor has it bated jot or tittle of its claim that it stands always and everywhere for human liberty. At the begin-

ning of the present Parliament, a monster deputation of representative women waited upon the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, then Prime Minister. Half a dozen speakers asked what the Liberal Government intended to do for women. The Prime Minister was himself strongly in favor of their demand, but his Cabinet contained men who were on the other side, and he was compelled to tell the women that they had nothing to hope for from his Government. The women chose to regard this as an invitation to them to declare war on the Government, and it has been war ever since. But it is only fair to them to remember that a majority of the Liberal leaders had pledged themselves before election to the suffrage, and to observe as well that there would have been no declaration of hostility had the Government promised to attempt something some time before it went out of office, even, that is to say, perhaps six years from the date of the deputation.

The women have learned the lessons of British history. Those lessons appear to teach that no political reform has ever been gained in England except through a show of force on the part of the disinherited demanding admission to citizenship. By force and passion political battles have been won. Parliaments do not legislate because there is need of legislation. Parliaments legislate where there is force to compel legislation! For fifty years women have been pleading, agitating softly, cooing their adversaries gently as a sucking dove, waiting like a pauper at the castle gate for the restitution of a right which once was theirs and for the grant of power which they have shown themselves capable of wielding wisely and well. They have seen Governments yield to men when the Hyde Park railings went down, and, having learned from their pastors and masters these rough methods, who is to blame them that they better their instruction? Wisdom is always justified of her children. And the Prime Minister of Great Britain has gone far to show how adroitly conceived is the women's policy. Mr. Asquith has been regarded as a bitter opponent of the women's cause. It was believed that he was the leader of the opposition in the Cabinet while Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was still Prime Minister. Because he can do no other he has yielded much. He has promised to accept an amendment to a Bill for an enlarged franchise which he proposes to introduce as the farewell act of a retiring Government, an amendment in favor of Woman Suffrage, on two conditions; first, that it shall

be sufficiently democratic, and, second, that it shall have been by that time shown that an overwhelming number of women desire the vote. And this concession, big with hope, is directly due to what the American public has been taught to regard as the outrageous and intolerable policy of the Suffragettes.

The situation can be summed up in a few words. Great Britain is looking upon a process of agitation and organization of which it would be impossible to overrate the significance. In a country where social distinctions are so marked as in England, the union of aristocrat, plutocrat and democrat in a demand for Woman Suffrage is itself amazing. Certain results are at the present moment undeniable. It is demonstrated that a vast number of the thinking women of the country want the vote. It is demonstrated that an enormous proportion of the philanthropic and, so to speak, devout women want the vote. It is demonstrated that overwhelming masses of the toiling women want the vote. It is not going too far to say, all respect paid to anti-suffragists of the name and fame and character of Mrs. Humphry Ward, that some of the best brains and best hearts of England want the vote for women. One does not desire to become dithyrambic in a calm discussion of a political movement, but it is simple fact that the zeal of the women is religious and that their courage has risen to heroism. They are possessed by the enthusiasm of humanity and they know the joy of sacrifice for a great cause. Woman has come to understand woman, and women have come to sympathize with women in a manner which itself marks the dawn of a new day. The power of politics to raise the status of women everywhere, to ameliorate distressful industrial and social conditions, and to open out large fields of social service is realized by them now too clearly for them ever to recede from the position they have taken. And some day they will arrive.

CHARLES F. AKED.

RECENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER.

EXACTLY forty years ago the first Woman's Club electrified the world by coming into existence and, very appropriately, in New York, the usual centre for startling events. The club called itself Sorosis—a bouquet of flowers—also very appropriately—for it burst into bloom in the dreary desert of woman's clubless life, and its seeds were scattered to the four corners of the earth. The harvest is seen in the International Council of Women, whose Congress has just closed in Geneva, and which represents so many million clubwomen that nobody has been able to count them accurately. There was no limit to the silly and shallow criticisms of Sorosis, to the dreadful predictions of its demoralizing effect on women and all that they typified. Now, with some of its founders still living, the world accepts without the slightest ridicule or censure this vast International Council made up of organizations of women in twenty-three countries. Its representatives have been received by Queens, Empresses, Presidents and Governments, and its proceedings have been telegraphed to the press of all countries. Geneva, not to be outdone by any other city, placed at the service of the recent Congress the ancient Hôtel de Ville, which for four centuries has been the seat of its government, whether kingdom, bishopric or republic. Only once before, at the anniversary of the founding of the Red Cross in that city, was it ever granted for any public purpose. Further, to show their hospitality, Canton and city united in a large reception to the Council delegates in Palais Eynard, where an official representative of the municipality expressed approval of their aims and wishes for their success.

And what are those aims which are now so universally sanc-

tioned? They are measures so radical and revolutionary that, if they had even been mentioned to Sorosis twoscore years ago, it would have shrivelled up and faded away. When the Council was organized in Washington in 1888, with those intrepid path-breakers, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony at its foundation, the first clause in its constitution guaranteed that no organization which affiliated with it should have its own independence or objects interfered with, or be committed to any principle, utterance or act of the international body which it did not approve. This was to be composed of National Councils which should be formed by federating the various societies of women in each country, and no line of work could be taken up officially which did not have the unanimous approval of these Councils. Those who predicted they could never agree on any one movement did not know the solidarity of women's interests throughout the world. It was not long before all united in a desire to strive for peace and arbitration between nations, and this has been done by the Council for the past fifteen years. The proposal that it should work to promote social purity and destroy the white-slave traffic did not meet with a dissenting voice, and this is now one of its strong departments. Investigation and improvement of the legal position of women soon was added. In 1904 came the crucial test, and at the great meeting in Berlin, by unanimous vote of the nineteen countries which then constituted the Council, suffrage and the rights of citizenship were put in charge of a department of international work and a standing committee formed to direct it. This is the most progressive movement yet made by the Council, and it grows larger every year. It is the earnest desire of the president, the Countess of Aberdeen, that public health shall be made a department of work, and that women everywhere shall be enlisted in organized effort to improve sanitary conditions, prevent the spread of contagious diseases, reduce infant mortality and concern themselves with every phase of this important question. This is already being done by the Councils of several countries.

Each nation is entitled to the same number of delegates, although the number of members varies widely. The United States Council represents many hundred thousand women. That of Great Britain is composed of four hundred and twenty-six organizations with an immense membership. France has about

seventy-five thousand members. Even so sparsely settled a country as Sweden has nearly twenty-five thousand. Switzerland has sixty-four organizations in her Council; the Netherlands, thirty-five; Austria, fifty. The Council is strong in Italy, and its recent Congress of Women attracted the attention of all Europe and was most favorably treated by the Italian press. Hungary, which one scarcely associates with progressive movements of women, has a Council of eighteen active organizations. In far-off Australia, the Councils in the various States are composed of from twenty-five to forty affiliated societies, and the wife of the new Governor-General is an enthusiastic Council worker. Argentina has a Council of Women which has now had a useful existence of fourteen years, and its varied departments of work are considered of so much value that the Government has made it an appropriation of $5,000 a year. At this Congress in Geneva, Bulgaria and Greece were received into the International Council. The latter has only three societies of women, but it is the desire of the Queen that they shall know the women of other countries through this affiliation, and she herself has accepted the presidency of the National Council of Greece.

It seems most pathetic that from women in Turkey should come inquiries as to whether they could possibly have any recognition. Russian women, who have many associations, have been endeavoring for a number of years to organize them into a Council, so that they might come into touch with those of the outside world by uniting with the International, but the Government absolutely forbids it. Prime-Minister Stolypin has granted them permission to hold their first Congress next December, but with the stipulation that they shall not form a National Council, as intercourse with other countries is the thing he most wishes to avoid. There were, however, several Russian women at this Geneva meeting, who in appearance, education and ability were the peers of any in attendance, and they were received with the warmest sympathy and friendliness. The treasurer of the International Council, Mrs. W. E. Sanford, of Ontario, Canada, recently made a tour around the world in its interest. In Bombay, Calcutta, Benares, Lucknow and other cities of India, she held meetings attended by the most prominent of the English and Indian women—the families of high officials, bishops, merchants, etc.—and all favored the organization of a National Council of

Women in India if for no other reason than to draw those of the different religions together, and give them a common ground on which to form acquaintance and friendship. It is probable that this will be done in a short time. In Japan, Mrs. Sanford presented the question to members of the Royal Family and other ladies of influence who came together for the purpose. They seemed deeply interested and hoped for a Council in the future, but felt that it was entirely too forward a movement for the present.

At the Quinquennial of the International Council, which will be held in Toronto, Canada, the third and fourth weeks of next June, the public will be able to gain some idea of the actual work that is being done by these Councils, which it would not be possible to describe here. It covers every phase of social activity that is characteristic of the new century—educational, philanthropic, reformatory, ethical, religious, political. The Council of each country has its committees for the special departments of the international work, while every association belonging to it is also busy with its individual enterprises. There is not in the whole world another such body of organized workers. The Congress that will be held in connection with the Council in Toronto is to be divided into nine sections devoted to the topics mentioned above, and including also music, art and literature, with speakers for each who have made it a subject of special study and work. The buildings of the University have been granted for the occasion, and the public evening meetings will be held in its large new Congregation Hall. A prominent Toronto paper has for a long time placed two columns each week at the service of the Canadian Council. This has branches in the farthest outposts of its northwestern provinces, giving the women of the whole country a community of interests in a way that would be impossible for any other agency. Last year nearly one hundred eastern delegates travelled four thousand miles to attend the annual meeting in Vancouver, in order to become personally acquainted with the women of British Columbia and interest them in the coming Quinquennial. This meeting will also have the cordial assistance of the Council of the United States.

The deep injustice with which women are treated and the great necessity that they should co-operate to secure a recognition of their rights may be forcibly illustrated by the conditions in

Switzerland, the "ideal republic." In only two of the twenty-five Cantons can a married woman collect or control her wages; in only two can she testify in court; in none has she equal guardianship with the husband over her children; the wife has almost no property rights and cannot dispose by will of her own real estate; wages paid to women are about two-thirds of those paid to men for the same work, and in many occupations are only one franc a day; the "age of consent" in most of the Cantons is thirteen; women are punished for prostitution, but men are not. Every man over twenty has a vote, not only for officials, but on all questions of legislation under the referendum, and they are eligible to all offices. No woman has a vote for any person or anything or is eligible for any office—not even to sit on any public board; nor have women a voice in any matters concerning the church or the right to fill any of its offices.

A few years ago, a Commission was appointed to revise the Civil Code, and a very strong effort was made by women to secure more equal laws, but they were not able to obtain any changes of consequence. This new code, which does not go into effect until 1912, will leave them legally where they were a hundred years ago. The Government ordered that a copy of this revised code should be sent to every voter, and the women, through their organizations, petitioned that a copy should be sent to every widow and unmarried woman. The answer came that the expense would be too great. The women then petitioned that five thousand might be set apart for women, and thus a few in each community could be supplied, but they were told that it was not considered worth while to spend any money in that way. And yet women had paid their full share of all the expenses connected with the preparing and distributing of this code.

Another significant instance was seen in regard to the Reformed Church. It has always been a State Institution, supported by public taxes of which women paid their quota. Some time ago the women of the Canton of Geneva concluded that, this being the case, it was time that they had a vote in Church matters. Under the leadership of the Woman's Union they collected two thousand signatures of women asking for this privilege and presented it to the Legislature. That body never paid the slightest attention to it. A few years later, the separation of Church and State was decided upon by this Canton, and a Commission of

nineteen prominent men appointed to prepare a new constitution for the Church. Being reminded by the women of this previous petition, they incorporated in it a vote for women in Church matters. When this was laid before the Legislature, the Woman's Union called a public meeting and a strong letter was adopted which spoke of women's long years of devotion to the Church, and asked for them a voice in its affairs. This was signed by forty of the most representative women in Geneva, and in twelve days an endorsement of it was signed by three thousand women, and the whole was sent to the Legislature. It could not be ignored; but the debate on it was of such an insulting character that the women were humiliated to the dust. The clause giving women a vote was struck out, and they were left without any rights whatever under the new régime. When it was found that it would be necessary to have thirty thousand dollars a year for the support of the Church besides its present income, these same men declared that the women could be depended on to raise a large part of this amount. Now they have sent a letter to each woman member, urging her to put forth every effort to collect this money.

This experience of Swiss women can be duplicated in every country in both hemispheres, and it is sending women by thousands into the various associations in order that they may have the strength of organized effort. The Council possesses the advantage over all others that it does not stand for any one propaganda, and those who disapprove of some of its branches of work may still take advantage of its co-operation to further the particular things they are striving for. Because of its wide scope, it can receive the recognition of potentates and governments who would shy at some of its departments—for instance, Peace, Temperance or Woman Suffrage. It is the most conspicuous example of democracy among women, who are apt to be rigid in maintaining the divisions of caste. The president of the International Council is the wife of an Earl; one of the vice-presidents is the wife of a French Cabinet Minister; another the wife of a Swedish professor; another the wife of a German music-teacher; one of the secretaries is herself a teacher; the treasurer owns and manages a large business. At this Geneva meeting, a Countess took the minutes; among the delegates were a number of Baronesses, Excellencies and Ladies, and sitting with them on a perfect

equality were women in all professions, many teachers and others who earn their own living. Among the costumes worn were some of the latest French creations and some of the "reform" style that had evidently been made at home, while ranging all the way between were as many modes as there were countries represented; but it may be truly said that the women did not think about their own clothes or their neighbors'. Even at the handsome receptions given by the Government and by the Swiss Council of Women, and at the beautiful garden parties, they seemed to be occupied chiefly with the questions that were before the Congress, and these things in themselves are an immense gain. Those who have been with the Council from the beginning have seen a wonderful increase of fraternal spirit among the delegates, of tolerance and self-control, of confidence and affection; a distinct lessening of provincialism, of looking upon one's own country, people and customs as superior to all others. Much of this harmony is due to the tact, courtesy and sweetness of Lady Aberdeen, who has held the presidency for ten years.

If this were an organization of men, what a power it would wield; how eagerly its opinions would be sought; what efforts would be made to secure its influence! When we contrast this vast association and its almost boundless work with the earliest inception of the club movement among women only forty years ago, is the hope not justified that within another twoscore years the opinions of women on the great questions of the day may be as highly valued as those of men, and their influence equally potent? Is it only a dream that the time will come when because of the International Council of Women universal peace shall be established and there shall never more be war between the nations of the earth?

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

MATTHEW ARNOLD AS POET: TRIED BY HIS "SOHRAB AND RUSTUM."

BY PROFESSOR W. C. WILKINSON.

MANY years ago, attracted by a laudatory review of Matthew Arnold's poems, I sought delight in reading them. I failed to find what I sought. I blindly blamed my own want of insight, and, for a long time after, abode in that uncomfortable state of mind as to Arnold's verse. A simple incident at length occurred that led to a change in this mental attitude. I heard a brilliant university teacher of elocution, a man of more than the ordinary degree of culture for one in the line of his profession, read to an appreciative audience Arnold's chief long poem, his "Sohrab and Rustum." The poem was well rendered, but I listened, as also the reader seemed to me to read, with difficulty and labor. I was at a loss to account for this experience, and I took resort to a private perusal of the poem in quest of the reason. I found the reason in the character of the work itself. "Sohrab and Rustum" is not, in any high sense, a true poem. It lacks "inevitableness." It is a great effort and not a great poem. Arnold manifestly labored at it with conscientious exertion of his best powers, but he did not succeed in producing what he wished to produce—which I have understood to be a simple "objective" poem as free, as Homer's poetry is free, from the modern vice of self-consciousness and introspection. I shall not, however, criticise the work from the point of view of its failure to be Homeric, but from the point of view of its failure to be a well-conceived, well-executed treatment of a well-chosen theme for a narrative poem.

Perhaps it may be well enough to begin with the matter of Arnold's choice of theme. It is to be accounted great good fortune for a poet when he lights upon a happy theme for the employment of his powers. This good fortune did not befall

Arnold when he decided on writing his "Sohrab and Rustum." The "fable" of the poem is supplied in a doubtful story belonging to the annals of Persia. Sohrab is the illegitimate son of Rustum, who abandoned the mother before her child was born. She found means afterwards to convey to the faithless father the false information that his offspring by her was a daughter instead of a son. Grown to man's estate, the youth wins fame as a warrior, but, in a spirit of filial affection and loyalty not accounted for, he restlessly seeks Rustum, whom he knows to be his father. The two finally meet in mortal combat, neither combatant aware that it is a duel between father and son. The son falls by the hand of his father. That, in short, is the story of "Sohrab and Rustum."

Not a very promising theme for a narrative in verse. Yet conditions might have existed which would have made it not wholly ineligible. If the two warriors had been noble men, enlisted generously on opposite sides in a noble cause, there would have been in the story the elements of possible pathos and power, mounting even to the height of overcoming tragedy—tragedy made tender and beautiful by the presence in it of heroism, of magnanimity, of self-sacrifice, of filial devotion, of paternal affection. But neither combatant seems to have been a soldier for a noble cause; they were both of them apparently mere soldiers of fortune, fighting for nothing better than fame. Rustum at least was an impure man, faithless alike to his wife, if he had one, and to the unwedded mother of his son. If he had traits of virtue, besides courage, to redeem his character to gentle judgment, not to say to admiration, these do not appear, either in the legend about him, which Arnold gives in quoted words as note to his poem, or in the poet's treatment of his subject. There is nothing whatever in Rustum's words or in his deeds, as shown in the poem, to excite the reader's admiration or sympathy for him. He appears unrelievedly brutal throughout. His selfish sorrow at the end is hardly an exception, and the same may be said of the passing touch of pseudo-sympathetic, egoistic sentiment for Sohrab exhibited by him just before the beginning of the combat.

Sohrab, if not a very attractive character, is at least not repulsive like his father. That he should cherish such a filial feeling as he does for a father never personally known by him, but known by him to be so unworthy, is a trait which, besides

being extremely improbable, psychologically almost impossible indeed, denotes a sentimental weakness in him of no very high moral tone. He ought to have sought his father, if at all, in order to upbraid him for his unfaithfulness both to his mother and to himself, this far rather than in order to fling his heart down in fondling affection at his father's feet.

The conditions, then, that might have made the "fable" of "Sohrab and Rustum" suitable for a fine poem did not exist, and Arnold must be pronounced unfortunate in his choice of theme. "Unfortunate," I say, but in critical strictness I ought to say, unwise, ill-judging; wrong choice of subject is part of the demerit of a poet considered as artist.

But now let us suppose that the Amphictyonic Council required Arnold to write a poem on this ineligible subject, and let us proceed to consider how he performed his compulsory task. Did he manage his subject well or ill? I am compelled to say that, in my opinion, he managed it ill—in some important respects surprisingly ill.

The chief demerit of "Sohrab and Rustum" lies in its lack of that which would necessarily have been its chief merit had it been present, namely, true imaginative quality. This lack is shown in so many ways that it may justly be said to be pervasive. It appears in the descriptions, in the similes, in the conduct of the narrative, especially the narrative of the combat, and even in the providing of accoutrement for the combatants. Rustum, for instance, is furnished by Arnold with a shield, which, of course, must be carried in such a manner as to make one of his two arms unavailable for any other purpose, except that possibly the hand on that side of the body might grasp the spear, which also is supplied to the warrior; a sword is not omitted from the equipment; but, most noteworthy perhaps of all, Rustum is armed with an enormous club, such in size and weight that no one but Rustum could wield it. Not even Rustum himself, it would seem, could wield it properly; for, at his first and only attempt with it, it plays him false, flies out of his hand, and actually brings its wielder down on all-fours into the sand. If, in addition to mail covering his whole body, even to his hands, Rustum must needs have with him such an amount of encumbering weaponry (together with helmet and shield), Arnold might at least have provided him with an armor-bearer. Instead of this, a horse, a

very remarkable horse, accompanies him to the battle, much after the manner of a dog, taking no part whatever in the action, but only, at a certain crisis of it, uttering a most lamentable boding cry, which had the singular effect of making the two watching hostile armies "quake for fear," while, far stranger, the River "Oxus *curdled* as it crossed his stream."

It deserves to be noted that, whereas Arnold gives Rustum a mighty Homeric breakfast the morning of the struggle, he sends Sohrab to his fate breakfastless, and weakened by a night of restless tossing without sleep. This unfairness on the poet's part seems to have been a pure inadvertence, for he makes nothing of the inequality under which the two combatants thus engage; but it is a curious inadvertence, and it has a certain tell-tale bearing. It incidentally shows with how little true imaginative sympathy Arnold, brooding on his theme, entered into the necessary concomitant conditions of the case.

Now as to the incidents of the fight. The two combatants begin by having a parley. Rustum was then first to act. He "hurled his spear"—presumably at Sohrab, though this is not stated; for all that appears at this point in the narrative, it may have been flung wild as a preliminary flourish of demonstration. But its course was peculiar. It was more like that of a battle-axe swung than that of a spear hurled. The language used describes a blow, rather than the flight of a spear. "Down from the shoulder, down it came," the poet says. The downward direction is thus given so emphatically that one is at once prompted to think of the action as taking place at close quarters, and not at such a distance as, on the contrary, *hurling* implies. But the downward direction is further insisted upon, and now with a simile, a singular simile:

> "As on some partridge in the corn, a hawk,
> That long has towered in the airy clouds,
> Drops like a plummet."

The simile, it will be observed, is itself affected with a simile. "Like a plummet," Arnold says. This, considered simply as descriptive of the hawk's descent, is striking, strikingly good. The line, "That long has towered in the airy clouds," introduces a circumstance which seems apt enough as long as one thinks only of the hawk and of the hawk's descent; but the moment one

comes to consider the relation of it to the proper object of the poet in his narrative, it is as unapt as it well could be. The flying spear could not have hovered "long" in the air before it "dropped like a plummet." In fact, it is impossible to conceive of a hurled spear's behaving as Rustum's spear did. "Sohrab saw it come and sprang aside quick as a flash." It came "down," the poet says. Did Sohrab see it coming down? Then the descent must have occupied an appreciable portion of time. But, since the coming down was only "from the shoulder," how could this be? After Sohrab's agile avoidance of the spear, it is noted by the poet that the spear "hissed." Read a little attentively, and it will almost look to you as if the spear did not "hiss" until it saw that it was going to miss its mark! Whether, indeed, a spear, coming down from the shoulder, could *hiss* on its way, simply as the effect of friction with the air, my own experience with spears, or knowledge of them gained through reading, does not enable me to say; but, as a matter of mere speculation, it seems to me extremely improbable. I prefer to suppose that the spear in the case was conceived by the poet as hissing from vexation at missing its aim.

"Then Sohrab threw, in turn," the poet proceeds to say. *What* Sohrab threw, as well as *at* what, it is left to the reader's mental activity and judgment to decide — until, later, he learns that Sohrab "full struck Rustum's shield," when the second of the two doubts, at what, is resolved. Again the effect produced is described with the emphasis of repetition—"Sharp rang, the iron plates rang sharp," it is said, with "forcible feeble" effort of expression; "but turned the spear" is added, and now we know that it was his spear that Sohrab "threw." As Rustum's shield was "full struck," the statement that the spear was turned cannot mean that the spear was simply deflected and caused to glance aside; the meaning must be that the spear-*point,* and not the spear, was "turned."

Now follows a pass from Rustum very carefully described by Arnold, and well worthy of careful attention from the reader. "And Rustum seized his club," it is said. Where was his club? How had Rustum carried it? What did he do with it when he hurled his spear? We are left to conjecture. Let us suppose that he simply laid it on the ground beside him. Now, at any rate, he "seized" it. It was a portentous club. Arnold describes it

elaborately. As has already been said, nobody could wield it but Rustum. It was "an unlopped trunk." Just what an "unlopped trunk" could be it is not easy to imagine. No tree is spoken of, but trunk, used absolutely here, must mean trunk of a tree. Since the object in question was a club, it was not, of course, the trunk of a standing tree. But "lop" means "cut off." "Unlopped" should therefore mean "not cut off." How could a tree-trunk not cut off constitute a club? But perhaps the sense is that the tree-trunk was "unlopped" (not cut off) as to its branches. The branches, then, were still on the trunk. What sort of club would a tree-trunk with branches make? "An unlopped trunk it was, and huge, still rough," the poet says. The adverb, "still," suggests that the roughness was in process of being worn away, but that the wearing-away process was not yet finished. "Rough" may throw a light backward on "unlopped." Does the poet mean that the "trunk," though said to be "unlopped," was indeed lopped, but not closely, that spurs or stubs of the cut-off branches remained on it? Then "unlopped" must be pronounced not a well-chosen adjective.

The poet adds a comparison to assist the reader in appreciating the character of this club. He says the "trunk was

> like those which men in treeless plains
> To build them boats fish from the flooded rivers,
> Hyphasis or Hydaspes, when, high up
> By their dark springs, the wind in winter-time
> Hath made in Himalayan forests wrack,
> And strewn the channels with torn boughs."

("Hyphasis or Hydaspes" savors of Milton.) The comparison is really little help to the reader. It simply says, at some length, that this trunk was "like" any trunk. Curiously enough, however, it hardly succeeds in saying even that; for we have only "boughs," "torn boughs," to furnish the required term of comparison, no "trunks" at all. How large the "torn boughs" supposed may be we are not told. They may be of any size whatever. But the poet, as if now the reader should have no trouble in getting the right conception of the magnitude of that club, says, with evident sense of satisfaction over something difficult happily achieved, "So huge the club which Rustum lifted now."

"And struck one stroke," the poet next says. This seems to

be said very pregnantly, somewhat after the manner of Milton's, "No second stroke intend," or of Tennyson's, "Would strike, and firmly, and one stroke"; but the result is so null, so ridiculous, that the phrase itself becomes the reverse of impressive. Good reason, as the sequel shows, why the stroke should be "one" and no more. For Sohrab, as Rustum might have anticipated, especially after the experience immediately preceding, "sprang aside" again; and then happened—several things very surprising. That redoubtable club came "thundering to earth." This is surprising, since the "earth" that it came to was "sand"—as such constantly described by the poet—and how should the club have "thundered" falling into the sand? Next, the club "leaped from Rustum's hand." This, too, is surprising, since Rustum was a warrior of such doughty character, such mighty strength, and withal of such long seasoning experience, that he ought to have been prepared to hold his club, though his club should miss its aim. One might, indeed, suppose that, with presence of mind, Rustum let go his club (for this time proved useless) on purpose, as his best way of ridding himself of it. But no; it was an accident that the club left his hand; and no wonder that it did, since his hand was mailed, and it was only with one hand, of course the right hand, that he attempted to wield it. And now, stranger still than the strange things already mentioned, that experienced warrior lost his balance and came down on all-fours "following his own blow." "On all-fours," for he "fell to his knees," and, besides that, "with his fingers [his mailed fingers] clutched the sand." Rustum must have quite lost his head. Why should he "clutch the sand"? To spread out his hands palm downward would have saved him far better. A vulgar evil genius at my elbow suggests that Rustum felt his own personal "sand" failing him, and instinctively sought to replenish his supply. In vain I remonstrate, "Vex not thou the poet's mind with thy shallow wit, Vex not thou the poet's mind, For thou canst not fathom it." He presses his unworthy suggestion by pointing out that Rustum became "choked with sand." And true enough, it appears that, in Arnold's words, he "lay dizzy, and on his knees, and choked with sand." The whole passage reads:

> "And now might Sohrab have unsheathed his sword
> And pierced the mighty Rustum while he lay
> Dizzy, and on his knees, and choked with sand."

(It is curious what pains Arnold takes to tell us that Rustum "*lay*," but did so "*on his knees*"!) That insufferable evil genius, impudently insisting on his point, says his theory is that Rustum, clutching the sand, with the purpose aforesaid, was confused through his dizziness, and so overcharged his mouth with it—whence the choking. But, of course, the true theory is that Rustum pitched forward with such momentum that his face ducked into the sand, and his mouth, unfortunately being open at the moment, filled itself involuntarily. Altogether, it was a complicated catastrophe, and, under all the conditions existing in the case, very surprising indeed.

Yes, as the poet says, Sohrab obviously could now have despatched his antagonist, or have made him accept life at his magnanimous enemy's hands;

> "But he looked on and smiled, nor bared his sword,
> But courteously drew back and spoke."

A Quixotic knight this young man was! He "drew back," and did so "courteously," and yet—he "smiled." Did he smile "courteously"? It would have been more courteous to refrain from smiling. Did Sohrab lose his gentlemanlike self-command, was he overcome with uncontrollable merriment, to see his friend the enemy's mishap? This unhappy lapse of his in high manners, he might have covered by advancing, instead of drawing back, advancing to the assistance of Rustum in regaining his feet! But perhaps it was a truer delicacy on his part to let Rustum show that he could get up without help!

By the way, this drawing back of Sohrab is the first change of position noted on the part of either combatant; or at least Rustum "hurled his spear," Sohrab "threw," Rustum "seized his club" and struck his "one stroke," all, so far as appears from the poem, without either one's moving either backward or forward, though Sohrab did twice spring "aside." Arnold's imagination was strangely unconcerned and inactive about all such details.

But Sohrab's smile was not a smile of amusement, as certainly it was not a smile of complaisance. It must have been a derisive smile. This is made clear by Sohrab's first words; they were taunting words, uttered when he "spoke and said":

"Thou strik'st too hard! That club of thine will float
Upon the summer floods and not my bones."

How derision, expressed whether in smile or in words, could be made to comport with courtesy, it would require Arnold himself to explain.

Enough now of this. "Too much, too much already, far too much," I hear some reader exclaim, who, admiring Arnold and perhaps loving him, has nevertheless, however impatiently, followed me thus far. "What good is to be looked for from such minute, microscopic, teasing, carping criticism? How much more satisfactory, how much more truly illuminating, would be a criticism that rises to a higher point of view, that takes a free, a large, a liberal range, interprets sympathetically, inspires to generous admiration! What poetry is there that could stand question on such a rack as that of this critic?" To which I reply: Any good poetry, any true poetry, could not only stand it, but come out proved all the better for the trial. Of course there is very little, if any, *perfect* poetry in the world, and, therefore, in the very best that we have some flaws could no doubt be found, should one search for them with adequately discerning eyes. But in all true poetry, the good would outweigh the bad, and, in the truest, the good would make the bad count for little, or even for almost nothing at all. No good poem could possibly yield to the most searching assay such a result as is left in our hands after a fair examination of "Sohrab and Rustum."

"But have you not picked out the most vulnerable part of the poem for the present examination?" My answer is, I do not think so; I certainly have not meant to; the whole poem is, I believe, fairly represented by the passage that we have examined. There is indeed one place of the narrative, and that the crisis of it, the hinge on which it turns, that is even more open to fair ridicule than is the place with which we have been engaged. If the levity, or, as Arnold would say in a case concerning himself, the "vivacity," to which I was overcomingly tempted in treating that place, exposes me to just rebuke, I may at least, in mitigation of blame, plead the example of Arnold himself dealing critically with authors whom he disapproved. A serious problem for the poet to solve in the execution of his task was how to bring about at length that mutual recognition between the two combatants which was necessary to the final tragic and pathetic effect aimed

at in the poem. It cannot be denied that this was a delicate and difficult thing to manage, but a more unhappy way of managing it than that hit upon by Arnold it would be hard to imagine. Rustum had made a great point of not being identified, or identifiable, as Rustum. He went to the combat with undistinguished armor, and he parried every attempt from Sohrab to make him acknowledge that he was indeed that redoubtable warrior. He would conquer by prowess and not by fame. But when Sohrab, after delivering two effective passes with his sword, at length stood suddenly helpless and weaponless, only the hilt of a blade that had been shattered with his last blow, remaining in his hand, then Rustum, with a fine chance offered him to be as magnanimous toward his antagonist as his antagonist had been toward him, so far from availing himself of that chance—well, what can it be supposed that Rustum would do? Let the poet tell:

> "Then Rustum raised his head; his dreadful eyes
> Glared, and he shook on high his menacing spear
> And [can it be believed?] shouted, 'Rustum!'"

Why he shouted "Rustum!" does not appear. It could hardly have been to reveal himself in his true identity, for to be unknown was a condition upon which he had insisted throughout—at least until now, and now there was less reason than before for making himself known; he had his antagonist helpless at his mercy. Was "Rustum!" his usual battle-cry? Then why had he not used it before, or, rather, since he had not used it before, why should he use it now? It seems idle to conjecture. It could not have been to strike terror to Sohrab's heart, and so render him an easier prey to his spear. He was prey easy enough already. It seems like a pure freak of pure savagery—that shout, "Rustum!" To the wisely thoughtful reader it has the effect of bathos as absolute as possible. To Sohrab it had a very different effect. It unnerved him, not with panic fear; not with a sudden conviction of the shout's meaning that this was Rustum, his father. No, for just after, with Rustum's spear deep in his side, Sohrab exclaims, "Unknown thou art." The young warrior was unnerved, he says, simply by the sound of the name, "Rustum," issuing from his antagonist's throat! This is the way in which he says it:

"Thou dost not slay me, proud and boastful man!
No, Rustum slays me and this filial heart."

Then the fatally wounded man becomes himself "boastful" and says:

"For, were I matched with ten such men as thee [thou]
And I were that which till to-day I was,
They should be lying here, I standing there,
But that beloved name unnerved my arm"—

The climax of Arnold's narrative is the climax of his mismanagement. But it is unnecessary to pursue farther the critical analysis of it.

It may be asked now: Granted that plot and narrative were out of Arnold's true line, yet is there not true poetry in the descriptions, and in the various similes interspersed through the text? A fair question; let us answer it fairly.

As an example of the similes that the poem contains, I quote:

"As when some hunter in the spring hath found
A breeding eagle sitting on her nest,
Upon the craggy isle of a hill-lake,
And pierced her with an arrow as she rose,
And followed her to find her where she fell
Far off; anon her mate comes winging back
From hunting, and a great way off descries
His huddling young left sole; at that, he checks
His pinion, and with short uneasy sweeps
Circles above his eyry, with loud screams
Chiding his mate back to her nest; but she
Lies dying, with the arrow in her side,
In some far stony gorge out of his ken,
A heap of fluttering feathers,—never more
Shall the lake glass her, flying over it;
Never the black and dripping precipices
Echo her stormy scream as she sails by,—
As that poor bird flies home, nor knows his loss,
So Rustum knew not his own loss, but stood
Over his dying son and knew him not."

"Is not that fine?" I am asked. There are fine things in it, I reply, but considered as a whole it is not fine; it is indeed far from fine; it is even sharply the very reverse of fine. "The black and dripping precipices," "her stormy scream," are fine descrip-

tive phrases; "a heap of fluttering feathers" is a phrase fine in a modified sense simply because it is effective. But now consider the passage as a whole. Its ostensible reason of existing in its place is to illustrate a situation in the narrative. Does it happily serve this illustrative purpose? Look attentively through the passage, and what points of resemblance do you discover between the circumstances of the one case and the circumstances of the other? Are there *any* points of resemblance, except that in each case there is a victim dying with a missile weapon infixed in the side? And yet this sole point of resemblance is neglected by the poet, when he comes to the turn of his simile, and the whole complex mechanism that he has constructed is employed to tell us that, as the male eagle does not know his mate is dying in a distant glen, so Rustum does not know that it is his son dying at his feet! Was there ever anything in poetry at once more ambitious and more nugatory?

I make no account of the broken syntax in this long sentence of Arnold's,—which those who will may regard as "noble negligence,"—but I feel that I must point out the extremely inartistic manner in which the poet contrives to divide and distract both the attention and the sympathy of the reader, and this, through the introduction of matters not at all pertinent to his own true purpose. First, there is a hunter introduced, who "hath found" a mother eagle "sitting on her nest" "and [hath] pierced her with an arrow as she rose [note the awkward sequence of the tense in "rose"] and [hath] followed her to find her where she fell far off"—which is the last of the "hunter." Next, the mother eagle's mate comes in for a share of the reader's attention. This mate "wings" back, and "a great way off" descries what again divides the reader's attention—namely, "his huddling young left sole." "His huddling young" seems to be a plural expression; could several eaglets huddling together be properly described as "sole"? But perhaps the poet's nice taste forbade him the alliteration of "left lone" or "left lorn." The male eagle is "a great way off" when he gets this view. What does he accordingly do? Why, "at that he checks his pinion"—was he flying with one pinion?—and by simply "*checking*" his pinion he, singularly enough, traverses the long intervening distance and arrives immediately at a point directly above the nest, and there "circles" about it, "with loud screams chiding his mate back to her nest"

—which is the last of him until, six lines later, he is for a moment returned to. Meantime, the reader is invited by the poet to consider the sad fate of the mother bird, pathetically presented through those six intervening lines. Finally, it comes out that, as the dying mother eagle's mate does not know that she is dying, so Rustum does not know who it is that is dying at his feet!

I have just now looked afresh through the poem, from beginning to end, with a view to considering carefully whether there were any good similes in it. I found a noticeably large number of similes, but among them all only one that strikes me as good, and that one is not, to my mind, more than passably good. Almost all of them are forced and unapt—some of them are remarkably so. Take this, for example; the poet is setting forth how glad the Persians were to see Rustum appear as their champion against Sohrab:

> "And dear as the wet diver to the eyes
> Of his pale wife who waits and weeps on shore,
> By sandy Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf,
> Plunging all day in the blue waves, at night,
> Having made up his tale of precious pearls,
> Rejoins her in their hut upon the sands,—
> So dear to the pale Persians Rustum came."

It is really extraordinary to see Arnold go so far and fetch so little. Probably he was so well pleased at having hit upon something that would seem to fit as happily harmonious in point of local color, that he neglected to see how what he had hit upon was recommended by nothing else than simply that. The professional diver's wife would not stay "pale," would not "wait and weep on shore," *habitually,* as it is implied that she would, while her husband was plying his vocation, "plunging all day in the blue waves." Curiously enough, according to the syntax of the passage, it is the "pale wife" that does the "plunging," as it is also the "pale wife" that "rejoins her"—"rejoins" having no other grammatical subject than "who" preceding, and that "who" meaning the wife. But, of course, we know what the poet means, although at the same time we know he does not say what he means.

Now, no longer delayed by faults of form, let us consider the substance of the simile. What are the resemblances that make it fit and felicitous? The wife is "pale," though we do not see

why she should be, and the Persians are "pale," though we do not see why they should be; indeed, the paleness of the Persians is even more an improbability than is the paleness of the woman. However, the two parties are somehow "pale," and that constitutes one resemblance; in the end, both parties are pleased, and that constitutes another resemblance. This latter resemblance is the only one made use of by the poet; the simile accordingly reduces itself to this: As one party is pleased, so is the other. The differences between the two, making the simile unfit, are very wide. In the first case, the party is one, and a woman; in the second case, the party is a numerous host, composed exclusively of men. In the first case, the relief experienced is relief from anxiety on behalf of another; in the second case, the relief experienced is relief from anxiety on the party's own behalf. In the first case, the element of personal affection plays an important part; in the second case, the element of personal affection cannot be supposed to enter at all.

Considering the other characters involved, we note that, in the first case, the party is a diver, who has been endangered, and who escapes "wet"; in the second case, the party is a warrior who has as yet certainly incurred no danger, and who comes forth supposably quite dry! It may, I think, justly be said that any example whatever of relief from anxiety, afforded by the opportune appearing of some one, would form as good a basis for a simile, appropriate to the occasion created here by the poem, as is the example invented by Arnold. In short, simile-making, the divining of similitudes, is decidedly not Arnold's strong point.

"At any rate," it may be said, "there is the famous concluding passage of the poem—you will concede that that is fine, will you not, more than fine, truly magnificent?" Alas, and alas, why should I, with question upon question such, be teased and tempted into exhibiting myself quite without critical mercy? Since challenged so, I must, I suppose, continue to be frank. Briefly and abruptly, then, to say the worst at once and have it over, I cannot admit this famous passage to be worthy of its fame. It has merit, but its merit is not that of high poetry, nor even of good literary art. What it essentially is must be set down as nothing better than a bit of fluvial geography couched in musical, and sometimes poetical, blank verse. I assume that the geography is accurate; I have not made an independent study of it, but ap-

parently the poet did this, and I shall not raise any question as to the trustworthiness of his result.

> "But the majestic river floated on,
> Out of the mist and hum of that low land"—

so Arnold starts his concluding strain, with evident purpose to have a pensively soothing contrast to the bloody scene that has just been enacted on the Oxus shore—by presenting to us the impassive river pursuing its course unmindful of the human tragedy it has witnessed. (I ought to explain that the "hum" in the case was "as of a great assembly loosed" [*sic*]—"for now both armies moved to camp and took their meal." A casual and temporary "hum" therefore it was, though Arnold mentions it here as if it affected the landscape like the "mist" by the operation of natural causes.) Simply exclaiming, "mist and *hum!*" —the combination!—"hum!"—and then remarking, as I pass, that rivers in general do not "float," and that doubtless the "majestic" Oxus was no exception to the rule, I point out that there were two different ways open to the choice of the poet in which to conceive and represent the flowing of the river in connection with his now concluded narrative. One way was, to conceive and represent it as it would appear observed by a person on the bank, say, a sympathetic bystander near the prostrate forms of the dead son and the mourning father. The other way was, to conceive and represent it as it would appear observed by a person floating down-stream on the bosom of the river to its mouth. The poet mistakenly chose the latter of these two ways. The effect is to detach the river at once from all relation to the narrative of the poem, and to engage the reader in a series of observations on the various fortunes that befall the stream on its way to the sea. In other words, that which alone could justify any such attention from the poet as he here bestows on the river—namely, its relation to his narrative, is quite forgotten by him, and the famous conclusion of "Sohrab and Rustum" becomes an unrelated mere geographical description, with no artistic right to its place where it stands—ostensibly *in* the poem, but really outside it, being not at all *of* it.

If, on the other hand, Arnold had chosen the way that he did not choose, of conceiving and representing the flowing of the river, one can easily imagine a perfectly legitimate, gently pathetic

effect produced by a meditative strain dwelling on the everlasting æonian lapse of the waters, forever and forever the same, unaffected by what might befall, whether of good or of ill, to humankind on the sandy shore which, with full current or slack, from season to season, they ceaselessly and impassively wash. But instead of being thus set to musing on eternity symbolized in the monotonous, unending, solemn flow of the great river and contrasted with the fragility and evanescence of human life and its subjection to all vicissitudes of chance and change, the reader is started off on a voyage down the length of the stream, with a personal conductor at his side poetically pointing out the features of the various channels into which the current divides itself and the aspects of the landscape through which it passes on its "foiled circuitous" wandering to the sea.

It is fair to note that in this passage, as it stands, there are fine touches, touches of a true poetic quality. "Under the solitary moon" is such a touch. So is "the hushed Chorasmian waste." "Bright speed" would be, but that it is hindered by the inharmonious context, "the bright speed he had in his high mountain cradle." "Speed" in a "cradle" seems not happy. That the adjective "bright" should occur three times in the passage may be set down to the acount of an Homeric carelessness about such repetitions; but the passage as a whole is very un-Homeric. Apropos of the adjective just named, I cannot refrain from admiring exceedingly a phrase that comes earlier in the poem, and has in it subtly something of both the brilliance attributed to the sea and the oscillating motion described;

> "As the vast tide
> Of the *bright rocking ocean* sets to shore
> At the full moon."

If the present paper were a review of Arnold's poetry, the examination that has here been made of his "Sohrab and Rustum" would, though far from complete, be disproportionately long. But the present paper is not such a review. It is simply a series of assays of the "Sohrab and Rustum" undertaken with a view to determining, so far as that single work might enable us to determine, the true merit and value of Arnold's poetic production as a whole. The promise of the title has accordingly been fulfilled.

W. C. WILKINSON.

FRANCE AND HER VANISHING POPULATION.

BY FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

PRESENT-DAY France is confronted by many political and administrative problems; but the problem overshadowing all these is that of her gradually diminishing birth-rate, for never in modern times have vital statistics conveyed a fact that should be more disquieting than the records of the last decade that prove indisputably this waning of population in a grand country.

And in ironical contrast does the science of statistics show that the nation which was once the foe, and is destined ever to be the rival, of France is increasing so positively in numbers that there may soon be two Germans to every Frenchman. To have the fact of racial decay published to the world must be a hundredfold more galling than loss of territory through even inglorious warfare, and the true significance of this monstrous curbing of nature's law is that the cruelest enemies of glorious France are to-day, as they have always been, her own sons and daughters.

Alas, proud France! She who has blazoned history with envied achievements in civilization and culture, and signal triumphs in science and art, is now the first in the family of nations to show a death-rate in excess of the number of births. Twenty years ago the average number of births per marriage was three; it is now scarcely two. And while the vigorous Teutonic blood has increased the German race until the Fatherland averages 256 souls to the square mile, the average for France is but 188.

Winging time has exploded no theory having better semblance of concrete law than that of Thomas Robert Malthus, whose essay a hundred years ago on the "Principles of Population" attracted the widest possible attention. This divine's insistence that the tendency of population to increase in a higher ratio than the means of subsistence—this is the Malthusian doctrine—meant the

general pauperism of the British Isles, if not the starvation of their people; but Malthus made the fatal blunder of not taking into consideration the ability of the British to levy upon the food-supply of the outside world in exchange for the products of their workshops and mines, which policy, when adopted, made the nation rich and powerful. What remained of the scholarly Englishman's theory is now hopelessly destroyed by the lessening birth-rate of France coincidently with the augmentation of the soil's productivity through scientific tillage and the employment of machinery.

Unpopular as it is for a Frenchman to herald national calamity, M. de Foville, President of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, has recently accentuated the gravity of his country's position in a style so plain that the Latin countries are discussing what students of international affairs have long known—that the French race is slowly but surely dying. For twenty years the birth-rate has been waning; two years ago it was on a parity with the death-rate, and last year it fell 20,000 behind. In a hundred years it has decreased from 32 per thousand to 19.7; and in the twentieth century the decline has followed this alarming pace: excess of births over deaths, 1902, 84,000; 1903, 73,000; 1904, 57,000; 1905, 37,000; 1906, 27,000. In 1907 zero was reached and passed, for there were 20,000 more deaths than births, as has been stated. The official returns are 794,000 and 774,000 under these respective heads. The word "depopulation," M. de Foville points out, is, therefore, no exaggeration. "Is it," he asks, with pardonable apprehension, "the beginning of the end?"

At this rate, the Gallic republic may soon be ripe for invasion, for this will be a danger frankly menacing a country which is capable of supporting 80,000,000 inhabitants, but which is content with less than half that number. In 1875, the population of Germany surpassed that of France by only 6,000,000; it now exceeds it by over 20,000,000. In another twenty years there may be two Germans for every Frenchman, without counting the subjects of the Kaiser swarming in Brazil, Argentina and the United States. M. de Foville has thus had the courage to tell his fellow countrymen that their nation is "marching with quickened step to its doom."

If there was no French immigration there would be a more decided census recession, but the Germans, Swiss, Italians and

Belgians, who for years have been flocking into France, rescue the totals from a more disquieting significance than they now have. Another generation of man-power in Germany, it can be plainly estimated, will have prodigious force, not alone giving her double the number of conscripts available to France, but a material force in commerce with which France cannot readily cope. "Then she will devour us," say French alarmists.

As almost any topic can be argued from varying standpoints, a few English economists pretend to doubt the general pessimism of those writing on the diminution of the French people, and are asking, "Is the example which France presents to be looked upon as a reach forward to a better dispensation, or as a sign of yielding in the fight for existence?" All countries, more or less, are discussing some aspect or other of the population question, as ancient a problem as mankind itself. But, while most people can regard the falling birth-rate of France only as a token of decay, it is curious to learn that some of the best philosophical thought of the day sees for the Frenchman of the future a person of better understanding, better fibre, better culture and better endowment in material things. And some of these economists are arguing that race suicide, in the sense of a deliberate limitation of population to the means of subsistence and to a definite standard of living, is not, when practised by a people instead of by a small and well-to-do class, to be construed as necessarily a sign of degeneration, but rather as the starting-point of a higher civilization.

But while academicians may upon these lines make out a very good case, France herself should be more disturbed than exalted by the success of her experiment. "More deliberately and completely than any other country she cuts her garment according to her cloth, she regulates her population by her resources and her well-worn social arrangements," is the comment of a foreign writer who seems to approve the French population policy.

Of all European nations she is perhaps the most placid, prosperous and provident, has been the most deeply civilized; and she is still all this, in her judgment, because the most strictly limited. No American and but few persons of Anglo-Saxon blood can probably be found who would endorse the principle of birth control, or who would, for reasons of property division, go to the inhuman length of approving of small families. The idea, happily, is wholly French.

Thrift, the essence and foundation of the current French character, is responsible for the controlled birth-rate. This is the only opinion that can be arrived at by the fair-minded investigator when he finds incorporated in the country's legal code the provision of forced equal testamentary division of property which is responsible for the contracting France. And this is but a roundabout way of saying "greed," and the greed that can only be spelled with a large G.

Moralists allege other reasons—laxity of the laws that control those following the vocation of *sage-femme,* whose advertisements fearlessly hint at criminal practices; and the ridiculous ease with which divorce is obtainable—it is a fact that there is a decided increase in the severance of matrimonial ties as the birth-rate decreases. Last year the courts of France granted nearly eleven thousand divorces, the highest number ever recorded.

Other apologists claim that the development of France as a manufacturing country draws the young of both sexes from agricultural districts to the cities and towns, where familiar intercourse and pernicious teachings, assisted by a base class of publications, corrupt thousands and divert them from marriage. The growing burden of taxation is only one of many other explanations, and in this connection it is pointed out that recent legislation has imposed increasingly harder conditions on the bread-winner with a family to support. The new income tax, for instance, makes no distinction between the bachelor and the married man with a numerous progeny.

Devout Catholics insist that the breach between Government and Church has been the controlling influence in lowering the birth-rate, for it used to be the teaching of pastor and curate that it was the sacred duty of every God-fearing husband and wife to bring into existence a family of goodly number. Others argue with equal effect that the love of luxury that has sprung up in recent years is making the men and women of France selfish to an inordinate degree, too selfish to share their time and substance with children.

All these explanations are trivial and secondary, for the actual reason is the racial thrift of the people—the same thrift which enabled the French to easily satisfy the German war indemnity which to other countries would have been of paralyzing weight, which makes their hoarded savings a fiscal fact having no national

counterpart, and which makes France the banker of Europe. And thrift of a certain kind is nothing but greed, surely.

Defenders of current French conditions insist that it is only natural that a prudent parent, whose competence has resulted from a long practice of economy, should prefer to leave one or two children comparatively well off rather than to have the family nest-egg apportioned among six or eight. The law preventing anything but a *pro rata* division, there can be no special provision for an elder son or an invalid, no material acknowledgment of primogeniture, or for a son or daughter of exceptional promise or sentimental attachment, it will be seen. And further, these oracles say that French law is but the concrete form of popular will, thereby giving support to the contention that the people want it as it now is. Anybody having intimate acquaintance with France well knows that it is as natural for Jacques and Marie to economize as to breathe, and that the controlling article of faith of the *bourgeois* class prescribes thrift, constantly and in every form. Thus, the American may readily perceive, the French law of bequest is a check as effective upon the birth-rate as the invention of Westinghouse is a check upon the speed of the railway train.

When obliged to divide his property equally among his children, and when he knows that the same restriction will be applied to their children when their turn comes, the citizen of France usually elects to have a limited family. The dowry system, again, operates in the same direction. Everywhere an additional child means additional expense; in France it means an extra dowry as well, and that is an added reason why the French have few children. So long as the present property law exists, and the dowry custom obtains, there can be no "solution" of French depopulation. France is manifestly deriving from her inheritance policy an immense diffusion of prosperity, and certain publicists are applauding the national policy, and boldly asserting that it is more than wise to promote greater equality in the distribution of wealth.

There is no other country in the world where the soil is so subdivided as it is in France. But it is a sad fact that of late years the rural districts have been deserted for the cities. Thoughtful politicians are now trying to form a plan for getting the population "back to the land." A few months since a measure passed

the Chamber giving rural laborers an opportunity to acquire on easy terms a plot of tillable land and a homestead. The plan is just going into operation, and its advocates insist that it will insure better provision for the evening of life than any old-age pension scheme. Any measure which will bring the people into a state of pastoral comfort is bound to help the birth-rate.

No urgent reason exists why the American woman who annually loads up with the wares of the Rue de la Paix should lose her head after reading about race decline in *La Belle France*. The people to whom the world turns for creations in frocks and hats and fluffy things, so irresistible to the fashionable woman with the portly pocketbook, is perennial; and the man too fastidious to wear any but made-to-order Doucet cravats can have his commands filled until the crack of doom, probably. It is safe to believe that there will always be French people to barter their taste and handiwork for the sound American dollar. And France will always be inhabited, surely, even in defiance of the croakings of economists and paraded dry-as-dust figures!

To a Christian people living in a free land, the judgment that French thrift is being carried to the point of inhumanity must surely obtain, and when the current page of French history is read it will be admitted that President Roosevelt's preachment against race suicide was not altogether idle talk.

One may *see* the falling off in the number of French children. For twenty years I have known the country fairly well, and in the past two summers I have traversed six or seven thousand miles of French roads, from frontier to frontier in almost every direction. The foremost observation of the motorist is naturally the peerless thoroughfares, but the secondary observation must be the infrequency with which children are seen on the road or in front of habitations. In provincial France, as in other European countries away from the centres of population, the highway is the natural playground of children of the peasant class. Roads in Italy and Germany bristle with juvenile life; but France is no sooner entered than a tremendous falling off is noticed. The observant traveller by automobile surely comprehends what is meant by the phrase "French depopulation"—he sees it. And in Germany, on the other hand, he must ever have in mind Bismarck's assertion that "she is the best mother who gives the Fatherland the greatest number of children," for he

will have constant evidence of the people's endorsement of the Great Chancellor's opinion.

It is the daughters of France who suffer most from a critical study of the nation's plight. The Frenchwoman must not be confounded with the "Parisienne" or with the rarefied types of femininity seen by the tourist in Paris restaurant or park—these exotics are wickedly wasteful. The truly representative and valued Frenchwoman is she of the great middle class, who is conscientious and industrious, neither frivolous nor impure, who dresses with taste upon half what her sisters of other lands spend, and who is her husband's helpmate as few women can be. But she is, in the very nature of things, mercenary and avaricious, and from economical motives has permitted herself to drift into an environment peopled only by the narrow-minded and self-centred. She knows little of the world beyond the limits of her own vision.

Yet this woman is nearly always a good wife, pious and prudent, but her thoughts seldom stray from her savings, and what she means to do for Louis, proposing to leave the Corps d'Afrique because he can never hope to win the cross of the Legion of Honor; or for *petite* Hortense, who, if the *dot* be large enough, may marry a young wine broker down Bordeaux way whose rich father can easily get the red ribbon for him in ten years. *Voilà!*

FREDERIC COURTLAND PENFIELD.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN.

By the terms of the Apostolic Constitution "*Sapienti consilio*" Pius X decreed that, on November 3rd, 1908, the United States should cease to be regarded as a missionary country and on that date should pass from the tutelage of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda to his own immediate supervision. The change is most important as affecting not only the membership of the great religious body over which he exercises his jurisdiction, but incidentally the whole community in which it occupies so influential a position. It is the purpose of this article to give a detailed description of the organization of the Catholic Church in the United States.

In these days of social unrest and threatened conflict between labor and capital, reference is often made by political economists to the reliance many place on the Catholic Church as an effective barrier against the menacing forces of anarchy and disorder. Ever a conservative influence on the side of constituted authority, with its wonderful and comprehensive detail, the Church reaches into every hamlet of the land, into every walk of life, warning her millions of adherents that they are bound in conscience to heed the moral law as she interprets it, and conform to the civil law as administered by its justly ordained officials, drawing strictly the line of ownership, and the duties, in their separate spheres, of employer and employee. On the human side, the democracy of the Church appeals forcefully to the American mind. To her priesthood, taken mainly from the ranks of the people, her highest offices are open, personal merit and capacity being the all-potent factors of promotion. The peasant-born Joseph Sarto,

placed on the throne of St. Peter by the ballots of his peers, is the latest notable instance of this.

"America has a good right to be called the eldest daughter of the Church; for, although she entered last among the nations, she has given proofs of her loyalty, devotion and tolerance," said Pius X addressing a band of Catholic pilgrims from various parts of the United States to whom he accorded a recent audience.

The statistics of the Catholic Church Officials for 1908 claim that there are now 23,452,426 members of the faith living under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. Of these 13,877,426 are in the United States; 7,058,699 in the Philippines; 1,578,862 in Cuba; 1,000,000 in Porto Rico and 32,000 in the Sandwich Islands. How few know of the workings, the constitution and the management of the vast executive machine by which this great section of the republic is directed in its religious thought and action.

In the United States, the Catholic community is now divided into fourteen provinces or archdioceses, with 78 suffragan sees or dioceses. In these there are a Cardinal, 15 Archbishops, 91 Bishops, 15,655 priests, 12,513 churches, 4,443 schools with 1,136,906 pupils; 268 colleges and 997 institutions sheltering 1,310,300 children. Each diocese is independent in itself, like the States of our Union. Each Bishop is as supreme in his own diocese as is the Governor of a State. The priests are of two kinds—8,408 diocesan or secular clerics and 4,105 members of the regular Orders. The diocesan priests, ordained as subjects of the several dioceses, are bound in obedience to the Bishop of that diocese and cannot leave it without his permission, nor would they be received elsewhere without an "*exeat*," the formal document which states that they are in good standing and had received the Bishop's sanction for withdrawal. These priests take the vows of obedience and celibacy only. The "regular" priests, or those belonging to the Orders, such as the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Redemptorists, Benedictines and the like, and living in community, take an additional vow of poverty. Individually, the latter do not own anything and are immediately subject to their superiors and not to the Bishop. They cannot locate in a diocese without the Bishop's permission; but once they are admitted he has no control over them individually or over their property. Of course, they must comply with the ordinary can-

onical regulations, but otherwise they are individually outside his jurisdiction.

The diocesan priests are subject to the Bishop's will and can be moved about as he sees fit. The only exceptions to this are the rectors of a certain number of parishes incumbency of which brings permanency of tenure. Removal from them can only be effected for grave offences and after due trial. These permanent or "irremovable" rectorships number about ten per cent. of the parishes in the diocese, and appointment to them is won in a competitive examination limited to those who have been ordained priests fifteen years, who have served five years as pastors, and who have shown special ability as executives, besides moral and sacerdotal zeal and worth. These permanent rectors have the right when the Bishop dies to vote for the three names that are sent to Rome as those of the candidates worthy to succeed to the office. The Bishops of the province also send a similar list of three names, which may be the same as, or different from, those decided on by the priests as they deem best. For the nomination of Bishops, the Pope is supreme and free in his choice. He may, if he considers it best, discard both the lists submitted by the priests and the Bishops and name an outside candidate of his own selection. This is done when local differences among the electors or general conditions indicate that the choice of a neutral stranger might be beneficial to the harmony, discipline and progress of the Church in the diocese in question; but due regard is usually paid to the nominations made by the local electors. The Archbishops are usually promoted from some suffragan or other see, and in their selection the Pope generally has the suggestion and counsel of the other members of the hierarchy, but is in no way bound to act on their opinions. He can send a Bishop from a foreign see to take charge if he wishes, as was done, for instance, in the case of Mgr. Persico, at Savannah, in 1870.

The official head of this body is not Cardinal Gibbons, as is commonly supposed. The ranking prelate of the Church in the United States is the Apostolic Delegate, His Excellency the Most Rev. Diomede Falconio, Titular Archbishop of Larissa. As the personal representative of the Pope, he takes precedence at all ecclesiastical functions. Cardinal Gibbons has no jurisdiction outside the limits of the archdiocese of Baltimore, which comprises only the counties of Maryland lying west of the Chesapeake Bay

and the District of Columbia, of which he is the Metropolitan. His office of Cardinal gives him no more episcopal authority than is enjoyed by any other member of the hierarchy in the United States, each Bishop being supreme within the limits of his own diocese. Baltimore, however, was the first see created in the United States, so its Archbishop, by request of the other prelates, and with the sanction of a special decree of the Pope, is given the right of presiding over the deliberations of the hierarchy when they are assembled together. Other than this, Cardinal Gibbons has no personal authority over any Catholic or ecclesiastic in the United States outside the limits of the archdiocese of Baltimore. In Rome, he would take his place in the College of Cardinals, which is, as it were, the Senate of the Church.

The autonomy of each diocese, like that of the States of the Union, is strictly defined. The Bishop of each is appointed directly by the Pope, and divides his jurisdiction therein with no one. He is responsible for its proper administration only to Rome. The Archbishops for some time have met in council once a year to discuss matters of Church policy, but their deliberations are advisory only. The Bishops of a province at times meet in a provincial council to legislate on local business. When all the hierarchy of the country assemble together, the assembly is called a Plenary Council, and the decrees thereat enacted, when considered and sanctioned at Rome, are promulgated for the government of the Church throughout the country. There have been three of these Plenary Councils held so far, the first in 1852, the second in 1866 and the third in 1879.

Once a Bishop is appointed to his see, he is ever after during his life a charge on the diocese, unless he voluntarily relinquishes his claims. Owing to the great increase of Catholics in the country, nearly all the Bishops have either coadjutors or auxiliary Bishops. The coadjutors are now appointed with the right of succession; the auxiliaries have not this right. Neither have any jurisdiction in a diocese except what the Bishop in charge may assign them. These assistant prelates take their titles from some of the extinct sees in the Far East. When, a little more than a hundred years ago, the foundation of the first Catholic Cathedral in the United States was laid in Baltimore, there were only one Bishop, 50 priests and about 100,000 Catholics in the whole country.

In dividing up the country, the Church does not follow the civic or political boundaries, though in creating the fourteen provinces and their 78 suffragan sees some care is taken to try and have them conform, as far as convenient, to the restrictions of State lines. The dioceses are subdivided into deaneries, and these into the separate parishes and missions. The pastors are appointed by the Bishops. The laity have no participation whatever in their selection. The salaries of the priests are paid by each parish. The pastor gets, in New York, $800 a year, with a house and his board. There is no increase in this amount, no matter how long he serves, and it is the same for St. Patrick's great Cathedral and for the humblest country parish. In other dioceses, the salaries range about the same. In some few, the pastors get $1,000 a year, but never any more.

Where the parishes are large the pastor is allowed a number of assistants in accordance with the needs of the people. During the first three years after ordination, these assistants receive a salary of $500 a year, and then $600 with board until they become pastors. The offerings made by the people at baptisms, weddings, etc., go into a common fund used to support the parish rectory and are not the personal perquisites of the officiating clergyman. Each parish is a unit, and the rector of one cannot officiate in another without the permission of the priest in charge. The laity must also attend and support the church of the parish within whose limits they reside if they expect the ministrations of its priests. They cannot go about at will.

The Bishop's salary is paid by what is called "the *Cathedraticum*"—that is, a tax laid on each parish according to its numerical or financial standing. In New York, this ranges from $200 a year, paid by the great city parishes, to a nominal sum from the poorer ones. It might be inferred from this that the income of the prelate of a large see—like New York, for instance—was an imposing sum. What the Archbishop of such a see thus receives is almost immediately paid out again. His household is an expensive item, with a constant succession of distinguished visiting prelates. He must travel much about the diocese, and he is ever the dispenser of help to many poor and needy parishes which look to him for aid. No American prelate would be considered a man of any fortune, and none of them so far has ever left any but a nominal estate.

Cardinal Manning used to say that the true priest dies without money and without debts, and, as a general rule, priests and prelates aim at this standard, although they are not bound by any vow of poverty, except in the case of priests belonging to the regular Orders. When a Bishop is appointed to a see, he makes an official and duplicate will, by the terms of which the property he may die seized of is passed on to two of his associate Bishops in trust for the diocese. Parish property in New York, and generally also elsewhere, is vested in a corporation made up of the Bishop, the Vicar-General, the pastor and two laymen. The pastor, of course, directs the affairs, but he cannot make any large expenditures or engage in any operations of importance without the sanction of the Bishop and the diocesan council. A pastor may be moved about, except in the case of the "missionary" or permanent rectors, at the will of the Bishop. If the pastor, however, feels that an injustice has been done him, he can appeal from the Bishop to the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, and through him to Rome, and the cases are not unknown where the priest has won, though Rome is usually very slow to decide against episcopal authority.

The officials assisting a Bishop in the administration of diocesan affairs are the Vicar-General, who acts for the Bishop in all except the essentially episcopal attributes; the Chancellor, who looks after the records and issues the dispensations; the six Consultors, three of whom are named by the Bishop and three by the priests themselves; the School Board; the Examiners of the Clergy, the Theological Censors, the Diocesan Attorney, the Defender of the Marriage Bond, who has charge of all disputed matrimonial cases; and the Rural Deans, who are pastors in country districts charged with the supervision in minor details of several neighboring parishes.

Candidates for the priesthood must have been born in lawful wedlock and must follow a six years' theological and philosophical course in a seminary after making the ordinary classical studies of a collegiate education. A priest must be twenty-four years old before he can be ordained, and a Bishop thirty years at his consecration. At his ordination a priest takes a vow of celibacy and the one of obedience to the Bishop in whose diocese he locates. The diocese is bound to support him as long as he lives in it and is in good standing. If he has no parish charge he is supported

out of a fund made up of contributions of $10 a year from each parish. Recent immigration has brought here about 300,000 Ruthenian Catholics of the Greek Rite. Among these some of the priests are married, this custom being tolerated among the Orientals but not among the Latins. They recognize the Pope as the head of their Church and are subject to the Bishops in whose dioceses they reside. No Catholic, however, may pass from one Rite to another without special permission from Rome, and only the gravest necessity makes it lawful for a priest of one Rite to administer the sacraments to a person of another Rite. A Bishop who resides in Philadelphia has recently been appointed by the Pope to look after their special interests. Two other Bishops care for the Poles, Huns and other Slavs.

The expenses of the ecclesiastical students at the seminaries are defrayed by the diocese, each parish sending to the fund for this purpose the proceeds of a collection made annually. Priests in the street wear the distinctive dress of their calling. They cannot go, according to diocesan rules, to races nor to the theatre. A priest cannot sue in a court concerning a temporal affair until it is impossible to settle the matter otherwise. If he brings matters of Church discipline into a civil court, he incurs a special excommunication. In the house ecclesiastics wear a long garment reaching to the ground called a cassock. For priests it is black; for Bishops and the Monsignori it is purple; for Cardinals red, and for the Pope white. The three-cornered cap worn by the clergy, the biretta, matches the cassock in color.

Priests who live in community and follow a special rule of life are called "regulars" and belong to the various Orders. Each of these Orders is separate in itself, and has different purposes and rules for its members, as well as a different dress or habit. These ecclesiastics take a vow of poverty as well as that of chastity and obedience. All their goods are owned in common. The Jesuits, contrary to the commonly accepted idea, based on the stage and fiction variety of the Order, cannot accept any ecclesiastical honors or preferment. If they do, they at once cease to be members of the Order. The "Jesuit in disguise" living in the world, and the layman Jesuit, are other fictions; and there never was, and never could be, such a thing as a female Jesuit.

Members of the other Orders, however, can take ecclesiastical

dignities without ceasing to be members of these bodies. Bishops who belong to any of these Orders, when promoted, wear cassocks that are the color of the habit or distinctive dress of the community. It is for this reason that Mgr. Falconio, the Apostolic Delegate, who is a Franciscan, wears gray silk in place of the purple of his rank as Archbishop. Some of the Orders are given charge of parishes by the Bishops. In this connection they are subject to him in what relates to purely parochial matters. The headquarters of most of the great Orders is in Rome, where the Father-General and his executive staff reside. The growing influence of the Church in the United States is shown by the fact that several of these high officials have come from this side of the Atlantic, and among the lieutenants of all are men selected for their knowledge of customs and conditions here. Father Martin, the recently deceased General of the Jesuits, was the first to have an American among the five "Assistants" who govern the Order. This official was Father Rudolph J. Meyer, a native of St. Louis, and he was the director of the English-speaking Jesuits of the whole world.

There are now forty-three Orders of men and one hundred and nine communities of women bound by the vows of regular religious life living in the United States. Of the communities of men, ten are communities of what are usually called "Brothers." They are not priests in Holy Orders and do not seek ordination, but live in community under the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Their usual occupation is teaching in the schools. Their membership is about 5,000.

In the regular Orders, there are besides the priests also Brothers who are not ordained, but live in the community under its rule. They do the manual work of the house as their special avocation, while following the spiritual life also.

The communities of women, the nuns or Sisters, have a membership of about 50,000 and aid the clergy in the schools and charitable institutions. Each of their associations is distinct in itself and has no affiliation or relation to any other. Some are strictly cloistered and never leave the convent enclosure, nor mingle with the outside world, and lead a life of prayer and contemplation. The majority, however, do not observe such strict rules, and in their duties as teachers and nurses have a more active participation in the life around them. Each community

governs itself and elects its own officers under the supervision of the Bishop of the diocese and a chaplain or director appointed by him. He has no direct control, however, over the individual members, who, as among the men, are subject immediately to their own superiors. Each Order has what is called a "Cardinal Protector" at Rome, who acts as a sort of attorney for it in looking out for its interests before the ecclesiastical courts or elsewhere. These Sisters and nuns take no part in ecclesiastical ceremonies. The rule of the Church is very strict against women assuming any ministerial functions in the liturgical ceremonies. In this connection the enforcement by the present Pope of the canons excluding women from church choirs will be remembered. Female priests or preachers are absolutely impossible in the Catholic view. The different dresses or habits which the Sisters assume are a mere matter of taste on the part of the founders of each Order, who in this wish to take on the badge of humility and disregard of worldly vanities.

There is no "Church member," as the term is understood among Protestant denominations, recognized in the Catholic body. The Church claims in its full membership every baptized soul of every age and condition of life. The laity have many pious sodalities or confraternities, branches of which exist in every parish, and at least twenty national organizations, growing in numbers and efficiency every year, all working for the spiritual, intellectual, moral and social benefit of their own members and of the country at large. No layman, however, is authorized to assume sacerdotal prerogatives in Church ministrations. The law that restricts ministerial function to the recipients of Holy Orders is rigidly enforced and obeyed. The great charity organization is the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which dispenses thousands to the needy poor without the drawback of a big salary list. The members contribute their services free and many of the ideas of their system have been adopted by the experts in the modern machinery of organized charity and trained philanthropy. A National Federation of Catholic Societies has recently been organized which is intended to make their concrete influence available for the promotion and protection of Catholic interests. The private schools and charitable institutions which Catholics support with such favorable results are object-lessons in civic economy. It is not true that Catholics are opposed to the public-school system

as such. Their contention is that an education divorced from religious teaching is not complete or adequate. Therefore, as this essential is lacking in the school system supplied by the state, they feel bound in conscience to provide one of their own in which religion will find its proper place. Their hope is that in time their fellow citizens will, in justice, allow them out of the public taxes levied for educational expenses such proportion for results as their free schools show and as is the custom in Germany and elsewhere. No priest can publish a book touching on faith or morals and have it regarded as orthodox unless it bears the official sanction of his Bishop. No member of a religious Order can publish a work without the approval of his superior.

Nearly one-half of the great army of immigrants arriving in our ports every week are Catholics; hence, for them and those who have preceded them, has come the necessity of organizing parishes on racial lines which, wherever possible, are placed in charge of priests of the people's own nationality. Italian is now one of the regular studies in most of the seminaries, and a special training-school for Italian priests for the American missions has been organized in Italy. Similar effort is being undertaken for the Poles and Slavs. Experience with the Germans indicates that racial parish lines hardly survive the second generation, so certain is the assimilation of the foreign element into the general body politic.

All Catholic cemeteries are owned by the Church. Plots in them are not sold outright. Merely the privilege of sepulture, which is revokable at the will of the authorities, is given for the fees paid. This money, after the necessary expenses of the cemetery are met, must be spent for charitable or religious purposes. Cemeteries cannot be managed as profit-making corporations. Denial of burial within consecrated ground is regarded as one of the severest penalties the Church has enacted for recalcitrant members.

In the losses which the Church has sustained in the United States in the past century, a considerable proportion is due to mixed marriages. The Church gives reluctant consent to such unions and strips the ceremony of every detail of dignity. It cannot be performed in a church, and the priest officiating cannot impart the usual wedding blessing of the ritual, or wear any of the sacred vestments with which he is clothed when both

parties are Catholics. He merely stands as the official witness to the formal contract of matrimony entered into by the two parties interested. A dispensation for the marriage must also be secured from the Bishop, acting as the representative of the Pope, and before this is granted the non-Catholic must sign a written stipulation that there shall be no interference with the religious practices of the Catholic party, and that all children born of the union shall be brought up Catholics. The Catholic position against divorce for any cause is too well known to need more than a reference. No priest will marry people who are strangers to him; nor a couple from another parish without notice to their pastor. Banns must be called in church three times before the ceremony, unless a dispensation is secured from the Chancellor of the diocese acting for the Bishop. The ceremony is hedged about with many regulations that must be complied with to make it canonical.

On all sides it is apparent that much of the prejudice, mistrust and apprehension that once marked the attitude of many of their fellow citizens towards Catholics and their Church has given way to appreciation of its position, confidence in its loyalty and a sincere desire on the part of every intelligent American that all its force should be used as a spiritual leaven in the community against all that is sham in ethics, dangerous in philosophy and subversive in political economy.

THOMAS F. MEEHAN.

ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE.

BY EMMET O'NEAL.

THE division of the legislative department into two separate and independent branches was so strongly recommended by the teachings of political history and the unequivocal language of experience, that it obtained the general approval of the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. From the earliest records of time, from the history of every government, the great political truth had been deduced that a single legislative assembly had always encroached upon constitutional rights, had always gradually absorbed all power, and had uniformly terminated its career in a legislative oligarchy, which united in itself all the extremes of bad government.

Yet, although there was no division of sentiment as to the necessity of two chambers, in the organization of the Senate the widest and apparently most irreconcilable conflict of sections, interests and opinions was developed. The small States were unwilling to consent to a Senate which gave greater representation and a preponderating influence to the large States. So bitter was the struggle that it seemed probable at one time that the Convention would adjourn without completing its labors. It was at this critical period in its history that Franklin offered his celebrated motion that the deliberations of the Convention be opened with prayer; and the agreement which was so soon afterwards reached on questions which had provoked the widest differences of opinion gave basis for the claim, made by some, that divine guidance was evident in the subsequent deliberations of the Convention.

Certain it is that the local jealousies, the struggle of interests, the conflict of sections and the selfish and intolerant feeling

which had so often been manifested gave place to a spirit of conciliation and compromise, and a broader and deeper national sentiment which speedily composed faction and secured united action.

The Senate of the United States has been termed the masterpiece of the Convention. Its creation was not the result of previously formed plans. Emerging from the deliberations of the Convention as the result of compromises made between sovereign and independent States, vested with both legislative and executive functions, its formation was less the result of theory than, in the language of its framers, "of a spirit of amity and of mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of the situation of the United States rendered indispensable."

Three schemes presented themselves to the Convention as to the mode of appointment of Senators; one was by the legislature of each State; another was by the people thereof; and a third was by the other branch of the National Legislature, either directly or out of a secret nomination. The last scheme met with no support, nine States voting against it and one being divided. The second scheme, of an election by the people, met with as little favor. The first scheme, that of an election by the legislature of each State, prevailed by a unanimous vote.

Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," said:

> "The method of choosing the Senate by indirect election has excited the admiration of foreign critics, who have found in it a sole and sufficient cause of the excellence of the Senate as a legislative and executive authority."

Such also, until of late years, seems to have been the American opinion; but careful observers of political tendencies cannot have failed to notice that, for the past decade or more, a movement towards more direct action by the people, acting in their primary capacity in matters of legislation as well as the selection of public officials, has made itself manifest. Although the Senate has made itself eminent and respected, and has maintained an intellectual supremacy over the other co-ordinate branch of the legislative department; although it has fulfilled the ardent hopes and verified the profound wisdom of its creators by its ability to check what has been termed the "democratic recklessness" of the House on the one hand, and the tendency to Executive usur-

pation on the other; has performed all its functions with marked ability, patriotism and efficiency; and has drawn into its ranks the most distinguished men who have entered public life, yet in recent years a powerful movement has been growing to destroy the very feature which, in the judgment of all former students and critics, has been the chief cause of its excellence—*the indirect election of its members.*

The steady growth and increasing strength of this movement is one of the most significant manifestations of modern political tendencies. The truth of this observation was forcibly illustrated a few years ago, when the House of Representatives, without debate, passed a resolution to submit to the States an Amendment making Senators elective by direct vote of the people.

Is the growth in popular favor of this method of electing Senators due to a loss of faith in the wisdom of the Constitution-makers and to an honest conviction that it would elevate the tone of the Senate and increase its efficiency and usefulness? Or is it but a manifestation of the advance of that spirit which, pretending to be democratic, would ignore the checks and balances of the Constitution, and subject every department of the Government to direct popular control? Have the lurid headlines of yellow journalism as to the treason of the Senate—the irresponsible utterances of those whose sorry rôle is to pander to the morbid appetite for the sensational—so affected the public mind that the American people are ready to welcome any change, however radical?

Does the support which has been given to the suggestion of a method of electing Senators which would essentially change the character of the Senate as conceived by the framers of the Constitution, indicate a popular endorsement of the charges which have been made, that the Senate had from its formation failed to meet the just expectations of the people, that it had of recent years become the citadel of corporate power and of "predatory wealth," and that the State legislatures had proven themselves unfit to remain longer the depositories of the power vested in them by the Constitution?

Whatever may be the causes that have conspired to create this dissatisfaction with the method of electing Senators provided by the Constitution, it is clear that the advocates of the proposed change have become so arrogant and intolerant, that he who would

challenge its wisdom or combat the arguments offered in its support incurs the risk of being classed as a traitor to the interests of the people, and denounced as the paid and selfish advocate of corporate greed.

Yet, if the proposed change of the Constitution is not supported by reason and justified by experience, if it would weaken our institutions, if the success of its advocacy has so far been due to selfish mandates of political expediency and is but the manifestation of popular unrest, if it has enjoyed temporary favor because its opponents have been seduced into a credulous silence and its advocates have been afraid to submit for public review the arguments in its favor, instead of deserving censure, he who exposes the folly of this change and the fatal consequences which would ensue from its success would be entitled to the thanks of all who desire to see our free institutions preserved unimpaired from the assaults of fanaticism and error.

While the opponents of this change may console themselves with the reflection that it has little prospect of being incorporated into a Constitutional Amendment, on account of the inherent and almost insurmountable difficulties which confront those who seek to amend our fundamental law, it must not be overlooked that this demand for the election of Senators by a direct vote of the people has become so powerful in many States as to practically nullify the provisions of the Constitution. By indirect methods, by party conventions and caucuses, and by the system of primary elections which prevails in many States, United States Senators are now in increasing numbers selected by direct vote of the people, and, even where the primary election system is not found, it is seldom that anything but a reduced freedom of choice remains in the State legislature.

A forcible illustration of this tendency may be found in the action of the Democratic party in Alabama. In 1906, the State Democratic Executive Committee ordered a primary election for the nomination of two United States Senators. At the same primary, they provided that two alternates, termed in common parlance "Senators-in-waiting," or "Senatorial pall-bearers," should be nominated by the popular vote; these alternates to be appointed by the Governor to fill any vacancy that might occur by reason of the death or resignation or other disability of the two Senators to be nominated and subsequently elected.

To make effective this unique and gruesome plan, the Committee required that the candidates for the nomination of Governor to be selected by the same primary should sign a written pledge to appoint to the first vacancy that might occur the alternate receiving the highest vote, and to the second vacancy the alternate with the next highest vote. In the event of the candidates for Governor declining to abdicate their Constitutional power, and sign the pledge, their names were to be omitted from the ticket to be voted at the primary, which under the law governing primaries in Alabama the State Committee alone had power to print and circulate. This arbitrary rule left the candidates for Governor no alternative but to sign the pledge or retire from the contest or bolt the party.

Another singular provision of the plan was that, while the candidates for Senator were required to receive the votes of a majority of the counties in the State, the alternates could be nominated by a bare plurality of the popular vote.

This plan is entitled to the distinction of being the first instance in the political history of the country where the Chief Executive of a State was coerced, by the arbitrary rules of a party committee, to abdicate one of the most important functions of his great office. He was forced in advance of his nomination to surrender a power vested alone in him by the Constitution of the United States. A more perfect system of party tyranny could not well be conceived.

By its repudiation of the Constitutional method of electing United States Senators, this plan not only manifested a mistrust of the legislature, but, what was more remarkable and significant, it evinced an utter want of confidence in the capacity of the Governor of the State to exercise wisely and properly a grave and important Constitutional duty.

It is evident, therefore, that the dominant political party in Alabama, not content to await the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment, has already proceeded, by its system of primary elections and party rules, to withdraw both from the legislature and the Chief Executive of the State, their Constitutional power to elect and appoint United States Senators. Not only Alabama, but a number of other States, in obedience to party policy or party demand, have abrogated the scheme of indirect election of Senators provided by the Constitution.

In order, however, to reach correct conclusions on this important question, it is necessary to examine briefly the origin of this demand for a change in our fundamental law, and the causes which have created it.

The demand for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people was first voiced in the platform of the National or People's party, in 1884. This platform demanded the reduction of the term of Senators by one-half and their election by a direct vote of the people. The same plank appeared in the subsequent platforms of the People's, or as it was afterwards called the Populist, party.

It was not till 1900 that the Democratic party, which in the contest in 1896 had practically absorbed the Populist party, yielded to the same demand and adopted the following plank in what was known as the Kansas City platform: "We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people."

In view of these facts, no one can in fairness deny that the Populist party was the pioneer in this movement, or in justice withhold from it the meed of praise to which it is entitled for first discovering that the framers of the Constitution made a serious error in committing the election of Senators to the legislatures of the States.

The Populist party was composed of an amalgamation of the Greenback, Socialist and other political organizations. While its membership was largely composed of sincere and earnest men, its theories challenged every principle of sound economics and repudiated the fundamental doctrines on which our institutions were based. It believed that the United States was a government based on population, that numbers were its only element and a numerical majority its only controlling power. Hence, it believed that that system of government which obeyed the voice of the numerical majority was the wisest and best—an absolute democracy, without check or Constitutional limitation. This is conclusively shown by the policies advocated—"the initiative and referendum," the sub-Treasury, election of Senators, President, Vice-President and the Federal judges by direct vote of the people. A centralized and consolidated government, paternal in its character and socialistic in its doctrines, was the Populistic conception of the highest type of popular institutions. The

checks and balances which the Constitution had so carefully and wisely provided were to the Populist "a foolishness and a stumbling-block."

The Populist and other similar political organizations boldly denounced representative government. They did not hesitate to proclaim that experience for over a hundred years had shown that our system of vesting the entire law-making power in representatives had in its practical operation disfranchised the people; that from it had sprung all the abuses and corruption of government, and that the only remedy was to abolish the representative system by securing through the "initiative and referendum" the submission and adoption of all laws and public measures by direct vote of the people. Direct action by the people in all departments of the Government was the remedy they offered for all existing evils. The overthrow of the Constitutional method of electing Senators was but one step in this propaganda of reform. Their ultimate aim was the complete subversion of our whole system of representative government.

The practical absorption by the Democratic of the Populist party, in 1896, to a very considerable extent changed the character of both, creating a new party, which, while retaining the Democratic name, gave the stamp of Democratic approval to many of the doctrines and theories of the Populist organization. Yet, while many of the false and pernicious theories of Populism found lodgment in Democratic thought and expression in Democratic platforms, that great party is still true to its fundamental principles. If, "in moments of error and alarm," it has wandered from them, it is confidently believed that it will under the influence of an aroused Democratic conscience yet retrace its steps and "regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

But the question whether such a change is desirable can best be answered by a brief examination of the aims for which the Senate was created and the purposes it was designed to accomplish. These have been answered by James Madison, one of the greatest of the Constitution-makers, and may be summarized as follows:

1. The qualifications proposed for a Senator, as distinguished from a Representative, consist in a more advanced age and a longer period of citizenship. Their appointment by the State

legislature is recommended by the double advantage of favoring a select appointment, and of giving to the State governments such an agency in the formation of the Federal Government as most secures the authority of the former, forming a convenient link between the two systems.

2. Equality of representation in the Senate, the result of a compromise between the opposite pretensions of the large and small States. This being a compound republic, partaking both of the national and federal character, the government ought to be founded on a mixture of the principles of proportional and equal representation. This equality of representation was a Constitutional recognition of that portion of sovereignty remaining in the individual States, and an instrument for preserving that residuary sovereignty. Another advantage accruing from this ingredient of the Senate is the additional impediment it furnishes against improper acts of legislation. No law can be passed without a concurrence both of a majority of the people and a majority of the States. Excess of law-making is one of the diseases to which republics are most liable.

3. The Senate doubles the security of the people by requiring the concurrence of two distinct bodies in any schemes of usurpation and perfidy. The necessity of such a safeguard is indicated by the propensity of all single and numerous assemblies to yield to the impulses of sudden and violent passion, and to be led by factious leaders into intemperate and pernicious legislation. To correct this infirmity in legislation, the Senate is made less numerous than the House, and by its mode of selection and its longer tenure of office more independent. It secures a body of men who possess a more profound acquaintance with the objects and principles of legislation and government than can be expected of the other House, composed of men called from private pursuits, and generally continued in office for a short time, and led by no permanent motive to devote the intervals of public occupation to a study of the laws, the affairs and the comprehensive interests of their countrymen.

4. Such a body as the Senate prevents too great a mutability in the public councils which might arise from a rapid succession of new members. Practically one-half of the Representatives are changed at every election, and from this change of men must proceed a change of measures.

5. The Senate creates a select body of men with a due sense of national character. While it undergoes an unceasing process of gradual renewal, it does not change all at once, and is, therefore, a stable and permanent body and obtains the respect of foreign governments by maintaining an enlightened, wise and continuous policy, not subject to constant change. Being less numerous and changeable than the House, it results that a sensible degree of the praise and blame of public measures is the portion of each individual Senator. Invested with a durable public trust, they are more considerate of the effect of their measures as viewed by foreign nations and by the States of the Union, than would be a more numerous and changeable body, with a shorter tenure and selected directly by the people.

6. The Senate creates an additional body in the legislative department with sufficient permanency to provide such measures as require continued attention. It creates an institution which is necessary as a defence to the people against their own temporary errors and delusions.

All these objects which Mr. Madison has so forcibly outlined, the Senate has more or less perfectly attained. For over a century its membership has enrolled most of the illustrious names in American history. It has not, as Hamilton feared, lost its Constitutional authority by reason of the greater force and power of the immediate representatives of the people, but, on the contrary, has won the public confidence by its sustained intellectual supremacy, its patriotism and devotion to the public interests.

Unlike the House, it has preserved the freedom of debate and amendment, and has not surrendered its powers to the autocratic rule of its presiding officer. It has furnished a salutary and efficient check against hasty, rash and reckless legislation, has guarded the residuary rights of the States and curbed Executive usurpation. In all free governments, the cool, deliberate, mature judgment of the people will and should ultimately prevail. But there are periods in public affairs when, influenced by the misrepresentations or delusions of ignorant and misguided men, misled by false and pernicious theories, or yielding to some prejudice or passion, or lured from the paths of justice and rectitude by some popular impulse, "the people may call for measures which they themselves will afterwards be the most ready to lament and condemn."

In such critical moments, says Mr. Madison, how salutary will be the influence of such a body of men as compose the Senate, to check the misguided career of public opinion, "and to suspend the blow meditated by the people against themselves, until reason, justice and truth can regain their authority over the public mind."

The lessons of history warned the framers of the Constitution against the danger and folly of entrusting the legislative power to a single assembly. To maintain the real balance intended by the Constitution, some check had to be provided, and hence they formed the Senate, a co-ordinate branch of equal authority but different organization, possessing an independent negative upon the doings of the House. It is difference in organization, the indirect election of its members, which is in fact the Senate's most distinguishing feature, upon which largely depends the check on the action of the other House it was designed to accomplish. Removed one degree from the people by the method of selection, the members of the Senate are less liable to be swayed by sudden and temporary gusts of passion and excitement, and are more independent because the legislatures by which they are elected have ordinarily ceased to exist when their successors are chosen. Yet if the terms of office, the qualifications and the method of their election were similar to those of the House, it is evident that the check against all the evils of sudden and strong excitement, rash or dangerous legislation, which the framers of the Constitution designed to secure, would be either lessened or destroyed.

Since the adoption of the Constitution, fifteen Amendments have been made to that instrument. All these Amendments were limitations on the power of the majority, "restraints on the people's will, to protect the people's rights."

The proposed change is the very first serious effort ever made to alter the very framework of the Constitution, to break down the barriers which distinguish the Senate from the House, and to create two legislative chambers whose only practical difference will be in the tenure of the members. The principal argument offered in support of this change is that it will make the Senate more responsive to the popular will.

If this is the purpose to be accomplished, it would logically follow that the other demand of the Populist platform, that the

terms of Senators be reduced one-half, is equally entitled to support. The shorter the terms, the more frequent would be the elections, and hence the stronger would be the effect of public opinion. Elected directly by the people every two or three years, the Senate would quickly respond to every breeze of popular opinion—the madness, folly or passion of the hour; it would no longer check or correct hasty or inconsiderate legislation by the House; it would no longer secure that calm deliberation and consideration of every public measure so necessary to wise and just government. The Senate would act as the House acts; it would be led by the same common influences of ambition, of intrigue or passion, to the same disregard of the public interests, the same indifference to and prostration of private rights. Having secured a Constitutional Amendment reducing the tenure of office and making Senators elective by direct popular vote, the next step in the propaganda of reform would logically be the introduction and adoption of the system of "initiative and referendum." All legislation being initiated by the people, the only remaining function of the Congress would be the reference of practically all matters of legislation back to the people for their approval or rejection at the polls. The reign of Populism and the utter prostration of representative government would be complete.

Mr. Calhoun, whose profound knowledge of the true theories of government no one can deny, said:

> "It may be said that the very *beau ideal* of a perfect government is the government of the majority acting through a representative body, without check or limitation on its powers; yet, if we may test this theory by reason and experience, we shall find that, so far from being perfect, the necessary tendency of all governments based upon the will of an absolute majority, without constitutional check or limitation of power, is to faction, corruption, anarchy and despotism; and this whether the will of the majority be expressed directly through an assembly of the people themselves or by their representatives."

It has been said that the framers of the Constitution, by providing for the selection of United States Senators by the legislatures of the States, showed a mistrust of the people. If mistrust of the people means that they were opposed to a government based simply on the rule of the majority, without Constitutional check or limitation of power, such as the pure democracies of

the Grecian states, the charge is true. The men who framed the Constitution of the United States had a genius for constitution-making, such as has been possessed by no other age of the world. They were profound students of history, ancient and modern. They were free from party bias, passion and prejudice. They had accomplished successfully a great revolution against the greatest military and naval power of the age. They were of English stock, but bred under new conditions; they had inherited as their birthright a love of liberty and a hatred of oppression. History had taught them that no government which was based on the absolute rule of the numerical majority, without Constitutional limitations on power, whether the action of that government was expressed by the people acting *en masse* or by representation, had ever lasted a single generation. They were laying the foundations of a government to endure for all time, a government of laws, and not of men. It has been truly said that no body of men ever gathered together in history had a sublimer trust in the wisdom and the eternal capacity of the people for self-government. "It was the immediate action of the people they deprecated. It was final and absolute self-control and self-government which they ordained and secured."

But it is seriously claimed that the legislatures of the States are too often composed of men without experience and training, with little knowledge of national affairs, and therefore incompetent to make wise selections—too often swayed by the arts of the demagogue—obeying the behests of party bosses and machine politicians, dominated by corporate power or the selfish greed of special interests, often corrupt and therefore unfit to exercise so important a function as the selection of a United States Senator.

If this indictment were true, it would be a confession that the people were incapable of self-government. The members of the legislatures of the different States are the agents and direct representatives of the people, and if it be true that as a whole they are incompetent, unworthy and corrupt, it would follow that the masses of the people from whom they spring, and from whom they are selected, were also either corrupt or criminally indifferent to their interests and liberties.

It is not true that the men who represent the sovereignty of the States, who make the laws that protect us in our lives and

property and most sacred interests, who collect and disburse our taxes, and frame our civil and criminal laws, are corrupt and unworthy. There may be isolated cases where members of the legislature have betrayed the interests of the people, but the great mass of the legislatures of the forty-six States of the Union have been the picked and chosen men of the communities from which they come, and have been "honest, wise, faithful and just." The statute-books of these forty-six commonwealths are without a stain and are replete with wise and beneficent laws, under which the States have grown into great and powerful commonwealths. It was a great statesman, from whose lips words of idle praise never fell, who said: "The statute-books of these commonwealths can be read by the patriot without a blush. I am not afraid to compare them with the two hundred and fifty parliaments through which for eight hundred years the freedom of England has broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent."

The member of the legislature, when he casts his vote for a Senator, acts under the solemn responsibility of his oath of office, in the exercise of an important official duty. As a rule, he endeavors to select that candidate who by reason of experience, public service or acknowledged ability, is most fit to be elected to this exalted station. That the selections have been wise is conclusively shown by the high character which the Senate, for over a hundred years, has sustained for ability and statesmanship. If, however, the method now proposed be adopted, it would necessarily result in substituting for a body of picked and selected men, acting under the responsibility of their oath of office, party conventions and party primaries. Where the convention system prevails this important function would be performed by a body of men who act under no sense of responsibility or oath of office, who are selected only for a day and who frequently owe their seats as delegates not so much to merit and capacity as to party zeal and service. What has been the result where the direct primary election system has prevailed? That system has made money the most potent factor and wealth the recognized touchstone of political success. It has made knowledge of the science of government, statesmanship and oratory of less importance than skill in the arts of political management and organization. Compare those who have won the Senatorial

prize under this system with those who were elected by the Constitutional method, and there can be but one answer.

The election of Senators by popular vote would secure to the larger cities and masses of population an undue influence and preponderance and would substitute pluralities for majorities. Such a radical change in one of the great departments of the Government would soon spread to the entire system. The reasons which demand it, when carried to their logical conclusion, would lead to the election by direct popular vote and by popular majorities of the President, Vice-President and the entire Federal judiciary. The next step that would inevitably follow would be the placing of all elections under national control, with the result that the rights of the States would be overthrown and a consolidated government erected on the ruins of our beautiful Federal system.*

In the better days of the Republic, before the mad passion for wealth and business success had seared the public conscience, such a proposition as is embodied in this demand for the election of Senators by popular vote, would have aroused a storm of discussion and debate. Yet to-day we see a great political party, which has ever claimed to be the loyal defender of the Constitution, incorporating, without debate, into its platform a demand which had its origin in the wild vagaries of Populism. So firmly has this Populistic doctrine become embedded in the Democratic creed that its recognized leaders accept and proclaim it as one of the most important articles of the Democratic faith.

It is nevertheless amazing that the Democracy of the South should join in this demand. At the close of the Civil War, when measures were pending in Congress which threatened to destroy her civilization and degrade and humiliate her people, with the civil rights and force bills about to be enacted, and the residuary rights of the States about to be overthrown, the South had no more loyal defenders than that small minority of Democrats in the Senate who, undismayed by the mad passions of the hour, stood at their post of duty and successfully arrested

* While this article was in preparation, on the 23rd of May, Senator Owen of Oklahoma offered in the Senate a joint resolution (number 91) providing for an Amendment to the Constitution to elect United States Senators by a direct popular vote. Mr. Depew of New York offered an amendment, *providing that all elections for Senators and Representatives shall be placed under national control, and that the qualifications of each voter shall be uniform throughout the United States.*

the tide of centralization which was about to submerge our institutions. The people of the United States can look back over a history resplendent for great achievements, but they can point to none with more pride than to the achievements of the Senate. In that arena has been fought and won the great battles of Constitutional liberty. There Webster and Hayne met in that great debate, on the issues of which the whole Republic hung with breathless interest. There Clay, the great Pacificator, introduced that compromise which stayed for years the conflict between the sections. There Webster delivered his great argument on the Constitution, with such convincing force, such sustained power of eloquence, such profound wealth of information and dramatic effect, that the occupants of the galleries, braving the rules of the Senate, rose *en masse* and proclaimed him the Defender of the Constitution. There Calhoun, with a knowledge of the philosophy and purposes of government never surpassed, with that deep learning, that wonderful power of analysis which enabled him to resolve the most complex subject into its component parts, and to erect thereon arguments which were unassailable, met and overthrew all the brilliant array of talent which the administration had mustered against him; and there he was borne in his dying hours, his great heart overcoming the frailties of his body, to make one last effort to stay the conflict which, with prophetic eye, he saw was almost inevitable. And when the great Constitutional debates which had been waged in that body for over a half century were referred to the arbitrament of arms, and when at the close of the conflict the tendencies of the time were rushing the Government upon the breakers of consolidation, there still stood in the Senate a small remnant of that great party which had for so many years controlled the destinies of the Republic and battled successfully for the preservation of our institutions. When the Amendments resulting from the war were being so framed as to transfer to the General Government the control of the suffrage and elections, it was that small minority of Democratic Senators who, though without power to defeat the Amendments, did control their form and prevented the delegation to the National Government of powers which had always been exercised by the States.

There George delivered that great speech in defence of the rights of the States to regulate and control the suffrage, which

was so logical and conclusive, so fortified by learning and argument and authority as to mark an era in constitutional history. It was there that the chivalric Lamar refused to obey the orders of the popular majority in his own State to vote contrary to his judgment on the silver question. There, recently, Alabama's two venerable Senators, believing that the rights of the States were being imperilled by Federal encroachments, defying the storm of popular sentiment which had swept over their own State as well as the country, cast two of the three votes recorded against the Hepburn Rate Bill.

For over a hundred years, amid all the storms of party passion, the rivalry and struggles of sections, the clamor of fanatical agitation, the Senate has maintained its distinctive features, calm, dignified, patriotic yet considerate, firm but not precipitate, constituting, as was designed by the Fathers of the Constitution, a model second chamber, interposing that delay which furnished time for reflection and deliberation, checking the evil effects of sudden and strong excitement and of precipitate measures, and protecting the country against the dangers and confusion which arise from the enactment of laws which did not reflect the calm judgment of the people but the temporary and transient folly or madness of the hour, and maintaining unimpaired the rights of the States and of the National Government. If the proposed change were effected, the division of the Congress into two branches would prove of no intrinsic value, for, elected by the same methods, influenced by the same motives, they would both but duplicate all the evils and dangers of a single legislative body.

It is time that all who love our free institutions should array themselves in opposition to a change which, whether effected by Constitutional method or party usage or custom, "will result in the overthrow of the whole scheme of the Senate, and in the end of the whole scheme of the National Constitution as designed and established by the framers of the Constitution and the people who adopted it."

EMMET O'NEAL.

GENTLE SPEECH.

BY PRICE COLLIER.

In the heat of a political campaign, or at the time of an unexpected national sorrow, one is impressed with the enormous increase in the number of people who can hear and who can read. Education has at least done that. The readers of newspapers, and the listeners to public speaking, have increased out of all proportion to the increase in the population. There were never before so many people, moulded, informed, influenced by single individuals speaking to them and writing for them as to-day. This fact is so apparent that we might expect the study of simple English, for either public writing or public speaking, to be much in evidence. The increasing number of men and women of a certain intellectual training is adding rapidly to that consensus of the competent who are merely fatigued by rhetorical epilepsy, or by simian homiletics, and who judge a speaker, and fairly, to some extent at least, by his verbal righteousness. The day has not dawned yet, though there are streaks of light upon the horizon, when the man who has something to say will be more attractive even to the masses than the man who has something to yell.

The most effective speaking in England and in America to-day, and I mean by that the speaking that makes a social, political or religious difference, and not a mere social, political or religious stir, is done in England by Morley, Asquith, Rosebery, Balfour, Dilke, Scott Holland, Bishop Gore, Wilson; and in this country by such men as President Eliot of Harvard, Bishop Greer, Bishop Hall of Vermont, Governor Hughes of New York, and others—these names are chosen at random—all men of careful diction and matured thought.

Few people think of words as having a moral significance, or deem it to be a matter of morals, whether they speak well or ill,

or even so much as a matter of importance. And yet the world to-day is a web of speaking and writing as never before, and the indistinct, the indefinite, the inaudible are being more and more left behind.

It must be admitted at the start that there is no fixed standard of speech, no one perfect example of good English writing, any more than there is any one perfect standard of life among living men. Nor is good or bad English a mere matter of words and their mechanical arrangement; but it includes voice and gesture and intonation, and demands, not merely a rhetoric and a grammar on one's table, but a trained mind and a chastened heart back of the lips and tongue. To speak well or to write well can neither be learned of a schoolmaster nor be culled from a book. To speak well—and I mean by this to speak well not merely in public, but as friends among ourselves—is the final touch of a thorough training in morals, manners and experience. Indeed, I can fancy that the best English-speaking would be that of a man who should enter a room and speak so that you would only discover how charmingly he spoke after he had ceased and some one else had begun. One, too, whose manner, accent and pronunciation should be cosmopolitan and not provincial—that is to say, he would leave you guessing where he was educated, whether at Oxford, at Harvard, at Columbia or at the University of Virginia, and also at a loss to know whether he came from the South, North, East or West. Not only is that fine speech, but it is also fine breeding, for the Boston "a's," the New York "r's," the Philadelphia sweetness of guttural, and the Southern lack of interest in the consonants are all geographical sign-boards labelling a man's provinciality; and although I must agree with the majority of Americans and with Max O'Rell that there is nothing more to be desired than to be an American girl, I permit myself to say that it would add a touch of completeness even to that creation, were it possible for her to conceal the fact in speaking.

There is a superstition, even among those who should know better, that English can be bought at so much a lesson, and that not to say "between you and I" and "these sort," and the like, is the sum and substance of the whole matter. If this were true, who would be interested in the subject? It is because to speak well is to live well; it is because words are the children of the living, and the result of moral and mental training; it is because

the man or woman of distinguished and noble speech, attained thereto by means of far more complex aids than grammars or dictionaries, that the subject is worthy of consideration. For this mechanical part of the business is in a sense comparatively unimportant. Even Sydney Smith, Sheridan, Hallam, Whately, Carlyle, Macaulay, Shakespeare, Milton, Gibbon, Southey, Lamb, Landor, Walker of the dictionary, and Lindley Murray of the grammar, have bequeathed to us serious grammatical blunders. Even Matthew Arnold descended to this kind of criticism when he noticed a number of grammatical errors in Grant's Memoirs. It was unfortunate that Arnold should have attacked General Grant's book along these lines; for, in the course of that same criticism, Mr. Arnold perpetrates the following sentence: "Meade suggested to Grant that he might wish to have immediately under him Sherman, who had been serving with Grant in the West. He begged him not to hesitate if he thought it for the good of the service. Grant assured him that he had not thought of moving him, and in his Memoirs, after relating what had passed he adds, etc., etc." One might go far to find a wilder dance of personal pronouns than that; and, were we to judge the enlightened Arnold by that jumble of words, we should scarce be able to claim for him equality with some of the writers on our fawn-colored newspapers. Such a sentence as the one just quoted is, as are practically all such blunders, more a matter of morals than of mechanics, of confused thinking, than of careless writing. It is not only bad English, but it is untruthful, as untruthful indeed as the phrase that appeared in almost all our newspapers after the death of President McKinley: "the dead President," "the dead President's policy," etc., etc. No "dead President" ever had a policy; and, in case he had, it was a matter pertaining to eschatology rather than to politics. The absurdity of the mistake was the more notable, with a very much alive President about all the time. This use of "dead" for "deceased," and the application of the word "dead" to an office that cannot die, is pointedly illustrated by the clergyman who, at a funeral, alluded pathetically to the fact that he had often "dandled the corpse upon his knee."

English is not a cut-and-dried arrangement of words that one can learn as a Freshman crams history for an examination, but it is flexible, changing and adaptable. There is English for the slippered ease and cozy comfort of one's own fireside; there is the

style of speech suited to the glittering and uniformed function of fashion; there is the English of the pulpit, of the stage, of the platform, and not by any means one everlasting, unchanging correct form of speech, with which one must make love, deliver an oration, advertise for a cook, and tell fairy-stories.

Perhaps no sadder consequence of this conception of language as a fixed, hard process can be instanced than what may be called "fine English," fine English being, in short, inappropriate English. The very best examples of this are found among those whose manners are modelled upon cuts in fashion magazines, and small books on "Don't." But there are fine writers to be discovered, even where one would least expect it, as when the "Quarterly Review" speaks of boys as "the male progeny of human kind," or when the "Literary Gazette" calls an uncle "an avuncular guardian." Among such people, a fire is the "devastating element," money is a "pecuniary compensation," dancers are "votaries of Terpsichore"; if a crime cannot be found out it is "enveloped in obscurity"; a man who is first to do a thing "assumes the initiative"; instead of being put in prison one "is incarcerated"; instead of loving a woman one "is attached to her"; instead of dying one "expires"; instead of being buried one's "remains are deposited"; and at the end one's "disconsolate relict erects to him a monumental memorial."

Fine writers, and speakers too, delight in affectedly using French phrases. The rule, I think, is to use a foreign word or phrase only where English will not so well express what we wish to say—as, for instance, with the words *protégé, prestige, ménage, passée, ennui,* and the phrases, *"embarras de richesses," "esprit de corps," "tout ensemble"* and others, and even these may be better left alone. To such people, again, a horse doctor is a "veterinary surgeon," an author is a "literary gentleman," a "drummer" is a "commercial gentleman," a thief is a "light-fingered gentleman"; such people do not go to law, but they "institute legal proceedings"; they do not go to a doctor, but they "consult a medical adviser."

All this lies deeper than language. It is affectation; it is vulgarity; and these are matters pertaining to heart and mind and soul, and not to grammar and lexicon. Such words and phrases are like rouge on the cheeks, they color vividly the very defect that it was meant to conceal. They display the very igno-

rance that the speaker attempts to disclaim; or, as Thomas Fuller, the author of the "History of the Worthies of England," says: "To clothe low creeping matter with high-flown language is not fine fancy, but flat foolery."

There is a distinction to be made, however, between this "fine style" and what Matthew Arnold calls aptly the "grand style." Let us quote a few verses which are in themselves an illustration of the grand style:

"In his cool hall with haggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay:
He drove abroad, in furious guise,
Along the Appian Way:

"He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And adorned his hair with flowers,
No easier and no quicker passed
The impracticable hours.

"The brooding East with awe beheld
Her impious younger world;
The Roman tempest swelled and swelled,
And on her head was hurled.

"The East bowed low before the blast,
In patient, deep disdain:
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again."

These lines are what the grand style means, viz.: words with a stately rhythm, with a certain splendor of meaning, and moving with majestic step.

Strangely enough, Milton furnishes a sad example of an attempt at the "grand style" which falls to the level of the "fine style"; here it is:

"Look upon this, thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not a prey to these importunate wolves that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants."

This passage is absurd, with its wolves "that wait and think"; and its wild boars that "leave the print of their polluting hoofs" are truly boars of the Nature Fakir. It is a striking illustration of how even the best writers mistake a big noise for splendid prose.

Milton was in the mood, when he wrote that, to refer you to the "mitigated affliction department," where, by the way, it is said he kept his daughters most of the time.

The only way to avoid this vulgarity of speech and writing is to be honest; never to juggle people into believing you can explain to them what you do not understand yourself, never to try to cover up a lack of ideas with heaps of words. As has been well said: A few large and vaguely understood words have played the part of the German allies at many a literary Waterloo. One is reminded of the rebuke administered by a foreign judge to the son of respectable parents who was convicted of the theft of some poultry: "Young man, you were blessed with a noble and exemplary father, who inculcated in your young mind the principles of honesty and virtue, and a pious mother who nightly offered up prayers for you: instead of which you go around stealing ducks!"

Every sin will express itself in language. You may know much of a man's character by attending to his conversation. The vain man ornaments his speech, uses big words in preference to little ones, colors his stories, exaggerates his circumstances, makes all his friends rich or noble, wise or witty. The mean man has his vocabulary stocked with the words that best portray his disposition—poor, paltry, contemptible, scurvy, cheap, trivial, insignificant chaff, froth, bubble, shabby, these are ever near his lips; while a man of larger mould will be as free with important, great, vital, weighty, good, first-rate, interesting, noble, generous, kind. Even a small list of words will tell almost as much about a man as his biography.

This matter of the grand style and the fine style, of mean men and noble men, is not language, but life; not grammar, but character. Byron could not conceal his littleness beneath his rhetoric, nor Johnson his blustering temper and sesquipedalian sententiousness, nor Swift his coarseness. It is not a question of English in any of these instances; it is a question of men. Johnson could not have written like George Herbert, because he lacked, not his English, but his sweet spirit. Or—further to illustrate what I began with, viz.: that English as a language is spiritual rather than mechanical—let me say that the man tells for more in language than the art. I do not mean by this to descend into the literary Hades of personality; not that at all. Only it seems to me that the Herbert style of man is more rare than the Swift

stamp of man, and that therefore the English of Herbert has a subtle flavor that no amount of art can compensate for.

Of course, this broad view of the question, that language is life, only applies to those who have the elements of the language well under control. But in a lesser degree even among the unread, and unskilful, the life of the man or woman will always protrude through his speech. His language will always to some extent be an indicator of his life. If you will go from Spenser and Shakespeare to Massinger and Fletcher and Webster, in English literature, you will find that the fall in language was accompanied also by a fall in life. If you will read Milton and then Pope, you will find the grandeur and repose of Milton in his life as well as in his language; you will find the hypocritical glibness and self-satisfaction in the life of Pope as well as in his language. Milton's was the righteousness of conscience and you read it in his lines. Pope's was the righteousness of geometry, and you find it mirrored in his stiff little verses.

You may carry this principle as a measuring rod and use it on the next man or woman you meet, and it will gauge them fairly well. The woman of superficial elegance of language, whose speech is a sandwich of expletives and French phrases, is very probably lacking in simplicity of manners and morals. The man of highfalutin' speech is very often a man of the same quality of thought. It is only hard to make people believe in simplicity of speech for the reason that they distrust the foundation of simplicity of speech, viz.: simplicity of life. So long as fine feathers attract attention more readily than the restraint of simplicity, just so long shall we have bombast and loudness in language instead of quiet force.

And this applies to that other part of language, voice and intonation. It is a mistake to suppose that one speaks correctly who does not speak agreeably. It were folly supreme in a rifleman to say that it made no difference about the barrel, the rifling of his weapon, so long as his bullet was perfect. It is as foolish to hold that, if your sentence be correct, it matters little how you fire it off. It always makes some difference, and often makes *all* the difference. When one says, for example, "Look out *there!*" you turn and look out of the window; when the emphasis is altered to "look *out,* there," you draw your head in to avoid the danger that was only expressed by the intonation. The difference is not always

so marked as that, but there is always a difference. Mere gentleness and distinctness of enunciation are a part of the use of words not to be underrated.

Foreigners tell us that our women are flagrantly guilty in this respect. From the schoolgirl in short frock, and pigtail adown her back, to the rulers over households with a retinue of servants to satisfy a prince, our women often make their conversation to consist of a series of modulated shrieks. And yet deafness is not universal, is not even common, in America. The mountains are as immovable, the sun as silent, the moon as quiet in her pace here as in Asia or Europe. There is no national rumble or roar that makes it necessary for men, women and children to shout in order to be heard. It may be perhaps the result of every new settlement's growing out of the bustle incident to our pounding, hammering and sawing to make ourselves homes.

But we of to-day have felled the forest of our wilderness, our sons no longer shoot wild beasts from "shacks" on the prairies, even Chicago is fifty years old, and we have no such excuses to give for our lack of the angel voice. And yet no one speaks English well who does not speak it agreeably to the ear. The ear is one of the pickets of the mind, and has more than we think to say about what shall enter the camp of the mind and how it shall enter. Among people of a certain class it is not only a privilege, but a duty, to add softness and simplicity and naturalness to life. It is for others to fell the trees, saw the logs and build the houses; it is for them to provide angels for the houses.

The dissatisfaction expressed against wealth and leisure by those who have them not, is due, in great part, to the fact that wealth and leisure sometimes neglect their duties to the world. We do not object to the idle absent-minded dreamer if he writes an "In Memoriam," a "Hamlet" or a "Père Goriot"; it is when he is slothful and a non-producer that we grow suspicious, and finally revolutionary, and pull down his palace.

Wherever wealth is gracious and simple, wherever leisure cultivates the qualities of speech and manner and mind, that a busier life leaves little room for, men assail them no more than they think of pulling down the stars because they only give light when they sleep. The man in the street is as sensitive to rough speech, vulgar manners, the ungracious and ill-timed expression of careless thinking, as is the student of these matters. He realizes that gentleness

is not a quality that resides in the nose. He understands, though perhaps dimly, that it is not the east wind, not the psalm-singing ancestors, not any peculiar laryngeal formation, that is at fault. It is the heart, the lack of thoughtfulness, lack of that most subtle charity of sympathy with others which is not a set of rules, but the perfume of a life.

Wealth and leisure are revealing themselves daily, by their speech, to scores of people who take note of them, and who are influenced favorably or otherwise by what they hear. Speech thus becomes a factor in the economics of discontent. "Is this what the rich make of money and leisure?" people say, as they hear the malicious simian chatter of some women, the ribald speech of some men, the coarse guffaws and bluster of others.

To those who are already envious and sore at what seems to them cruel inequalities, this uncultivated speech must go far to make them feel that the difference of station is solely artificial, a barrier of greater possessions, and these not always becomingly acquired. It is, then, perhaps, not too much to say that speech alone becomes a powerful medium for the propagation of social good or evil.

It was well said by a young orator, in a recent municipal campaign, that every lady who went below Fourteenth Street to canvass for votes among the poor would lose more votes in a visit, than he and his party could win for the same cause in a month. In brief, he knew that their speech and manners would create hostility, and he was brave enough to say so; and what a curious commentary it is upon this subject.

There is no surer sign of our increasing intelligence as a people than the change of fashion in our public orators. We are rapidly recovering from that infantile intellectual stage when it is thought that frothing at the mouth is the only genuine form of the divine afflatus. We are gradually coming to understand that the hurricane bombast of the revivalist only proves him wanting in the gentleness and serenity of spirit of Him he proclaims, and is the result, not of true enthusiasm, but of ignorant egotism. The windmill style of oratory lingers in the South and West, and is greeted with applause now and again in the East, as an amusing relic of barbarous rhetorical times; but it carries ever less and less weight.

Americans have become, in a word, much more sensitive to the

significance of speech, whether private or public. Even the details of scholarly care in speech are far more frequent in our speakers of to-day than was the case twenty-five years ago. Words like "desultory," "magnanimous," "resiliency," "hocuspocus," "buncombe," "gerrymander" and a host of others, are nowadays used with the precision that comes of an etymological acquaintance with them. One still hears "tabernicle" instead of "tabernacle," and more often than not "foward" for "forward," and "often" instead of "offen" with the emphasis on the "t"; and the "a" broadly pronounced, as it should not be in the last syllable of "circumstances," but of these matters there is no end, and perhaps one may as well hold with Truthful James upon this question that:

> "It's not a proper plan,
> For any scientific gent to whale his fellow man,
> And if a member don't agree with his peculiar whim,
> To lay for that same member for to put a head on him."

There is no scholastic harness that one can put on and thus disguise oneself. In the common occupations of life there is a working suit of speech, as there are rough working suits of clothes. To go about dressed up in "I do not," "I cannot," "do not you," and the like, is like marketing in point-lace and high-heeled slippers, or riding in plush velvet and waving plumes. One may be unaffected and simple in speech and still be accurate, and no one pays an audience or a friend a more delightful compliment than when he gives himself the trouble to attend to the daintiness of speech in addressing the one or conversing with the other.

These are not merely matters for the linguistic dandy, any more than attention to cleanliness and appropriate dress are effeminate. On the contrary, it is this we are driving at. No man who will not take pains with his speech can be depended upon to take pains with his thought. For the very reason, as was stated in the beginning, that so many in this country can hear and read understandingly we have a responsibility ever growing greater and greater. It is not far from criminal to color the minds of men with vituperation, with exaggerated epigrams, with scattering and sputtering denunciation, even though they be uttered with the prognathic emphasis of exhilarated prejudice. Back of such speech as this, sober-minded men know, there must exist excite-

ment, not calm; a feverish desire to exploit oneself, rather than to explain a great cause. But even that matters little as compared to the wide-spread disorder it breeds in untrained minds. In the days when only a few heard and when only the few needed to be influenced, these methods defeated themselves; but to-day in this country hundreds of thousands misunderstand, and are led astray, by the effervescent speech which is born of loose thinking or not thinking at all.

> "Leave to the tyro's hand
> The limp and shapeless style;
> See that thy form demand
> The labor of the file.
>
> "Paint, chisel, speak or write;
> But that the work surpass,
> With the hard fashion fight,
> With the existing mass."

We have no quarrel with any man who has a cause to uphold, or a social or economic evil to oppose; but every patriotic American sees an enemy in the man who purposely uses language to engender blind strife. Were one not personally persuaded that, in an article of this kind, it is out of place to name names, it were an easy task to prove that the man of sober speech far surpasses the man of exciting phrases—has already surpassed him, indeed—in bringing about wholesome political and economic results. Slowly, but surely, it percolates through one layer to another of mankind that language itself takes on its clothing and color from the mind behind it. The man who stuns the nation with detonating phrases, and sprinkles his fellows with dropping sparks of many-colored insults, is gradually suspected of having a temperament as pyrotechnical as his words. No cause, no need, no danger, however imminent, demands sultry and poisonous speech.

Everybody is a gentleman nowadays; but, despite that social axiom, we all hug to our hearts each his own notion of who is and who is not the gentleman. One may doubt, however, whether any definition or any measurement is quite so sure or so universal as this of gentle speech. No stars nor garters can conceal the boor; no wealth, spread however thickly over all one has and is, conceals bad breeding; nor, on the other hand, can a threadbare coat or uninitiated manners conceal the kindliness, the care, the

gentleness of speech of the true gentleman. Let this not be an excuse for carelessness, however. St. Augustine writes somewhere: "Let not the artless simple brother think himself a holy man because he knows nothing." One recalls, too, in this connection, the rough preacher who, not far from Oxford, was wont to rail against mere learning, and who, after fulminating from a text of St. Paul on how good a man might be without much learning, reached his climax with the words: "My hearers, do you suppose St. Paul knew Greek?" It is because it is the life behind the language that is important that speech is of such grave consequence. "All great languages," says Ruskin, "invariably utter great things and command them; the breath of them is inspiration, because it is not only vocal but vital; and you can only learn to speak as these men speak by becoming what these men were." Or, as Emerson puts it: "Words are vascular; cut them and they will bleed."

Who can gainsay these things? And, if they be true, how guilty is the man of rash speech; and, if he be in high station, how dangerous, for he may bring disaster before his speech bewrays him. It is surely worth while to impress upon men, again and again, the value of gentle and careful speech. At no time, in no place, has the weight of responsibility been so great as here and now, in this democracy, upon those who are listened to and read.

We hear much, we read quickly, but as a nation we shall rue it, if we forget to be gentle in our speech. The social and economic and political value of this factor is being impressed upon us whether we will or no; and each man who tempers his own speech, and calls intemperate speech in others boldly by its right name, is not merely doing something for scholarship, but doing much for the redemption of his country from the evils of hot-headed speech.

"The shepherds heard it overhead,
The joyful angels raised it then,
Glory to heaven on high it said,
And peace on earth to gentle men."

PRICE COLLIER.

THE LIMITS OF BRITISH GOVERNING CAPACITY.

BY BRITANNICUS.

It has of late become increasingly clear that Great Britain is nearing a crisis in her Imperial rule. The rise of an aggressive Nationalism in Egypt, the far more numerous and menacing tokens of unrest in India, have penetrated the British people with the consciousness that their relations with the races under their guardianship are taking on an acute and abnormal complexity. New problems are arising of a kind that the mere administrator hardly professes to gauge. A spirit is stirring among these dusky wards of Empire that at once puzzles and dismays their governors. Even with its outward manifestations they find it with each year, almost with each month, that passes, more and more difficult to cope; while its inner essence frankly eludes them. The novel forces of self-revelation and self-assertion that are making themselves felt by the Nile and the Ganges confront the rulers of India and Egypt with a riddle in political psychology that baffles and bewilders them. Their genius does not lie in the reading of the particular kind of enigma that is now propounded to them. They face it, boldly indeed to the eye, but not without an undercurrent of disquietude and apprehension. I propose in this article to state, in the broadest terms, the nature of the new problem in Imperial government that the British are called upon to deal with and to estimate their capacity for solving it.

If we take the normal course of British experience in the rulership of subject races, we see that it passes through two fairly well-defined phases. I am thinking now of countries like India, Egypt and the Malay States. In each of these territories there are, of course, local variations of such a character and ex-

tent as to put any detailed examination of their conditions out of the question in such an article as this. But in all of them the two phases I have spoken of appear and reappear. The first phase is the Personal or Autocratic phase. A new country, inhabited by Orientals, comes into British hands. Great Britain enters it with certain fixed principles of policy and administration in her head—to derive from it no benefit that may not be shared in by any other nation on equal terms, to spend on the country all the revenue raised from it, to govern the natives rather in their interests than in her own, and to organize for the work of administration a stable, competitive, high-salaried, absolutely non-political civil service. Her great experience in Oriental government has taught her the folly of trying to "hustle" the East—the first and most difficult lesson that Americans will have to learn in the Philippines. She begins by imposing peace and establishing order. She brings home to the native mind two supreme facts—first, that whatever her display of force on the spot, there is always a power in the background that will be used if necessary; secondly, that British officials can be trusted to keep their word. It is something in dealing with Asiatics to have inculcated either lesson, but for final and comprehensive success, both are needed. The Dutch, after thirty years of struggle, have impressed neither upon the Acheenese; Americans in the Philippines have still to round off the military subjugation of the Archipelago by its moral conquest. There is no feature of British Imperialism more wholly honorable than its basis in character and its reputation for fair dealing. It has so worked upon the Oriental imagination that it embraces every casual traveller in the Orient who speaks English. The mere fact that he speaks the language of a people renowned for their uprightness, their good faith, their absolute fidelity to the spirit as well as the letter of the bond, is a passport, as every American tourist in the East can testify, to the esteem and confidence of the natives. It is the loftiest of all Great Britain's titles to glory, and perhaps the most permanent. Her visible Empire may pass away like other Empires, but the fame and influence of that particular type of character on which it rests are a monument that will not perish.

Peace, order and, on their heels, a hard-won trust are the initial landmarks of British rule. The history of the Malay

States will illustrate as well as any the processes by which they are evolved. When the British went to Perak some five and thirty years ago, the various States of the Peninsula conformed to the normal type of Mohammedan despotisms. The new rulers knew as little of the interior of the country as Americans in 1897 knew of the Philippines. They were white men going where, except for an occasional sportsman or explorer, white men had never been before; they were Christians dumped down among a Mohammedan populace; they came to alter and pull down in the midst of a people whose favorite proverb is, "Let our children rather than our customs die"; they represented all the horror of the new and unknown in a country whose inhabitants had a detestation of change bred into their very bones; and, finally, they went unarmed and with no visible support in the background into territories ablaze with anarchy, where the poorest native habitually carried from three to five weapons. Their reception varied from sullen suspicion to open hostility. A "punitive expedition," rigorously limited to its declared objects and withdrawn the moment those objects were attained, had to be organized to avenge the murder of the first British administrator who was appointed. After that single but sufficient demonstration of power, of purpose and of good faith, Perak gradually settled down in tranquillity and the other native States came slowly, one by one, under British protection. The bloodless revolution that has since been wrought in their conditions is one of the least known but most remarkable examples of British administration. But what I chiefly wish to emphasize is the fact that system at first had very little to do with it. The foundations were laid by the good sense, tact and patience of perhaps half a dozen Englishmen who were set down on the Peninsula as one might throw a dog into the sea and leave it to sink or swim. They had only a vague idea of the work before them, but they had the counterbalancing advantage of being versed in Asiatic lore, and in other posts they had proved themselves the men for rulership. Moreover, without exception, these men were gentlemen, both in the right and in the conventional sense. They went among the people, not as Olympian conquerors, but with that sympathetic, elder-brotherly, protecting feeling which centuries of Empire have ingrained in the British temperament. They laid aside all prejudices of blood and race, and treated the

Malays as human beings who, given the chance, would gradually respond like any others to firmness, understanding and friendly interest. Their work was their life; to not a few it was also their death. They learned the language of the people and made their ways and beliefs and idiosyncrasies their first study. They lived among them alone, seeing no white faces except those of their subordinates, and putting all the recreations and pleasures of civilized life far from them. They were given a free hand and they flung themselves into the work of making Malaya as a business man might fling himself into the work of making money.

Men of this kind are not to be manufactured offhand; the traditions and the experience that alone make them possible are the long result of time. The secret of British success on assuming control of the Malay States is, for the most part, incommunicable, being largely a matter of individuals and of individual character and aptitudes. But in no form of activity is it enough merely to get the best men. They must also work along sound lines; policy and personality must go hand in hand. The British in the Malay States, as in all their Oriental possessions, were in no hurry to reform; and to the abstract principles of government they paid little heed. Instead, they began, very quietly and without fuss, to deal out an even-handed and inflexible justice. This is the greatest novelty that can be offered to an Oriental, but it is one he greatly appreciates. The peasantry soon came to realize that, thanks to the white men, they could no longer be plundered. Simultaneously the country was opened up by roads and railways and the dredging of rivers. Undreamed-of markets were thus made accessible for labor and produce. Arbitrary taxation, forced labor, compulsory levies were reorganized out of existence. Life and property were made secure. Slavery and piracy were put down. Schools and hospitals and banks began to spring up. Drainage and irrigation works were instituted. But, while everything that could be done to improve the material condition of the country was done and done well, the native potentates found their dignity carefully consulted at every turn. Even to-day the fiction that the English administrators are only there to "advise" is still rigorously maintained, and all orders, proclamations and laws are still issued in the Sultan's name. The native rulers were con-

firmed in their positions; the usual ceremonies of respect were paid to them; they were allowed a liberal income, and they were gradually educated into a new sense of their responsibilities. So far as is possible, all the lower grades of the civil service are now filled by Malays. In fact, the detailed work of administration is to-day almost entirely performed by them; and even on the Bench there are not a few native judges who have learned from the British how to deal fairly between man and man. But all this development has been a gradual process. There was no cataclysmal stroke of reform. From time to time the better way was pointed out and the Malays were urged gently along it. Civilization advanced evenly and almost imperceptibly, and the ground was patiently prepared beforehand. In one vital sphere of Malay life there has been no interference. The British pledged themselves when they entered the country to leave untouched the Mohammedan religion and all its rites and observances; and native habits, manners and customs were changed, when they were changed at all, only with infinite caution.

There are features in this admirable record that are common to all British achievements in ruling Orientals. The first stage is pretty nearly always the same. A few British administrators, left largely to their own devices, are placed in charge, whether as actual governors or as "advisers" and "Residents," of States like the Malay States or Burmah or Egypt or Ceylon. Their rule for a long while is personal and autocratic; they get to know the people; they win their reluctant trust; they are not interfered with either by the Home Government or by their superiors on the spot; they are not in the least concerned with political theories; they look conditions squarely in the face and consider how they may be bettered; little is asked from them in the way of reports and statistics; their word is law throughout their districts; they govern in the old patriarchal fashion. It is under such conditions that the British faculty for rulership shows itself at its best. But, in the nature of things, such conditions cannot be permanent. They characterize merely the early tentative stages of administration; the progress that is hammered out of them ushers in a new order; the haphazard, personal rule gives way to organized government by system. That is the second of the two phases to which I alluded at the outset. It is a necessary, an inevitable phase. It is, indeed, at once the price and

the proof of success. But, at the same time, it brings with it perils and problems of its own. When the governing man is transformed, as sooner or later he must be, into a mere cog in the governing machine, a definite and momentous turning-point has been reached.

I have said that this transformation is unavoidable. It is unavoidable, in the first place, because a government that is once set on its feet quickly develops activities beyond the control of any one man. The mere multiplication of official interests and enterprises makes centralization and bureaucracy essential. Telephones, telegraphs and railways play havoc with the freedom and isolation that were the basis of autocratic rulership. Headquarters nowadays are in almost hourly touch with every officer in the service. He is no longer a beneficent and largely untrammelled despot, trusting his own judgment and acting upon his own responsibility, but a clerk at the end of a wire, whose orders may be countermanded, whose decisions may be reversed and most of whose time is devoted to providing an insatiable bureaucracy with reports, statistics and computations of everything that is computable. Thus the administrator is gradually withdrawn from his old, confidential relations with the people under him, becomes a harassed slave of the pen and parts with much of his personal authority and prestige; and this, in an Oriental country, where the mainspring of all loyalty is devotion to a single head, and where nothing has ever been known or desired but some form or other of one-man rule, is a profound and irreparable loss. But a yet more disintegrating influence is introduced by the spirit of British democracy, and by the application to Eastern peoples of principles that are only suited to certain phases of Western civilization. It was a saying of Froude's that free peoples cannot govern subject-races. The dictum, perhaps, needs qualifying. I should rather put it this way: Free peoples, when governing subject-races, will govern them in accordance with the traditions, instincts and principles they are accustomed to and have evolved at home. In other words, the conscience of a democracy forbids it to be liberal at home and autocratic abroad. It is impelled to prefer governing badly, in obedience to its own genius, to governing well at the behest of maxims and methods that are alien to its spirit and practices. It has an inclination, which is one of sentiment or of instinct rather than of reflection,

towards treating all politics and peoples as so many problems in algebra, to be solved by fixed formulas. The formulas it brings to their solution are the principles, the institutions, the political conceptions to which it is used and on which it has thrived at home. Thus Americans are necessarily driven to rule the Philippines in accordance with Jeffersonian doctrines. Thus the French base their colonial policy on "the principles of 1789," and look at African and Asiatic affairs from a point of view suitable only for the problems of a French commune. All democracies yield to the compulsion of this inward, dominating call. They are as zealous missionaries, and as keenly bent upon forcing all with whom they come in contact to see things through their own spectacles, as were ever the old autocracies. No democracy will ever believe that its meat can be another people's poison, or that all nations would not prosper equally well on the regimen that has chanced to suit itself.

Great Britain has very largely acted upon this theory in her government of India, with the result that she has created a system that is half liberal and half despotic, at once too weak to be congenial to Oriental instincts and too autocratic to be altogether acceptable to Western Radicalism. She has foisted upon India freedom of the Press, the right of public meeting and debate, the jury system and representation on municipal councils, and she has done so not because these things were wanted in India, but because Englishmen were accustomed to them in England. In pursuing this policy—a policy, as I have said, prescribed by the very law of her being—Great Britain has not only enormously increased the difficulties of ruling India, but has imperilled the ultimate end and crown of all her endeavors. Her presence in Egypt, India, the Malay States and similar countries can only be justified by the degree in which she helps her wards to help themselves. The far-off but constant ideal to which the people of England look forward is that all these dependencies may one day take their place as self-governing units in a great Imperial confederation; and the tendencies of their policies are sound or otherwise just so far as they promote or hinder progress to that ideal. It would from this standpoint be well worth inquiring whether, and if so how far, the democratic innovations that have been foisted upon India and Egypt are of a kind to encourage a consciousness, if not of nationality, at least of some

underlying unity that may develop hereafter into the beginnings of an eventual autonomy. I think unquestionably it would be found that they are a hindrance and not a help to the growth of Indian or Egyptian nationality. The freedom of the press, for instance, has been used in India by Mohammedans to storm at Hindus and by Hindus to gird at Mohammedans, and by both to assail British rule. Representation on municipal councils, again, results in deepening all the cleavages of race, religion and language. That government exists to insure security is a sound enough maxim in an old and highly developed country like England. But it breaks down when applied to India. The true function of government in India should be, as it used to be in Europe, to unify men of many creeds, tongues and races into a more or less cohesive whole. Again, the monarch in England is little more than a constitutional figurehead. But in India the sovereign is, or should be, the active and supreme authority; and the failure of British statesmanship to bring the wishes and person of the sovereign prominently before his Indian subjects has resulted in an appalling wastage of that instinct of loyalty which is the cardinal virtue of the East. There is nothing to appeal to their imaginations; no central point or figure on which their affections may focus; the impulse which could alone supply the three hundred millions of people in India with a common emotional bond is wholly starved by their rulers. Once more, it is an excellent provision in a land like Great Britain that the permanent servants of the State should be forbidden to take part in politics. But the same regulation when extended to India means that Government is attacked from all sides and defended on none, and that the gravest delusions and misapprehensions spread among the people because there is no agency to expose or correct them.

Thus the introduction of democratic ideas is really rotting away the only foundations on which an autonomous India might conceivably be built. At the same time, it widens the gulf between rulers and ruled. The British Raj has at no time seemed in native eyes to rest more obviously on the sword's point; and among those who are engaged in the daily work of Indian administration there is an increasing consciousness that their isolation as a ruling race grows every year more complete. The more the British Anglicize India, the more alien they become

to her. For the decisive personal autocracy of the past, they have substituted government by system; and those who work the system are more and more separated from the people by intervening clouds of native officials. They are tied, moreover, to the telegraph at Simla or Calcutta; they are more than ever immersed in despatch-writing and the mere administrative routine; and with Europe brought next door to them by steamer and cable, they look upon India less as a home than as a temporary workshop. All this does not, indeed, prevent them from going through the day's task with admirable zeal, resource and kindliness; but it does prevent them from acquiring, or from caring to acquire, a real knowledge of the native mind, and from forming those semi-paternal relations with the people of their districts that were the saving clause of the old regime. And, while the sphere of British influence contracts, that of native opinion expands. By teaching them English the British have taught them to understand not themselves, but one another, and have thus provided them with an aid to solidarity and therefore to agitation. The railways, again, have made intercourse both possible and popular; the native press stimulates an incessant intellectual ferment; far more natives receive a university education than their rulers can find employment for, and discontent is thereby fostered; the spread of industrialism quickens with a new impulse of mind and spirit all whom it reaches; and of late, the rise of Japan has undoubtedly stirred the Oriental consciousness with a vision of unimagined possibilities. These are largely conditions of Great Britain's own making, and having made them she cannot expect them to end in nullity. Neither can she retract the dubious gifts she has bestowed. Public opinion in England would not allow the Indian press to be abolished or the right of public meeting to be rescinded or representation on local councils to be done away with, or the Sovereign to assume even the appearance of an Asiatic autocrat. Only a great convulsion—and it may come to that—will effect a revolution in the principles of British government in India.

Great Britain has admittedly brought the mechanics of Empire-making and Empire-ruling to a pitch of unrivalled perfection. She has devised a system admirably designed and dispassionately applied. But with a certain psychological obtuseness she overrates the effects of her system and its material results

upon the native mind. Her record, with all its mistakes, is a brilliant one and she is rightly proud of it, but to expect from it a harvest of loyalty and contentment among Indians and Egyptians is to betray the characteristically British lack of dramatic sympathy. Wherever Great Britain goes she imposes peace and order, she establishes the reign of justice, she promotes the material prosperity of the peoples under her rule, she educates them, fences with innumerable securities their persons and property, and preserves to them, with as little interference as possible, their social and religious customs. And for these benefits she looks for their eternal gratitude, if not for their eternal affection. No error of sentimentalism could well be greater. The British have yet to realize that their very success increases their difficulties and that good government, the longer it is maintained, becomes more and more an established and normal condition and less and less a special ground for gratitude. Among a generation that has known nothing else justice is no novelty, security is taken for granted, while prosperity and education create more aspirations than they satisfy. It is as true to-day as ever that when men wax fat they kick against the pricks. Meek acceptance of British rule gives way to criticism; criticism passes into abuse; abuse is developed into a demand for a larger and ever larger share in directing the administration that the British have erected. There was a pregnant sentence in Lord Cromer's final report in which he practically took upon himself the growth of the Egyptian Nationalist idea. "It has been evoked," he wrote, "by the benefits which, with a rapidity probably unparalleled in history, have been conferred upon the country by the introduction of Western civilization at the hands of an alien race; and it is surely the irony of political destiny that that race, or the instruments through whom it has principally acted, should be represented as the principal obstacles to the realization of schemes the conception of which is mainly due to their own action." Those who will ponder these words and their implications will come very near the heart of the master-problem of British Imperialism. Stated in its broadest terms, that problem is the infinitely arduous and delicate one of escaping the penalties of too much democracy and of too much good government. The British are beginning to realize that the very excellence of their rule provides the means for its over-

throw and that its material success implies that they are creating the conditions most favorable to its resistance. It is impossible for Great Britain to advance the peoples under her tutelage without at the same time instilling into them a spirit of independence and an ambition to supplant her, or at least to stand on a parity with her, in the ordering of their affairs.

Great Britain in the past has magnificently created. There now lies ahead of her the far more difficult task of assimilation. Her rule, everywhere a mechanical success, is nowhere popular; her administrators, everywhere trusted and honored, are nowhere loved. Mr. John Morley not long ago was declaring that in India bad manners are a political crime. He might have added that they are a crime that is daily committed. The British at the best are not an ingratiating people, but in India and in Egypt their aloofness, arrogance and their failure to establish that communion of sentiment with the natives which the French in all their possessions display a real genius for cultivating, have heaped up against them an amount of resentment that may one day burst forth in violence. In the anxious times that visibly confront British dominion in Oriental countries, the personal conduct and behavior of every British official, and indeed of every Englishman in those countries, will be a factor that will contribute something towards averting or precipitating the crisis; and it is, in my judgment, an omen of the most sinister significance that all observers on the spot agree in reporting the social tension between rulers and ruled as constantly on the increase. Then, again, it is clear that the new problems at which I have glanced—the problem of readjusting, if that still be possible, the principles of government to the instincts of the governed, and the problem of extending democratic "rights" without weakening the administrative machine or yielding to mere agitation or giving further openings to disaffection and unrest—are problems that demand the highest kind of statesmanship. It is questionable whether Great Britain is any longer in a position to furnish this kind of statesmanship. For one thing, the disease may have gone so far that nothing but the free use of the knife can stay its progress. A great many Indians have obviously simplified all their policies and aspirations into a resolve to make an end of British rule. They go upon the principle enunciated by the late British Premier, that good government is no substi-

tute for self-government. How far their views are sympathized in by the masses there is at present no means of knowing; but that India has entered a period of turbulence and convulsive agitation seems certain. It would in any case and at any time be a matter of supreme difficulty to devise a policy for the new emergency, and to determine whether repression or further concessions or a mixture of both was the right course to pursue. But just now the British freedom of choice and of action is manacled to an unprecedented degree by the democratic upheaval in Great Britain itself. The healthy and judicious indifference hitherto displayed towards the domestic affairs of Egypt and India by the House of Commons is being replaced by an impolitic curiosity. More and more M.P.'s are growing perilously interested in Egypt and India, are beginning to ask for streams of fact, are prying into this and questioning that, and are doing what they can to convert the supremacy of the House of Commons from a necessary fiction into an inquisitorial fact. They bring to the problem of Oriental government great earnestness, a colossal altruism, little imagination, a profound faith in the democratic idea, and no local knowledge. That is an impossible equipment for Imperial statesmanship, and its increasing favor among British Radicals is a danger of the first magnitude. A nonentity at Westminster may be hailed as a prophet in Egypt and India; and the outpourings of uninformed, sentimental and truculent visionaries in the House of Commons may stir up a ferment it will need blood and iron to allay. The Imperial crisis, therefore, that looms ahead is many-sided. Great Britain has sown the wind of democracy; she may now have to face the whirlwind. The education she has encouraged, the liberty she has granted, the license she has tolerated, the prosperity she has established, furnish the weapons which are now being turned against her. She cannot retreat; she hardly dare advance. The future appears to demand from her the exercise of precisely those qualities of sympathy, fellowship and psychological insight that are most wanting in the national temperament; and her Parliament, palpitating with an ill-regulated humanitarianism, is an assembly better fitted to paralyze than to fortify the arm of statesmanship.

BRITANNICUS.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PROSPERITY.

BY GIFFORD PINCHOT.

No other people on earth, I suppose, ever entered into possession of such material equipment as the people of the United States found when they first came to this continent. No other people have ever used their equipment with such vigor and determination, and have obtained such results, as have marked the exploitation by the people of the United States of the resources which they found. In wealth and in variety together these resources have a value apparently far beyond those of any other similar area which has been settled or can be settled on the earth by the white race.

In developing these resources we have developed also certain national characteristics. No other people have ever laid their hands to the immediate, practical task, and made use of their natural resources with the same effectiveness as have our own. It has been a story of magnificent achievement, a story unparalleled, and to remain unparalleled. The results have been both material and moral. In grappling with their economic problems the Americans have developed a type of efficiency which is a new thing in the world. With our marvellously rapid increase in wealth has been developed also a capacity for doing. The capacity to do has been fed by the doing, and we are now characterized by a combination of developed wealth and developed character unequalled among national assets. It has been an achievement worthy of high praise; an achievement of which every one of us has the right to be proud. On that side there is little to repine over.

But that, unfortunately, is not the whole of the story. There is a homely old anecdote of a farmer who had met with a very serious misfortune and was telling a neighbor about it. Sitting

in his chair the night before, he had heard an owl hooting outside, and went out to shoot it. The owl was on the ridge-pole of his barn. When he fired at the owl, the lighted wad dropped through an open window into the barn, and set fire to the hay. The flames spread from the barn to the woodshed, and then to the house, and with great difficulty he and his wife saved a small part of their possessions. The neighbor listened to all this recital with growing impatience. At last he broke in, "But did you kill the owl?" We have got our owl, and our owl is a splendid bird. But, meanwhile, our woodshed and our coal-bin and our spring house and our hay-mow, and a whole lot of the other indispensable things with which we must carry on our business, have either been burned up or very seriously scorched. The owl we have shot has cost us a heavy price.

What is the actual situation? What has it cost us to make this wonderful development? One very great and serious cost is the creation of an absolutely false point of view. We have come to think that the things worth while, and the only things worth while, are the things immediately at hand, and that foresight and consideration of the welfare of those who are coming after us are negligible factors. This is the point of view of the nation as illustrated in what it does. The future is left out of account in the race for immediate results, for the immediate dollar. That is the fundamental harm that has been done.

Before the difficulty can be corrected, we must not only take certain specific measures to preserve our natural resources, but, far more important, we must change our point of view. We have got to understand that, with a nation as with a man, foresight and prudence are the very foundations of successful continuance. It is a thought worth pondering that the qualities which go to make up a good citizen—the foresight which gives practical success, the present sacrifice for the sake of the future of the individual and his family, the desire that his children may have a fair chance to succeed after he has passed on—have found almost no organized expression in our national life. There is one exception—and it is a notable exception, even though it, too, needs making over in the interest of greater national efficiency—the exception of our public-school system. I believe that the Forest Service is the sole present example of a branch of our National Government which finds the reason for its existence

in the need of the long look ahead—in the need of making present provision for the generations that are to follow. As a nation, we have shown a shortsightedness of which, as individuals, no one of us would be guilty.

The essential thing to be achieved, if our natural resources are to be preserved, is far less the taking of specific and individual measures than the creation of a mental attitude on the part of our people, the creation of an habitual and effective public sentiment which will look ahead. For years before anything actually began to be done in forestry in this country, intelligent men would say, when asked, that forestry was an important question, and something ought to be done about it. But that was not enough to bring anything to pass. If we ask the first man we meet on the street, "Is it a good thing to conserve natural resources?" the answer will be, "Of course." But, until we have a sufficiently vital and militant public sentiment behind that general, vague opinion, until we get a changed point of view with life enough in it to demand action on the part of the men whom the people send to Congress and to the State legislatures, nothing will be done.

The careless attitude of most of our people has expressed itself in many directions. When we came first into this country, it was filled with game, and we used it absolutely without thought of to-morrow. The buffalo is our great and striking illustration of wicked, stupid waste. That great game animal has been so reduced in numbers that, out of the millions which once lived in this country, there are now only a thousand within the borders of the nation. The wild pigeons furnish another striking example. Other similar exterminations took place of game here, fish there, until the greatness of what had been accomplished in the way of destruction challenged attention. When settlements first began to attain some size along the Connecticut River, the apprentices in the various trades were required by their articles of indenture to agree to eat salmon so many times a week, and the masters were bound not to give them salmon more than so many times a week. But the Connecticut River salmon disappeared long ago, and it seems as if the Columbia River salmon might ultimately follow suit.

Effective work for the future first began to be done in the case of game and fish. The period of destruction in that matter

has been followed by a period of upbuilding, and it is safe to say that, as to game and fish and birds, we have passed the period of greatest danger. It was not a bad thing, in one sense, that the buffalo should have been partly destroyed, because the economic development of the western country could never have taken place if the grasses upon which the buffalo lived had not been made available for domestic cattle. The point is that we cared nothing about what we ought to have done. We simply do the easy, stupid thing, without foresight, and the results are very bad in very many cases.

There are certain renewable resources, and certain resources which are not renewable. Minerals are non-renewable resources. What may happen in the course of centuries hereafter does not interest us at all. We know that when the coal is gone, so far as we are concerned it is gone for good. Exhaustion of our supply of anthracite has been predicted in about fifty years. Yet in certain kinds of coal-mining, and perhaps even on the average, only about half the coal in the ground has actually been mined before the roof was allowed to fall in, so that what remains is lost forever. In other words, our coal-mining wastes (if this is true) one-half our coal, which is absolutely indispensable for our present industrial life. What may happen in the future it is difficult to predict, but we know that at present coal is a necessity, and we know that the supply of it is limited. Yet we are acting as if it made no difference whatever how much of that supply is lost to us. More than that, of the fifty per cent. which is mined, only about ten per cent., and in many cases only five per cent., of the energy of the coal is actually transformed into work. In short, under our present methods an excessively small quantity of the value of the coal to all our people is even put to use.

This is a very serious indictment of our national intelligence, with all due allowance for the necessities of the case. The individual who should follow such a course with the first necessities of his existence would speedily earn a very unenviable reputation among his fellows. Suppose a man adrift at sea in an open boat with a little water, enough to last him with ordinary use for five days, an infinitesimal chance of being picked up, and the certainty that he could not make land in less than twenty days. What would any of us say of him if, under these circumstances,

he not only drank all the water he wanted, but used the rest of it to wash his hands with and then threw it over the side? Yet we are not only using all the coal we want, but we are throwing a lot of it away.

Natural gas we have handled in precisely the same manner. The great flambeaux were kept burning day and night, year in and year out, in certain gas fields, until what people had called an "inexhaustible supply," until they really came to believe it, was all gone. So also many oil fields of the United States are already exhausted; and, with the utmost hopefulness in forecasting the discovery of new fields, is it not fairly reasonable to suppose that in time the oil, too, will have gone the way of much of the gas? Perhaps in nothing else, except our forests, have we as a people so distinctly emphasized our lack of foresight as we have in our treatment of mineral fuels, which in our present state of industry we must have to go on with our work. The facts seem to me incontrovertible and the conclusion inevitable. We ought to have known better, and now the time is actually here when, instead of the limitations which are imposed upon us by commercial conditions, we ought ourselves as a nation to grasp this question definitely and foresightedly as one of our great problems, one of the most difficult and one of the most essential which we must meet.

The subject of conservation as a national policy is interwoven with another important question of national policy—that of our public-land laws. From Tennessee and Georgia to the Gulf, and from Ohio to the Pacific Ocean, virtually all the land which has passed into private ownership has, except in the State of Texas, been acquired from the National Government. The laws under which most of this land was disposed of, and is still being disposed of, were made years ago. Two fundamental ideas underlie them. One is that it is a good thing virtually to give away our natural resources in order to get them into private ownership. The other is that these resources, enormously valuable in the mass, should be given in comparatively small quantities to a great many individuals, so as to diffuse prosperity and promote the settlement of the country by independent freeholders.

It is, I think, beyond question that, in its underlying principle and intent, the Homestead Law is thoroughly sound and wise. This law laid the basis of our present public-land policy, and be-

came, with the mineral-land law, the pattern after which most of our other land laws have been modelled. It was right that Uncle Sam should give, out of his vast unpeopled domain of agricultural land, a farm to any man who wanted it and was willing to live upon and work it for himself and his family. But it was not right that he should allow great quantities of the public domain to pass into the hands of men who wanted the land, not to work it, but to speculate with it and take the unearned increment which time brings to investments of this kind. It was not right that great and very valuable areas of timber lands, coal lands, and other classes of land, ownership of which meant control of natural resources, both renewable and unrenewable, of vital importance to the permanent public welfare, should be given away for enrichment of a comparatively few individuals through wasteful use. The laws were not meant to work that way. That they did in actual practice work that way on a very large scale was primarily because they provided no legitimate method by which lands other than mineral lands and farm lands could be made any use of at all.

Take the coal lands, for example. The law limits to a total of 640 acres the amount of coal lands which any one association of persons may obtain from the Government. Corporations intending to engage in coal-mining usually must control far larger areas than this before undertaking the expenditures required to develop their mines. The price at which the Government has disposed of these lands has been far below their actual value. By inducing individuals who were secretly their agents to take up coal lands for them, coal-mining corporations have been able to obtain what they wanted under the law, though in violation of its spirit. The law itself was wrong, because, in the first place, it made it excessively difficult for a man honestly to work the lands, and in the second place it omitted all consideration for the future. If Uncle Sam had said to our citizens, "You may have a coal-mine under practicable and definite rules, but you must work that coal-mine so that after you have obtained all you can from it, the people will have suffered just as little loss of wealth as possible," that would have been a good thing; but Uncle Sam said, "You may take the coal-mine, under very unworkable conditions, and after you have it you may do what you like with it." So we come to the necessity for the protection of the mineral

fuels remaining on the public lands on the one side, and on the other to the necessity for preventing the passage of large areas of public land into the hands of large holders for the sake of speculation.

The Homestead Law has often been made the means by which land has been taken possession of fraudulently by single owners, sometimes in ways which are not without their picturesque and humorous details. The law, for example, provides that when a homesteader takes up a piece of land he must build a house on it, and in his affidavit he must describe that house and bring the affidavit of two of his neighbors to prove that what he says is true. Sometimes the house was described as having been 14 by 16 or 18 by 20, the affiant having omitted to state that he referred to inches and not to feet, and that his house was built out of a cracker-box. There was an impression in the West for many years that a man needed to sleep on his homestead only once in six months. Where a large owner of land got his cowboys and sheep-herders to take up lands for him, he has been known to build a little house on wheels large enough for a man to sleep in, and move it from place to place. At the first stop of that little house, the first alleged settler would pass a night on his "homestead." The next night it would go to the next quarter section and the next man would sleep in it. By this ingenious arrangement it was not necessary for any one to build a house, and the land passed first into the hands of the men who did the sleeping, and then into the hands of the man who built the house on wheels. Many States have had large areas of swamp lands given to them and have sold them again. To establish the swampy character of such lands, would-be purchasers have made affidavit that they had passed over these alleged swamp lands in a boat, and have omitted to state that the boat, like the house, was on wheels.

Now, in these ways the conservation of the land for the man who himself will use it has been set at naught. There is nothing more important for us politically than the distinction between tenants and freeholders. Our land laws were distinctly intended to create freeholders. But vast areas of the land have gone into the hands of a few people whose tenants now cultivate it; and because they are tenants on the land these cultivators are less valuable citizens than they would be if they owned their own homes.

Every man ought to own his own home. Some years ago I went into a certain valley in the West. It was not long after President Cleveland made twenty million acres of forest reservations at one time, and set all the West on fire. I was travelling both to acquaint myself with public sentiment and to visit these different forests and see what ought to be done with them, and it was my habit to ask questions wherever I went. As a rule, the Westerner knows what he thinks, and is not ashamed of it, and he will tell exactly what he believes and wants if he is given half a chance. The moment I got into this valley, there came an absolute change in the attitude of the people. I was able with a great deal of trouble to find out what A, B and C thought, if I was willing to assure them it should go no farther. The trouble was that the people who lived in that valley did not know what the man who owned it thought, and they did not wish to tell me what they thought until they found out.

Since that day the impression has grown upon me profoundly that scarcely anything is more important to this country than guarding the land for the homemaker as against the large landholder. The latter, through control of the land, must have more or less control of the tenant who holds subject to his will. As the President has pointed out over and over again, the object of the whole public-land system is the making and maintenance of prosperous homes. It is difficult, until one comes into practical contact with it, to realize the vital and tremendous importance of this question of tenant *versus* freeholder.

Soil erosion raises another important problem of conservation. It has been truly said that the greatest tax a farmer has to pay is the tax levied on his land by the rain. The water both leaches out of the soil the elements which give it fertility and washes away the soil itself. And a singular beauty of our methods of cultivation which allow this is brought out by the fact that, after the farmer has lost this soil from the field where it belongs, it goes down into the channels of the rivers, where it does not belong, and costs the nation millions of dollars to take it out. If there ever was a loss that cut both ways, it is this loss of soil from the farm.

When the place of the buffalo was taken by domestic cattle, there was grazing enough at first for everybody, and the cattle business flourished. In consequence, much of the range became badly overstocked. Then came at intervals dry years, and the ranges were

relieved by the death in some cases of more than eighty per cent. of the cattle. This great loss led to a change in the methods of handling range stock; but the essential condition which had led to the trouble remained unchanged, and is unchanged to the present day. That condition is the unrestricted competition of individuals, each of whom wants to get all he can, and none of whom has any legal right to the exclusive use of the range or interest in its protection. From this condition the range suffers worse than the stock. Since any man who wants to use an open Western range has just as much right as any other man to use it, it often becomes a case of racing for the best, especially in the sheep industry. In the opinion of men who know, the carrying power of the Western ranges—some three hundred or four hundred million acres—has been reduced to not more than half what it once was. That this vast area of land should be able to contribute to the wealth of our people only one-half of what it once could is, surely, a reproach to our national intelligence.

If any man handles his property so as to damage his neighbor, he can be stopped. But if any man chooses to use his property in such a way as to destroy a part of the sum total of the wealth of the whole country, and therefore do harm to all the people, and to their descendants, that is supposed to be nobody's business. Change in the method of handling the public range is being fought on the ground that it is all a private matter, which the stockmen should be allowed to adjust among themselves. That the nation as a whole suffers is, I maintain with a good deal of vigor, somebody's business—the business of all of us. The condition of the range in Wyoming influences the prices of mutton in New York. Therefore, all of us have a share in this question of range control. We have a right to demand that a method which gives fair dealing both to the individual and to all the people together shall be put into operation. Individualism has been the key-note of our great development, and individualism is the method of doing business which makes character; but individualism which substantially says to all of us that it has the right to acquire one dollar for itself at the cost of two dollars to the commonwealth is individualism pushed too far. It is this point of view which very largely underlies the question of conservation. We shall come after a while to the point of view in legislation, that the general good ought specifically and definitely to outweigh private good.

In some cases, the big and powerful stockman has been able to monopolize large areas of the open range for his own exclusive use. One way in which this has been brought about is through monopoly of the water. By making himself owner of a relatively small amount of land, one man may become virtually owner of fifty or a hundred square miles of the open range. For example, a stockman in Montana or Idaho is using a range watered by a stream which runs through it. Under the public-land laws, land acquired by settlers has to be taken in rectangular subdivisions of a square mile, and the smallest subdivision which can be entered is forty acres. There is in existence what is known as land scrip. This represents the right acquired in various ways to take possession of public lands without settlement. It can be bought and sold. By buying land scrip in forty-acre tracts and making what are called shoe-string locations contiguous to each other all along a stream, until he had plastered it with scrip for miles, the stockman can become practically the owner of the stream, the controller of all the land which it waters. In such ways as this the man of large means has not seldom monopolized what is still nominally open to all. This may tend to the conservation of the range, but if so, it is at the expense of the principle of the square deal.

Any well-considered plan for conservation of the range, prepared with a view to making this resource contribute most fully to the general welfare, will have as one of its advantages that it will help to prevent the powerful man, the man of large means, from taking undue advantage of the man of small means. As things are now the big man always holds trumps. Perhaps it is the case of a man with five, ten or twenty bands of sheep. A small man with one band comes into the region which the other wishes to monopolize. Sheep are grazed in the West in "bands" of from 1,800 to 2,700 or 3,000 head, each cared for by a single "herder." The big man has so many bands of sheep that he can run his sheep around the band of the small man, and whether the small owner moves north, south, east or west, he will find the grass on the range eaten up. Or the big man will set aside a band to mix with the small man, after which it takes days to separate them. When that separation is finished, the sheep are mixed again. So, although the public-land laws were specifically intended to help the small man, the condition has been brought about all

over the West that the big man has the advantage and the small man usually draws the short straw.

If we are to have freeholders on the land, we must have small men as freeholders; and the small man must have an equal chance.

If we have been shortsighted in our use of mineral fuel and the open range, we have been vastly more shortsighted in our use of the forests. Wood is not less necessary to our present civilization than coal. The best figures obtainable indicate that at our present rate of consumption we have now on hand standing timber for only about twenty years. And like the man floating in the open boat, we have no other supply from which we can expect to meet our demands. The Canadians are coming to need all the wood they have; so with the Mexicans. South America is wonderfully rich in forests, but the wood is mainly of kinds unsuited to our principal needs. Siberia has much timber, but it would involve very heavy expense to transport it by rail to the ocean. We have permitted ourselves to get into a condition where a timber famine is not only likely, but certain. The best we can expect to do is somewhat to mitigate the famine; but how much we can mitigate it no one can yet tell. How much the use of re-enforced concrete, steel and other materials will help cannot be said. That these will help largely there can be no doubt. Yet the curious fact remains that though we have already so largely substituted brick and stone and steel and concrete for wood in building, vastly more wood is used for construction purposes in the United States to-day than when wood was the only material used. At best, we have gotten ourselves into a place where we must suffer, and we must pay the bill.

Fortunately, it is not altogether too late to take some remedial measures. The nation has already about 165,000,000 acres of national forests in the West, and is likely to have others in the East. In time these forests will be brought to the point where they will produce the most timber which the land is capable of growing. But the Government cannot be expected to meet, from less than one-fourth of the forests of the United States, a demand three times greater than the annual growth of all the forests of the United States. What is needed is to bring the forests which are in private hands under right use.

When the forests fail, every kind of industry, every kind of business, every man, woman and child in the country will feel

the pinch. Forest products enter into every part of our domestic and social economy. This is true because the forests furnish not only wood and pasture, but also water. As our forests are destroyed our water powers suffer, the navigability of our streams suffers, irrigation suffers, and the domestic and manufacturing water-supply suffers. Wherever flow streams which rise in the mountains or in the forests, as do practically all the streams of the country, there forest preservation is a subject of first importance. The central cause for the creation of the Waterways Commission by President Roosevelt last year was the need that we should group together all possible uses of our streams, and get from them, in all these uses combined, the largest service which they can render; just as the ordinary man of common sense uses his farm, his store, his horse and wagon to serve his convenience and welfare, not in one way, but in as many ways as circumstances will permit. In the past it has made little difference whether, in the development of navigation, the possibility of the use of a stream for water power was destroyed or not; whether, in the development of irrigation, the possibility of navigation was overlooked or not. But the time has come when we should use prudence and foresight in dealing with the streams with all their possible uses in plain view.

The principle which underlies the whole conservation movement seems so simple and axiomatic that it is difficult to argue it. It ought not to be necessary to point out that, when you cannot get any more of some necessity of daily life, you ought to save in the best way you can what you have of it. President Roosevelt said in a recent message that our streams are less navigable now than fifty years ago, and on the whole less navigated. While we have been spending millions and millions on them in their lower reaches, we have shut our eyes to the fact that the navigability of a stream depends first of all on what happens at the headwaters, and that the net result of the expenditure of these millions has been to leave the streams in worse condition than they were in when the expenditure began. We have been equally shortsighted, as I think, in allowing great monopolies to be formed for the use of water power from these streams without the possibility of control in the public interest, or of return to the public for the immensely valuable privileges acquired from the public. During the last session of Congress companies interested in the development of electric power in the West sought gen-

eral legislation from Congress which would give to private concerns a virtual monopoly of water power throughout the public lands of the United States, while special bills have been introduced which would grant in the aggregate to private companies the enormous total of 1,300,000 horse-power, largely in the older States. The capital value of 1,300,000 horse-power, when developed, would run into the hundreds of millions.

The interest of the people at large is greater than the interest of any single man or of any single body of men less than all the people. When Uncle Sam provides for the use of his natural resources, it is no more than fair that he who receives the right to use them should be required to do so in such a way as to do as much good, and as little harm, as possible.

I believe that this is the most fundamental question now before this country. If we succeed in the conservation of our natural resources, we shall have an opportunity to succeed in everything else; if we fail in the conservation of our natural resources, we shall be certain to fail in everything else. To have a successful and prosperous and happy people governing themselves by wise laws, there must be land for them to live on and natural resources for their support. If we fail in this, all the rest goes. If we win in this, none of us is prepared to believe that we shall not win in all else besides.

GIFFORD PINCHOT.

THE MEDICAL FEE.

BY ARTHUR C. HEFFENGER, M.D.

THE publicity given to the occasional large fees which have been received by physicians and surgeons during recent years in America has aroused acute public interest, and brought forth from time to time ill-judged criticism. It is the object of this paper to show that the medical profession really gets no more than it conscientiously earns, and that the laity pays no more than its just obligation.

Large fees are few and far between, and are paid by the wealthy, often as gratuities. It is a fact that these same fees are no larger to-day than those paid in England, and sometimes in Russia, a century ago.

Who shall say what a man may do in gratitude for a life saved? The value of the service rendered, if measured in dollars, would depend upon the commercial value of the life, or its value in other respects to the community or country or even the world.

The American Medical Association, our highest medical authority, has never attempted to establish an ethical fee. In point of fact, the fee evolves itself, and ever has been and ever will be a graded one. The great bulk of practice is practically charity—that is, it represents small fees or no fees. This is true alike in the remote country districts, and in the great metropolitan centres. There is one difference, however, which should be distinctly remembered, and that is that rural charity is generally deserved, whereas urban charity is often misplaced. It is stated that practically thirty-three per cent. of the entire practice of New York City is charity, and that in a third of such cases the doctor is imposed upon.

In view of these facts, and considering that few physicians die rich, can it be said that the doctor is overpaid?

The fee of the general practitioner is inevitably determined by the financial standing of the community in which he practises, and the law of nature and economics will, as a rule, put the right man in the right place. It naturally follows that the best equipped men gravitate to the centres which appreciate and demand high standards, and expect to pay commensurately for them. Among these able-to-pay people, however, there is an occasional protest, and insinuation that the doctor is commercial and mercenary, exacting fees beyond the value of his professional service. A pertinent case of this kind is cited by Dr. John L. Hildreth of Massachusetts, in the Annual Discourse before the Massachusetts Medical Society in June, 1906, as follows: "A New York surgeon asked $1,000 for an operation for removing an appendix. The mother of the patient offered $600; but the surgeon protested, cited testimony of brother physicians to prove that the fee was not excessive, and finally received the balance. The letter which enclosed the last check was as follows: 'My discussion with you has been a friendly one, and so you will not, I am sure, suspect me of acrimony when I say that my feeling about the present excessive charge of surgeons is a general one, and the reflection of a sentiment that is everywhere one of surprise and dissatisfaction. We do not question your ability, but we feel you make us pay too dear for it.'"

This lady wrote under sincere conviction that she had been grossly overcharged, and she gave the impression that the surgeon used his professional skill as a mercenary lever to extort unearned dollars from his patient's purse. She did not plead financial inability to pay the bill, which was simply at the rate current in her locality and sphere; and she seemed oblivious to the fact that the surgeon who operated had unquestionably performed many difficult operations upon charitable subjects, aggregating thousands of dollars in value, to render himself proficient, gain prominence in his profession, and thus prove his qualifications to meet the demands of just such people. The surgeon is not the kind of man this complaint would make the world believe him. He is the hardest-worked and most unselfish of men; ever ready to do charity, night and day, and bestowing the same devoted skill and attention upon the suffering poor as upon the rich. A quotation from "The Making of a Man" well illustrates this: "The great French surgeon, M. Bourdon, was sent for one

day to perform a critical operation upon Cardinal Du Bois, the Prime Minister under the old Monarchy. 'You must not expect, sir,' remarked the Cardinal upon the surgeon's entrance, 'to treat me in the same rough manner in which you treat the poor miserable wretches at your hospital of the Hôtel Dieu.' 'My lord,' replied Bourdon, proudly, 'every one of those miserable wretches, as Your Eminence is pleased to call them, is a Prime Minister in my eyes.'"

The possession of great wealth undoubtedly carries with it heavy obligations, and every man should expect to pay according to his ability. The legal fee is graded according to the sum involved, or the value of the liberty or life jeopardized. Why should not the same principle obtain in medicine?

One of our foremost American surgeons has said:

"The fixing of a fee correctly is a talent which is either born in a man, or only learned after long experience. The doctor should endeavor to ascertain the patient's circumstances. He can thus be in a position, knowing as he does the gravity of the operation or its triviality, to say what the operation is worth to the patient. The doctor is necessarily the better judge of the two, as he can tell fairly well the value of both these factors, while the patient cannot be well trusted to estimate the severity of an operation about which he is, and must remain, more or less ignorant. When we see what the prices are in other callings, such as law and business, I think we can safely conclude that the profession as a whole is not overpaid. I think there are in every city men who take a purely commercial view of their work, who make work, and do other unprofessional acts, but they get found out sooner or later, and get their pay in kind."

There is practically little difference in the size of the fees asked by the same class of men in England and America. The usual chamber consultation fee in London is two guineas, and capital operations cost from twenty guineas to the thousands, according to the gravity of the case and the circumstances of the patient. Consultation on the Riviera, which necessitates several days of absence, is usually four hundred guineas.

Office consultation in our large cities ranges from five to twenty dollars. Consultations out of the cities involving an absence of half a day range from one hundred to two hundred dollars, while an absence of a day or two would justify a charge of five hundred or a thousand dollars.

A wealthy railroad magnate, having lost one daughter in child-

birth, when his second was approaching accouchement, engaged an obstetrical specialist to remain with her for a period before the event, and until it was successfully over. He was to receive a hundred dollars a day while waiting, and a thousand for the accouchement. He waited patiently two months, and at the conclusion of the case received a fee of seven thousand dollars. The father of the lady was most anxious that nothing ill should befall his daughter, and determined to have the services of as good a man as could be obtained for as long a time as necessary. He got what he wanted, and the fee paid was certainly not excessive under the circumstances.

The care of a polo-player's fractured finger netted a New York surgeon one thousand dollars; while the removal of an appendix located on the left side by a surgeon of the same city, brought the tidy sum of fifteen thousand dollars. Neither bill was excessive under the circumstances. The polo-player was very wealthy; he desired a good finger and sought the services of an exceptionally well qualified man to care for it. The appendix case was a very unusual one; exceptional skill was required to find the aberrant organ, and the brilliant success of the operation made it worth the money to the patient, who was amply able to pay for it.

The twenty-five-thousand-dollar bill rendered to the estate of a late millionaire for a week's devoted professional services by a physician who travelled hundreds of miles and left a most lucrative practice to give them, was not excessive. Had the patient lived, he would undoubtedly have sent his check to this devoted friend and physician for an equal amount. Such gratuities are not infrequent. A Boston surgeon, a few years ago, performed laparotomy on the wife of a wealthy man, and, before he could send a bill, a check for ten thousand dollars was received.

The largest fee of this nature that has come within my knowledge was received by a family physician of New York, who attended a patient in a yacht from New York to a port in one of our Southern States, a voyage of about a week's duration. The patient, who was in the last stages of tuberculosis, died as they arrived in port. For his tender care and kindly ministrations, the doctor received a check for sixty thousand dollars.

There are a few men in every profession who sully the ranks to which they belong by resorting to methods that are unworthy

and ignoble; but such men are held in obloquy by their confrères, and are soon estimated at their true value by the community. These men are truly commercial and devoid of either professional or personal honor. They magnify trivial ailments, or convince patients that they have ills which do not exist, in order that they may get credit for performing remarkable cures, charge large fees, and gain unmerited reputation. This is pure quackery, though done under the cloak of regular practice, and the culprits are not confined to the lesser lights of the profession, but may be found among the most fashionable practitioners in metropolitan centres. They are often specialists, and, to get patients, are willing to resort to collusion with general practitioners, who, envious of the large fees they think the specialist gets, openly demand, before referring a patient, a division of the consulting or operating fee. Language is not strong enough to condemn such nefarious methods, and, happily, incidents of the kind are rare.

The general practitioner is the nearest man to the people, and his relations to the family are as intimate, and faith in him so implicit, it naturally occurs that he is asked to select the consultant when needed; and, as a rule, he may be relied upon to serve his patient's interest faithfully. Certainly he is a much safer guide than the lay friend who always knows just the man to go to.

Dr. Robert T. Morris, of New York, would settle the division of the fee on moral grounds. He says:

"If it is worth ten thousand dollars to a man to have his gall stones removed, there is no doubt that the physician who carries the patient through convalescence to final recovery, the anæsthetist who gives the luxury and safety of modern anæsthesia, the assistants who are chosen because of special fitness for the work, should all share in receiving dignified compensation for their services. There is only one little point to be observed, and that is that the whole transaction must be made with the knowledge of the patient. Otherwise, we are guilty of collusion. The physician is a friend to the patient, and does not look upon the latter as his prey. Even among lawyers I find the same spirit prevailing, Horace Greeley to the contrary notwithstanding."

The large fees received by famous medical men in later life will be generally found to follow many years of ill-requited toil. The lives of Professor Samuel D. Gross, of America, and Sir Astley Cooper and Sir James Paget, of England, illustrate this.

Professor Gross as a young man practised in Easton, Pennsylvania, where he received fifty cents for a visit, and for out-of-town calls from one to two dollars. The consultation fee was five dollars for the first, and one dollar for each subsequent, visit.

After some years of this discouraging work, he was called to Cincinnati, Ohio, to become demonstrator of anatomy in the Medical College of Ohio. This position would naturally give him prominence in the city and State, and yet for some time he received only one dollar for local visits, and five dollars for consultations. He remained in Cincinnati seven years, and finally succeeded in building up a practice, mostly consulting, which netted him nine thousand dollars during the last year of his residence there. He then went to the University of Louisville to teach; and, his abilities gaining recognition, he had succeeded, by the time he left there in 1856, in accumulating sixty thousand dollars. His practice in Philadelphia, where he reached his zenith, was large and lucrative. His highest fee, two thousand dollars, was received in 1865 for visiting a planter in Alabama. Subsequently he received one thousand dollars for a trip to northern Alabama, involving a week's absence. His largest operating fee was one thousand dollars in a case of neuralgia. For his professorships he received, up to 1870, one hundred and ten thousand dollars, and for books eighteen thousand.

Dr. Gross was prominent in the profession of his day, a bold and skilful operator, an able and successful author, with an international reputation, and yet his largest operating fee was only a thousand dollars. Surely no one can say this great man was overpaid.

In the history of the life of Sir Astley Cooper, the celebrated surgeon of Guy's Hospital, London, it may be seen that he had an even harder struggle during the greater part of his professional life. He says:

> "My receipts for the first year were five guineas; the second, £26; the third, £64; the fourth, £96; the fifth, £100; the sixth, £200; the seventh, £400; the eighth, £610; the ninth [the year he was appointed surgeon to the hospital], £1,100; although I was a lecturer all the time on anatomy and surgery."

In the year 1813, he performed lithotomy upon a Mr. Hyatt, a West Indian merchant, for which he was paid the largest fee ever

received up to that time for the operation. There were two physicians attending the case, and each received £300. After they had been paid and had taken their departure, Dr. Cooper visited the patient to felicitate him upon his fine recovery and bid him farewell. As he was leaving, Mr. Hyatt, it is said, took off his nightcap and threw it at the doctor, playfully saying, "There, young man, put that into your pocket." Sir Astley took out a piece of paper, and threw the nightcap back, with the remark that he could not rob Mr. Hyatt of so useful an article. The paper proved to be a check for one thousand guineas. It is related, among other eccentricities of this West Indian merchant, that one day, when his physician, Dr. Dobson, was hurriedly responding to a call from him, the physician fell and injured a knee in the sight of his patient. Mr. Hyatt immediately went to the assistance of the Doctor, saying, "Dobson, I have here the best plaster in the world for a bruised knee," whereupon he drew out a £100 bank-note and plastered it upon the injured knee.

Sir James Paget, in his Memoirs and Letters, says, "If I had died before I was forty-seven, I should have left my wife and children in extreme poverty; if I had died or become unfit for hard work before I was sixty, they would have been very poor." And this notwithstanding the fact that he worked hard sixteen hours a day, six days a week, and travelled from five to eight thousand miles in a year. His yearly income, till he had been a surgeon sixteen years, did not exceed £100. After this, it grew to £700, and gradually increased until it exceeded £10,000, falling at once to about £7,000 when he gave up operating. Thus it is seen that this famous English surgeon did not begin to receive large fees until after he was sixty, though immediately afterward he had the most lucrative practice in the United Kingdom.

The surgeon of the present day, as a rule, commands higher fees than the physician, but a hundred years ago the order was reversed.

As it has been the surgeon's fee which has evoked most criticism, this paper would not be complete did it not convey to the public some idea of the qualifications necessary to make a skilful and successful operator. To be competent to perform the varied and difficult feats of modern surgery, which ameliorate desperate conditions, cure heretofore hopeless diseases, and save hosts of valuable lives, the surgeon must be an uncommon type of man.

A surgeon is born, not made. The quick, accurate and decisive mental analysis and deft handicraft which characterize the truly great surgeon are God-given attributes. Education and training may produce a fairly good imitation, but the true ring of the precious metal is lacking, and in trying situations the dross will show. He must bring to his life's work a master passion, which impels him ever onward, and dominates his thoughts and actions. In his mind should be a master-key that will unlock every door that bars his progress, every door that shuts out the view to the next step in a difficult operation. His clear-cut thought and unerring action open all before him in every case, and at all stages of a case, and at critical moments, when life or death wavers in the balance, his fine decision turns the scale in favor of the patient, and a precious life is saved.

To fully develop his natural gifts, he must have a liberal classical education, as well as a thorough professional one, and this entails years of student life with heavy financial outlay.

Are not the services of such a man without price?

ARTHUR C. HEFFENGER.

THE NEW IRELAND.—VIII.

THE ECONOMIC REVIVAL

BY SYDNEY BROOKS

I DWELT in my last article on the valiant efforts that are being made to reorganize Irish agriculture on a co-operative basis. They are far from standing alone. Within the last twelve years there has been an unprecedented concentration of Irish thought, both private and official, upon problems of constructive economics. It will be convenient as well as accurate to date this new development from the summoning in 1895 of the Recess Committee. The General Election of that year had resulted in a smashing defeat for the Liberals. The feelings that had been aroused by Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1893 died down when it was seen that, for purposes of practical politics, Home Rule was again indefinitely postponed. Sir Horace Plunkett seized upon the momentary calm to formulate and submit to his countrymen "a proposal affecting the general welfare of Ireland." The proposal was very simple; it was only the circumstance that it was put forward in Ireland and by an Irishman that made it so momentous. Sir Horace suggested that the time had come when Unionists, without abating one jot of their Unionism, and Nationalists, without abating one jot of their Nationalism, might meet and confer upon non-partisan schemes for the material and social betterment of their common country. Economic legislation, though sorely needed by Ireland, was hopelessly unattainable unless it could be removed from the region of controversy. All parties and all creeds were at one in desiring the welfare of Ireland. They might differ on the constitutional issue, but why should that prevent them from co-operating in projects of immediate and tangible utility, projects that could be furthered with-

out the smallest compromise of political faith? It gives the measure of Ireland's enslavement to the curse of contention that few were sanguine enough to believe that the Committee suggested by Sir Horace Plunkett could be got together. For a time the pessimists seemed on the way to be justified. Mr. Justin McCarthy, at that time the leader of the largest section of the Nationalist Party, declined to take part in any organization that put material improvement above politics. Colonel Saunderson, the dashing leader of the Irish Unionists, refused point-blank to sit on any Committee with Mr. John Redmond. Mr. Redmond himself, however, speaking for his little band of "Independents"—all that was left of the disciplined host that had once followed Parnell through thick and thin—announced his readiness to cooperate with Sir Horace Plunkett. Among the people generally the proposal met with a swift and hearty success. The Committee was formed; meeting when Parliament was not sitting, it became known as the Recess Committee; and among its members were to be found representatives, and in nearly all cases the best representatives, of every interest, class, industry, creed and party in Ireland. Orangemen and Jesuits, Unionists and Nationalists, the magnates of the industrial North, the leaders of the agricultural South and West, sat side by side in absolute harmony, and after months of exhaustive inquiry in Ireland and abroad presented a unanimous Report. Such a spectacle was unique in Irish history. For the first time practicality triumphed over bigotry and partisanship. For the first time the politicians and the men of business met and fraternized on a common platform. For the first time an economic object secured the united support of the two forces that hitherto, to the immense disadvantage of the country, had been kept apart—the force of industrial leadership on the one hand and of political leadership on the other.

The aim of the Recess Committee was to ascertain the means by which the Government could best promote the development of Ireland's agricultural and industrial resources. The substance of its recommendations was that a new Government Department, to be called the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, should be created, should be adequately endowed, and should be charged with the duty of administering State aid to agriculture and industries in Ireland in such a way as to evoke and supplement, but not to supplant, self-help and individual

initiative. These recommendations gathered round them a large and enthusiastic body of public opinion. They were pressed upon the Government by an Ireland that seemed for the moment to have forgotten its internal feuds and to have risen from the morass of politics into the clear air of practical endeavor. The Government found itself confronted by an irresistible case that, for its own part, it was only too anxious to meet. In 1899 the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction became a reality. It was provided at the outset with a capital sum of about $100,000 and an annual income of slightly over $800,000 for development purposes. Its powers include the aiding, improving and developing of agriculture in all its branches; horticulture, forestry, home and cottage industries; sea and inland fisheries; the aiding and facilitating of the transit of produce; the provision of technical instruction suitable to the industrial needs of the country; and the organization of a system of education in science and art. Many scattered but co-related Boards and Departments were merged in the new Department and its constitution was expressly framed to enable the Government and the people to work together towards the building up of a more prosperous Ireland. At some risk of dulness I must dwell a little longer on this feature of its administrative framework. The members of the Recess Committee and the founders of the Department were in complete agreement that its utility depended upon the spirit and degree of its co-operation with the people. To insure this co-operation, to make it possible for the Department to labor not only for the people but with them, a constitution was devised which renders it unique among British governing bodies. Attached to the Department is a Council of Agriculture of 102 members, two-thirds of whom are appointed by the County Councils, the remainder being nominated by the Vice-President of the Department. The Council is chosen for three years; it must be convened at least once a year; and its functions are deliberative and advisory. The criticisms, suggestions and recommendations of the Council have proved to be of the greatest value to the officials of the Department. But the Council fulfils another purpose also. Once every three years it resolves itself into an Electoral College, choosing members to represent it on the Agricultural Board and on the Board of Technical Instruction. The Agricultural Board, consisting of twelve members, eight of whom are elected by the

Council, passes upon the expenditure of all moneys from the endowment funds of the Department. Having therefore the ultimate power of the purse, it is able to check, modify and if necessary veto any policy of which it does not approve. The Board of Technical Instruction, with a rather more complex constitution, has precisely the same powers in relation to its special province. It is clear that machinery, so unusual and elaborate as this, can only be worked at all if it is pervaded by the right spirit. It is clear also that, given the right spirit, it presents a singularly acute and inspiriting union of administrative efficiency and popular control. But the Department is a democratic body, not only in its organization, but in its *modus operandi*. The Act creating it empowered the local County, Borough and District Councils to appoint committees, partly elective and partly co-optive, for the purpose of carrying out such of the Department's schemes as are of local and not of general importance; and to participate in these schemes the local authorities must themselves contribute to the cost of financing them. In this way the Department is brought and kept in touch with the needs of each district without losing its centralized efficiency and the principle of local effort and local co-operation is effectively preserved.

Nearly all the administrative Boards in Ireland are not Irish but English, alien institutions framed after the Whitehall model, largely manned by Englishmen and, whether useful or not, symbols to the Irish mind of a foreign and uncongenial rule. But the Department of Agriculture represents not only a concession won by argument and persuasion instead of agitation, but an effort of purely native thought applied to national economics. The people know it to be their very own; their attitude towards it is wholly different from their attitude towards any other administrative establishment in the country; it enters their daily lives and businesses as a friend and not as a stranger; and I think it a most hopeful and significant fact that this, almost the first, application of Irish ideas to the problems of Irish government should have resulted in the creation of a Department that is not only a variation from the normal type, but in range, efficiency and responsiveness to the real needs of the country far surpasses any similar Department in the British Isles. Most of the credit of this achievement must go to Sir Horace Plunkett. He not only conceived the Department, but was its first working head.

and the principles which guided him through its early critical years were the only ones compatible with genuine and lasting improvement. Ireland being a country where the politicians and the masses are alike almost destitute of economic knowledge and where the facile view that the State is responsible for the welfare of the people is most greedily accepted, it asked courage to risk unpopularity by going slow, by refraining from spoon-feeding, by keeping strictly to the fundamental principle of helping the people to help themselves, and by insisting that instruction must take precedence of doles and subsidies. Happily for Ireland, Sir Horace Plunkett possessed this courage. Under his guidance the Department became the one radiating centre in the vast circumference of Irish officialdom of sound economic thought and practice. I cannot attempt even a *précis* of its multitudinous activities. They cover the whole field of agriculture and technical instruction and even though the experimental period cannot yet be regarded as closed—the Department has only been in existence for eight years—it is not too early to say that there is not a branch of agriculture or of technical instruction that is not the better for its existence. The foundations have been well and truly laid; the youngest of the Irish Departments is already the most useful.

It has had to contend with many obstacles. A certain amount of friction between the Department and the local committees was at first inevitable. The idea of State aid following instead of preceding voluntary and individual exertions had to be popularized. Many wild misconceptions as to the means, objects and powers of the Department had to be removed. The unorganized condition of most of the Irish farmers and the backwardness of primary education made the preliminary task of explanation and of forming workable relations with the agriculturists of any given district an arduous and protracted proceeding. Above all, the Nationalist politicians who had at first blessed the Department soon began to curse it, to obstruct its development, and to do what they could to turn the people against it. Their chief, almost their sole, conception of economic policy is a system under which the State by grants and subsidies does everything for the people and the people do nothing for the State except to open their pockets a little wider. When they found that the Department was determined to insist upon local endeavor as a condition of official co-operation and assistance, they frantically assailed

it because in seven years it had not repaired the ravages of seven centuries. Then, again, it was a grievous disappointment to them to find that Sir Horace Plunkett chose his officers with merit and efficiency as his single test and was neither to be cajoled nor coerced into providing soft posts for political hangers-on. Moreover, as I explained in the preceding article, the Department subsidized the co-operative movement to which the publicans and "gombeen-men," by whose favor many of the Nationalist M.P.'s hold their seats, are violently hostile. Sir Horace Plunkett, furthermore, had built up, through the Department and the local elected committees and through the co-operative societies, an organization which was absolutely non-political and which the Nationalist "machine" was desperately anxious to capture. And besides all this he had published a book which Mr. Redmond brazenly described as "full of undisguised contempt for the Irish race," which the priests, and especially those who had not read it, fell instantly foul of, and which was undoubtedly the means of creating a great deal of foolish prejudice against him. Add to the list of these offences that Sir Horace Plunkett is a Protestant and a Unionist and his vulnerability in the *mêlée* of Irish public life is easily appreciated.

But the Nationalist opposition to him and to his work fetched a wider compass and was based on more general grounds than any I have as yet indicated. It is one of the most deplorable features of the Nationalists' propaganda that they resent any attempt to promote Irish welfare from within. They consistently act as though the demand for Home Rule were in inverse proportion to Irish prosperity and as though an Ireland that was helped too far along the path of agricultural and industrial progress would grow indifferent to the national question. The only thing, they declare, which can ever restore prosperity to Ireland is Home Rule; and when this fallacy is disproved by the spectacle of Irishmen increasing their well-being by their own efforts, they at once declare that it is the result of a conspiracy to turn the minds of the people from the constitutional issue. This must seem so wildly absurd to the practicality of Americans and to their sense of proportion that I feel bound to justify what I have written by quotations from two of the acknowledged leaders of the Irish Party. Mr. Redmond when he left New York in October, 1904, wrote a letter to the Editor of the "Irish World"

warning Americans against "an insidious attempt" which was "being made in America by officials and agents of the British Government to divert the minds of the friends of Ireland from the National movement under the pretence of promoting an industrial revival in Ireland." "I myself," added the leader of the Irish Party, "at one time entertained some belief in the good intentions of Sir Horace Plunkett and his friends, but recent events have entirely undeceived me; and Sir Horace Plunkett's recent book . . . makes it plain to me that the real object of the movement in question is to undermine the National Party and divert the minds of our people from Home Rule, which is the only thing which can ever lead to a real revival of Irish industries." Mr. John Dillon, a far more influential man in Ireland than Mr. Redmond, is even more vehement in his antagonism to anything that promises to make Ireland more prosperous and more businesslike. "I have been criticised more than once," he said in November, 1906, "because I have been hostile to the whole machine which is controlled by Sir Horace Plunkett. Why have I been hostile to it? Because I know from my own knowledge that it is from top to bottom a machine to burst up and destroy the National Party and the National movement. It comes like a wolf in sheep's clothing. Its agents go among the people as the promoters of industry; but the real object of the whole business is to break up the National Party and to prepare the way for Devolution." There is nothing to be added by way of comment on these preposterous and deliberate absurdities except to remark that they reflect but too truthfully the common attitude of the Irish Party towards all endeavors on behalf of internal betterment. It has become a fixed habit with the leaders of that Party to denounce all such endeavors as political conspiracies.

For these reasons the Nationalist M.P.'s set themselves to thwart Sir Horace Plunkett and the Department by every means in their power. They hindered but they could not destroy the admirable work he initiated—the people accepted, welcomed and utilized it too eagerly for that. But they could and did get rid of Sir Horace Plunkett himself. The one serious blot in the Act creating the Department of Agriculture was the clause providing that its Vice-President and working head should be a member of the Government and therefore a Member of Parliament. At the time the Department was launched Sir Horace

Plunkett was in Parliament. He lost his seat, however, at the election of 1900. The Unionist Government, nevertheless, requested him to remain in his post. The Council of Agriculture, composed, as I have said, of two-thirds elected members, virtually all of whom are Nationalists, seconded the request. Sir Horace Plunkett repeatedly offered to resign if they gave the word, but this representative body of Irish farmers, knowing his value and the value of his work, as repeatedly invited him to remain. When the Liberal Government came into power in 1906 Sir Horace Plunkett, though a political opponent, was asked to continue in office until a specially appointed Committee had inquired into the workings and constitution of the Department. The Nationalists, however, could contain themselves no longer. They closed round Mr. Birrell, demanding Sir Horace Plunkett's dismissal; and Mr. Birrell, notwithstanding that the Report of the Committee was in his hands and that it specifically recommended that the Vice-Presidency should be made a non-Parliamentary post, gave way. Sir Horace was turned out and Mr. T. W. Russell, once a Unionist politician and now almost, if not quite, a Home Ruler, a man of great fire and zeal but wholly unversed in practical agricultural problems, was installed in his place. I have narrated this unsavory incident at length in order that Americans may appreciate the sort of obstacles that a constructive reformer has to contend with in Ireland at the hands of the professed friends and representatives of the Irish people. The Nationalists have had their way and Mr. Russell is now administering the Department with the looked-for regard for political susceptibilities. None the less, though the danger of a lapse into the disastrous policy of spoon-feeding is not altogether passed, the Department remains the most original and beneficial institution in Ireland and, so long as as it is developed along the lines laid down by its originators, cannot help contributing with increasing success to an all-round raising of the standards of economic thought, of industrial preparation, of agricultural practice and of rural living throughout Ireland.

But it is not in agriculture alone that one feels the stir and straining of an upward lift. All over Ireland sounds the hum of practical endeavor, with an undertone of almost feverish poignancy. There is something in it of the passion of a religious revival expressing itself in the dry terms of industrial economics. Nowhere

have I met so many men and women so consumed with the ambition to "do something" for their country. I dare not say that their activities are always working along the soundest lines or that many of them do not confuse benevolence with beneficence. But the spirit behind them is admirable, and now less than ever can Ireland afford to see it relaxed. There are many aspects from which, so far from having passed the crisis of her fate, Ireland may be said to be just entering it. The policy of land purchase has laid the foundations of a new social order of peasant proprietors, but the superstructure to be erected on those foundations depends on the efforts of the Irish people themselves and cannot be determined by any external agency whatsoever. And even when every instrument of agricultural co-operation, of technical instruction, of State assistance acting upon local enterprise, of migration and resettlement, has been pressed into service—even then only a beginning will have been made. Without more industries and manufactures, without the extension of handicrafts subsidiary to agriculture, without a levelling-up of the whole scale of rural life, Ireland can hardly win her way to the prosperity she deserves. The problem of Irish development has lost something of its old political bitterness, only to take on a yet more stringent economical acuteness. The appalling drain of emigration still goes on. The Lunacy Commissioners and the Health Statistics tell a tale of even more sinister omen. The 200,000 uneconomic holdings remain more or less as they were. The crushed industrial instinct has yet to be revived. Capital still seeks the savings-bank. Taxation, direct and indirect, still awaits readjustment. The high natural capacities of the people, their quick intelligence, their industry—or should I rather say their latent faculty for industry?—have still to be made effective. In spite of everything men feel that Ireland is in peril of sinking into a stupor worse than death. With the intentness of doctors round a bed of sickness, they are striving and wrestling for a desperate recovery.

I wish I could pass their heroic efforts under microscopic review. But here a broad and rapid glance must suffice. There has been of late years a testing of many of the shafts and cranks of the Dublin Castle machinery. The Irish railways and the administration of the poor-law, the workings of the Congested Districts Board—the Board that has practically built up from

nothing the fisheries on the western coast and is conducting on land, under inconceivable difficulties and on somewhat dubious principles, a vast experiment in the migration and transplantation of the peasants and in the conversion of small barren holdings into moderate-sized farms—the Department of Agriculture, and the practicability of reafforestation, have all alike been inquired into. But the official fermentation is as nothing to the unofficial. Go where you will, even into the heart of desolate Mayo, and you do not get beyond its scope. Every town and county seems to have its Industrial Development Association; every paper seems to be urging upon the public the duty of preferring Irish manufactures. Openings for new industries and the revival of old ones are zealously canvassed. The resources of the country are being brought one by one under fresh and open-minded examination. You find a priest here who has raised $30,000 to start a woollen mill. You find a duchess there who has founded a co-operative creamery, and an earl's wife somewhere else who has revived in her neighborhood the homespun tweed industry. The vast extension of Irish lace-making owes more to Lady Aberdeen than to any one else. Mr. Birrell can hardly stir outside the Secretary's Lodge in Phœnix Park without somebody trying to pick his official pocket for a new railway or a pier or Government aid to this enterprise and to that. It all, I suppose, helps. Some of it perhaps would make one suspect that there is a danger of industrial development becoming a social fad. A good deal of it, too, is ill-regulated and has more relation to sentiment and philanthropy than to commercial principles. But it keeps the question alive, and it creates an atmosphere that favors the solid achievements of practical men. To get a few shop-windows dressed with Irish goods, to win an Irish trade-mark from officialdom, to expose foreign manufacturers who try to palm off their wares as Irish, and to pass resolutions denouncing public bodies for their remissness in not patronizing Irish furniture and Irish ink exclusively, does not sound like a very hopeful form of activity. But it has, no doubt, its use in propagating a sustained and pervasive interest in the country's material needs and difficulties; it turns thought in an economic direction; it fosters the new tendency towards the concrete and the practical.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be continued.)

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CHRISTIAN GAUSS, ALVAN F. SANBORN AND CHARLOTTE L. RUDYARD.

"THE INTERPRETATION OF LIFE."*

DISBELIEF in the phenomenal is as old as our oldest myths, the Fall of Man or the sacred books of the Hindus. Not only have we no valid knowledge, but our own natures seem to have imposed upon us an unreal phantom world of shadows in which we must shape our lives and hunt our destinies. The prospect is not alluring, certainly. With this attitude toward the problem of knowledge, it is not to be wondered at that a whole army of nineteenth-century students has stood bemused at the "grotesque industry" of our scientists and the disconcerting silence of our philosophers. In the general disaccord between scientists and philosophers, certain of the former, like Haeckel, have turned philosophical and have attempted to give us purely material explanations of the world. On the other hand, Professor James has recently offered us his Pragmatism, which, likewise evading the problem of ultimate reality, is but a method and not a philosophy. We have asked for bread and they have given us stones.

In the remarkable work of Dr. Gerhardt C. Mars, "The Interpretation of Life," the writer would prove to us in his main contentions three things; first, that there is reality, and that this reality is knowable; secondly, he is concerned with giving us the attributes of this "substantial causal unity," as he terms it; and, thirdly, he would show what ought to be our relation to this primal unity of cause and substance. It is a large programme and conceived in a large spirit; not a bit of tidy eclecticism, a mere setting together of old mosaics of

* "The Interpretation of Life." By Gerhardt C. Mars, Ph.D. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

thought, but an attempt to construct nothing less than a new cogent, coherent system of philosophy. In the course of his eight hundred rather closely printed pages, he enters practically all the fields of the philosophic discipline and discusses nearly all philosophic problems; the epistemological, the metaphysical, the æsthetic and the ethical. In the accomplishment of this task, Dr. Mars deploys a vast erudition. He has evidently followed closely the developments in modern biological and physical science; his chapter on art is one of the best in his book, and he has laid under contribution the works of the philosophers of every time and clime. Nearly all the ancient and modern "masters of those who know" must cross his stage and be challenged. In his large work the thoughts of Greek and Hindu jostle. There are chapter-heads on Christ and Gautama; long discussions of the mystic Swedenborg and Mrs. Eddy, and Balzac is ranked as a philosopher with Leibnitz and Spinoza. Dr. Mars has broken down the matter of philosophic systems, and it is plain that he has taken his goods where he found them. His work is earnest and sincere and conceived in a spirit of lofty idealism. It is in any case an interesting effort, and if in some of his main contentions it may seem to us that he has failed, he has at least, like Phaethon, gone down having dared great things, *magnis tamen excidit ausis*. The work is written with a refreshing courage and assurance. When he touches upon those problems which to him, and we dare say to all of us, are most vital, Dr. Mars can write eloquently, as in his chapter on the evolution of the ethical reason; and his worst sins are certain minor, but repeated, offences against a tyrannical English grammar that are reprehensible only because they might have been so easily corrected, and which, with the numerous typographical errors, may be laid where they belong—at the door of a careless proof-reader.

His work falls into six main divisions or books. In the "Natural World Order," Dr. Mars is dealing with the world of the scientists, from the lowest forms to self-conscious man. This world he finds governed by harmonious laws and showing everywhere evidences of teleological evolution—that is, to him "evolution is a rational, purposive progress toward a definite end." With this view of evolution, Dr. Mars will find his first quarrel with scientists like Haeckel and De Vries, though it will doubtless be accepted by most readers. In his second book, "The Supra-

Natural World Order," he deals with the development of man as a self-conscious ego who, understanding the intimate relation and harmony between himself as a rational personality and the world as the manifestation of another and higher Reason, is to find his fullest life and realization in thinking the Cosmic Thought, in evaluating and imitating the Cosmic Beauty and Power, and in reconciling himself with the Cosmic Will of Goodness. In the "Threefold Unity of Reason," he deals with the inseparable connection between man's three faculties of knowing, feeling and willing. In the "Threefold Interpretation of Reason," we are given the processes and demands of knowledge, feeling and will, and their ultimate satisfaction in the apprehension of Reality. Book five, on the "Pedagogy of Pain," treats of the discipline of Life, in which Pain is made "the rebuke in terms of feeling, which Truth and Goodness invariably visit upon the unreality of error and sin, of mistakes in thought and perversities of will, for all disturbed bodily conditions indicate some false thought or wrong volition in the organic idea." Here, too, the atonement of Christ is treated as the logical culmination of this doctrine. In the sixth book, "The Realization," we are shown how Christian Science is the highest development of this Theistic Monism, that it is at once Christian and scientific and that it harmonizes perfectly with the Cosmic order.

As a personal confession, we may say that we read the first two divisions of Dr. Mars's book with much interest, for he offers to deal with grave problems, the chasm between Christian theory and practice, for instance, and the moral absurdity of the social order. He points the way toward a satisfactory solution in his "Evolution of the Ethical Reason," a really eloquent chapter based on Pauline theology and the history of man's development as a self-conscious being.

We began to grow suspicious of his terminology when he started to speak of the "Supra-Natural World Order," with the tacit implication that there are for us two such world orders; a difficulty which for himself he later overcomes by denying all validity or objective reality to the natural order, and making the supra-natural or "rational" order first co-extensive (as an activity in mind, p. 469) and then identical with mind *(ibid)*. Spirit, or, as Dr. Mars usually calls it, mind, is thus made the basis of a monistic system. In this he is, of course, not alone. He departs

from other idealistic monists in his discussions of the nature of this substantial causal unity and in his convictions that the individual mind is potentially, and can be made practically, coextensive with this "supra-natural mind," which is true and beautiful and good. By thinking the cosmic thought and willing the cosmic will we can thus escape all the contradictions, error, sin, pain and disease of this troubled but really immaterial world of appearances. "Thought must deny the reality of all sense knowledge as the arch error" (p. 691). On this basis it is, of course, an easy matter to justify the practical aspects of Christian Science. Since such mind is the only reality, it is at once cause and cure, and we are once more in Hegel's night in which all cows are black.

It will be remembered that Kant's critical philosophy allows us valid knowledge only within the limits of a possible sense experience, and thus validates mathematical and physical science. Dr. Mars turns Kant completely about and allows us valid knowledge only of what he calls the supra-natural world order, thus invalidating our present science and giving credentials only to his own. We lose touch with him after the introduction of his rational intuition as an organon of knowledge. It is this faculty, unknown to Kant, which gives him knowledge of "objective reality," of God, man and the world. Dr. Mars has understated Kant's philosophy, for he neglects to discuss one of the most important phases of his system, the antinomies of reason, and makes no mention of the conclusions in the "Critique of Judgment" with its apparent reconciliation between the worlds of reason and the understanding. After Dr. Mars's departure from Kant, nearly all of his conclusions go back to these "rational intuitions." "It is only from the standpoint of rational intuition, intellectual, moral and æsthetic, that we catch glimpses of rational meaning in the unfolding process, which brings with it the mystery and the burden of suffering; or can see a divine purpose of good in the 'Pedagogy of Pain'" (p. 473).

By assuming rational intuition as an organon of knowledge, Dr. Mars, instead of solving, merely dismisses that whole problem at which Kant worked so earnestly. Until Dr. Mars can show that his rational intuitions have universal validity, they deserve no place in a philosophy which attempts to deal with the problems of knowledge. As it is, the conclusions assumed by this faculty

have no more value, philosophically, than Kant's judgments of sense on the lower plane. If you like olives and your friend does not, you cannot prove to him that olives are good, for him, by describing your sensations. It is much the same with these rational intuitions, and we read the remaining books of Dr. Mars's metaphysical treatise as we might read a novel, but with this difference: that we much prefer these lofty romances of the human mind.

Fundamentally as we disagree with many of Dr. Mars's conclusions, we believe that so long as these problems exist such earnest attempts to solve them cannot be useless. He at least brings to consciousness many of the contradictions of our social order and he thinks nobly of man. In concluding we can do no better than to quote a passage characteristic in its earnestness and sincerity. It occurs in his chapter on the ethical reason, a chapter which every earnest student of our social problems ought to read. In it he transcends the rather gaunt morality of Kant, and in his conclusions here we agree with Dr. Mars most heartily.

"Though, by the utmost care, I should reduce all my actions to universal rules, I might still remain morally dead. For true morality is not any specific set of actions, according to rules, but the simple inner impulse of good-will. 'Without love I am nothing,' so far as my true moral life is concerned. The supreme moral question for me is always: Shall I as a scientist, knowing nature, and, as an artist appreciating and mastering her values, will to appropriate the goods of life for myself or, with an outstreaming will of good, share them with others?

"The universal moral law, then, is not the 'categorical imperative,' or even the Golden Rule, of which it is an abstract statement, but that deeper and more inclusive law: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Deeper and more inclusive, because, while in the former I look to the condition or act of another for my standard of duty; in the latter, I look simply to the universal obligation of good-will within my own heart. Such is the ultimate law of the ethical reason, for it is, to use St. Paul's fine expression, that love which 'is the fulfilling of the law.'"

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

"RALPH WALDO EMERSON—SA VIE ET SON OEUVRE."*

ON his first trip to Europe in 1832, at twenty-nine years of age, Emerson travelled in Sicily, Italy, France and England on a more or less conscious quest of the master, the prophet, whose

* "Ralph Waldo Emerson—Sa Vie et Son Œuvre." By M. Dugard. 8vo., pp. 418. Illustrated. Librairie Armand Colin.

wisdom should clear up the mysteries which then obscured his soul. In Paris, he heard Jouffroy and Gay-Lussac lecture, and presented letters of introduction to a number of French thinkers of note; but he was too young, too diffident, and too little familiar with the French language to make his personality felt.

On the occasion of his last visit to Europe in 1872, ten years before his death, he found that his fame had preceded him. Taine, Renan and other French thinkers vied with one another in doing him honor, and, four years later, he was elected a corresponding member of one of the *Académies* of the Institute of France.

At the present time, the name of Emerson is as familiar to cultivated Frenchmen as are the names of Poe, Hawthorne, Cooper, Thoreau and Whitman. But, curiously enough, "Representative Men" is the only one of Emerson's volumes which has been translated into French (*"Les Surhumains,"* Jean Izoulet, 1895); and, except for casual perfunctory references in handbooks and histories of philosophy and literature, surprisingly little has been written about him. Two articles in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes,"* by Emile Montégut (1847 and 1850), a brochure by A. Levoz (1890), an article in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes,"* by Roz (1902), and an essay by Maeterlinck in *"Trésor des Humbles,"* comprise about all the important French Emersoniana. The consequence is that the personality and the writings of the "Sage of Concord" are practically unknown in France, except to the relatively few who possess a working knowledge of the English language.

M. Dugard's work evidently responds, therefore, to a long-felt need; and, as the first French attempt to give a comprehensive biography and interpretation of Emerson, it is attracting an attention which it would not otherwise have attracted, perhaps, although its intrinsic merit is unquestionably considerable.

Since it is inevitable that a book about an eminent American written by a foreigner and intended primarily for foreigners should contain much that is familiar to Americans, it would be superfluous to review the contents of M. Dugard's "Emerson" in detail; under these circumstances, a simple transcription of the principal conclusions of the author should suffice.

In general, M. Dugard's attitude is sympathetic without being sycophantic, admiring without being indiscriminately adoring.

He occupies persistently and consistently a middle ground between the detractors and the panegyrists of his subject. He admits that the thought of Emerson was not always clear; that he appeals only to a minority; that, as a writer, he is unequal and not without faults; that he refuses to look the evil in the world squarely in the eye; that he is exasperatingly indifferent to the cries of suffering humanity; that he is often lacking in warmth; that he is totally lacking in the historic sense; that he has proclaimed no new principles; that he has reconciled no antinomies; and that he is not entirely foreign to "the development in the United States of a whole literature [Spiritualism, Christian Science and New Thought seem here to be aimed at] of an insipid and incoherent mysticism in which slovenliness seems to be considered a mark of genius, and in which quietism and the joy of living are childishly celebrated. But, in spite of these limitations (which are, properly speaking, scarcely limitations, since they relate to matters that have no essential connection with his dominant purpose), it is M. Dugard's verdict that Emerson "was very great and wrought a great and good work." He realized his sole ambition and fulfilled his unique rôle, which was "to reanimate moral sentiment" by revealing constantly "the ideal and holy life."

More specifically, Emerson's principal achievements were as follows:

> "First of all, he aided his country to become itself. Without him, the New World, satisfied with having achieved political liberty, would have remained for a long time under the intellectual domination of the Old World. It was his individualistic teaching, especially his lecture on the 'American Scholar' (a veritable declaration of the moral independence of the United States) which roused American intellect to a consciousness of its force and delivered it from the imitation of Europe."

Emerson was a precursor as well as an emancipator. In the political field, at a time when democracy was exalting, in the flush of recent victory, the sovereignty of the people, he pointed out that "tyranny, whether exercised by the crowd, by a single person or by a few, is always tyranny" and "opposed to levelling majorities the rights of the individual." In the educational field, "at a time when everybody still believed in the necessity of Greek and Latin and in the virtue of uniform programmes, he made it clear that there is no absolute correlation between the

knowledge of dead tongues and liberal culture, and claimed for every person the right to choose the studies for which he is specially endowed. The American school owes to him the group system of electives adopted later in Europe." Furthermore, "the novelties" of the historian "who no longer conceives the recital of the past as a narrative of the wars of kings, but as an exposition of the development of ideas and of peoples," of the artist who "seeks forms of beauty corresponding to the needs of modern civilization," and of the believer who "talks of the 'evolution of dogmas' and sees in theology the expression of truth immutable in essence but subject to revision of form from age to age" appeared in his works more than half a century ago. But he was especially a precursor in his general attitude toward life.

"He changed what is called to-day 'the scale of values.' In his time, docility, resignation, the spirit of order and respect for official truths were esteemed above everything. . . . For this ecclesiastical or bourgeois conception, he substituted the ideal of the individual who *is*, of the hero who dares to look everything in the face, of the spiritual man, who, deriving new force from his relations with the Infinite, continues the action of the Divine and refashions the world according to his dream."

Emerson was a preacher (and practiser) of the "simple life," of "plain living and high thinking," with whom, of American writers, only Thoreau and Whitman are worthy to be compared, and beside whom the French Pastor Wagner [over whose puerile commonplaces the American people recently went wild, because, forsooth, our *Theodorus Arbiter* commended them] is the veriest pigmy.

Emerson had a limitless faith in man which he possessed a marvellous faculty for communicating. Hence, notwithstanding his theory of passivity, he acted as a powerful moral stimulant. He exerted a tremendous influence upon a whole generation of Americans in both the lay and religious worlds, and, during the latter part of his life he was recognized as a force in Europe. "There are few English and German writers who, at some period of their lives, have not come more or less under the spell of the great American thinker," affirms M. Dugard. "We shall have the proofs," he adds, "when the memoirs and the correspondence of the authors of the second part of the nineteenth century shall have been published."

As to whether the action of Emerson upon the world shall be

greater or less as time goes on, M. Dugard is very careful not to commit himself. Regarding this mooted point he writes:

"Is Emerson's influence destined to increase? Will Emerson be esteemed one day a classic author, an educator of Humanity? Certain of his compatriots are sure that such will be the case. For them, 'the Sage of Concord' towers above America like a giant dominating time and space. They indorse without reserve the words of Bronson Alcott and of Edward Everett Hale, who predicted for him universal glory. 'May not Emerson, like Plato, rather be one of those philosophers who, from age to age, encounter only a dozen real readers?' query certain others. Is it possible that the moralists of a world whose traditions date only from yesterday and which is ignorant of the difficulties of the old civilizations have lessons for all the peoples? In France, notably, where the craving for pure reason is so strong that it appears easier to pass from Christianity to the Positive Philosophy than to stop at any form whatsoever of spirituality, will not Emerson's mysticism always be an obstacle to the diffusion of his thought? To these questions one knows not what to answer. The only thing one may venture to affirm with confidence is that, wherever there shall be souls upon whom the mediocre palls, Emerson will be greeted as a friend—for no one gives to the same extent as he, new reasons for loving life and for making it better."

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

"THE TESTING OF DIANA MALLORY."*

THERE can be little question that any estimate of the work of Mrs. Humphry Ward during her lifetime will be deflected from the consideration of her art to the appreciation of her representative character as a British citizen and a British matron; nor can this fail to give a proper pleasure to the public and to Mrs. Ward, even though it cost the price of a clearer criticism of her work. In both realms, personal and public, Mrs. Ward is distinctly British; energetic, purposeful, attached to a cause and tenacious in it, capable of much devotion to make it prevail. Each expression of her thought shows an absence of morbidity, a deliberate pleasure in the idea that material vicissitudes are temporary, and a thorough faith in the doctrine of race-conscience, which we are happy to associate with the Anglo-Saxon. This is a blend pleasing to the taste of the solid citizen body, and pro-

* "The Testing of Diana Mallory." By Mrs. Humphry Ward. New York: Harper & Brothers.

ductive of a reading public that does not fluctuate and receives with steady nerves every successive story of human affection.

Mrs. Ward is a writer who from novel to novel has given expression to some contemporary issue of British popular concern; it may be orthodoxy in "Robert Elsmere," social philanthropy in "Marcella," or personal ethics in "Lady Rose's Daughter." The public respects her novels in advance and reads them with assurance. She stands like a sheltered light in an open place where other flames are extinguished in the wind. When she publishes a book she reminds us of a personage visiting a territory where a few are allowed to pass unquestioned. In short, Mrs. Ward, wherever she may journey in the land of the novel, is believed to be on a reliable mission, and respectfully treated as one under the protection of her country's literary flag.

As Mrs. Ward herself is pledged to be typically English, so the question involved in "The Testing of Diana Mallory" is as truly posed from the English point of view. The man who forsakes a woman who loves him and is his promised wife at the moment of her grief and disgrace for a dead parent's crime is easily characterized in real life. In fiction he is at least the modern type of the unheroic hero at full blush. It must be that one is called upon to consider palliating circumstances.

Your cultivated Briton regards marriage as a religious institution, but not exclusively; he knows it, albeit scarcely so thoroughly as the Frenchman, for a biologic expedient besides. He observes that the race is perpetuated, preserved and regulated by it, and he chooses the woman whom he elects to be partner with him in the process as a potential mother. That before the vision of most men love itself slips over the woman the halo of imagined perfect motherhood is only a divine circumstance whereby marriage becomes possible, and not a refutation of its reasoning. All the stress of material living urges the union of equal parts, while a mésalliance due to defect in moral lineage is more appealing when it destroys social prestige. Perhaps this also is a little British. Yet it may as well be admitted that in any social whole where politics and society are as two sides of a shield, the part played by the wife is multiplied by two; that socially dowered she is like so much capital to her husband, and if she carries a handicap she furnishes him with a halter. Lady Lucy Marsham was a good mother; she was also a zealous biologist. Oliver, her son,

was a detestable cad, and in addition aspired to be a statesman. Between them they agreed to sacrifice Diana for the general good of Oliver, and Diana agreed to it, too.

It is not a new fictive invention, the sins of the fathers, but like a sacred symbol it may be counted upon to scourge the sympathies. When Mrs. Ward adopts it for a theme she swings away from historical plots, albeit not yet quite far enough from politics, into a path of pure sentiment, there to discover an idyllic heroine, all-deserving of joy and all-distressed.

The testing of Diana Mallory is not altogether spiritual. It grows out of the most worldly of all reverses, the disgrace of a scandal. It brings about the kind of suffering which results from the press of circumstances, not from any conflict in desire or will, nor from what Joseph Conrad has called a "combat with the secret baseness of motives." Deeper, for this reason, the tragedy of Juliet Sparling, the mother, not because a wild blow made of her a murderess, but because she bore the consciousness of a wrong that was her own; whereas the crime of a mother without intention, the death of a father without warning, the desertion of a lover without cause, the abuse of a vulgar cousin without provocation, compose such a burden of grief as gathers naturally on the shoulders of Atlas and may drop upon any passer-by. The test for which this girl's experience does serve is the test of every other character in the book. One old woman is raised to the highest exponent of worldliness and reduced to zero; another young one, out of an almost automatic vulgarity precipitates a single decent moment, doubtless the first of her life; one old man renders up a living service for the sake of the unforgotten dead; another marshals an independence not often given to the sex—a friendship with one woman which is impregnable against the prejudice of another woman whom he loves; and a younger man, Diana's mate by every test of reasonable love, were love reasonable, comes to that compromise with the ideal wherein a man's dream-woman having passed from his reach, he is self-persuaded to hold out empty hands for second best.

Then while this Lady Lucy mother is upsetting herself over the risk to her son, the rest of us are disposed to resent Diana's loving him at all. It may be argued that this is the fault of the author for not contriving him so that his charm, if not his worth, is apparent; for indeed, except that the two draw mental

fire in a political argument, there is no indicated ground for their attachment. On the contrary, Diana, a woman of warm-blooded ideals, sees Marsham violate every one of them,—loyalty, fair dealing, all degrees of honor, even the common decency imposed on a man in his public treatment of a woman. If it be not true that a high-minded girl could not have loved this kind of man, an argument somewhat artificial in face of the fact that such a girl usually does, one is roused to insist that having loved him she would before the last page outgrow the love. We have been somehow persuaded that to survive the fiery furnace one must use the other door in stepping out, whereas to go wholly through and out at the other end may indeed be a finer experience, but it is also less common. A truer plea would be that love that could live under insult to self, could die with ease under the knowledge of treachery, such as Marsham's was to Ferrier, of another.

Against all such arguments we hasten to place a single one in the balance, the old-fashioned conceit, agreeably tolerated in ballad form, that the heart that has truly loved never forgets, but as truly loves on to the close. This sentiment we profess to applaud, and are not quite convinced of our own sincerity. Rather, "Hell hath no fury" has become a dignified tradition among us. The woman scorned who fails to behave that way not only astonishes another woman, but disturbs a certain sense of fitness in the man. A demand that she remember the outrage of her injury is instinctive. Happiness itself takes on an infamous hue if to save it from smothering to death the lady has stepped from the pedestal of her wrong. There is this little theatric pulse in the heart of love. Too many times it has inspired a tragic play wherein the actors, enchanted, turn into their own audience, and the curtain goes down at all costs on one last scene which the Master Builder's Hilda would call "frightfully thrilling."

This heroine of Mrs. Ward's is noticeably defective in stage heroics. When the man she loved put her away from his arms she let him do that; and when he folded them about her again she let him do that too. Her desire was that of the woman since the world began—to fulfil his desire of her.

Then she was only a comfortable little hedonist, Diana, after all, securing her happiness; securing it unselfishly, but securing it, nevertheless. Is there nothing deeper in it, then, than this?

There is an exquisite perception of youth that comes rarely, the conquering knowledge that the pearl is worth the price because in the whole of life there is nothing else worth purchasing. We recall a certain phrasing of it by an uncle of Mrs. Ward—Matthew Arnold:

> "Ah love, let us be true
> To one another! for the world which seems
> To lie before us like a land of dreams . . .
> Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
> Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain."

This is confession wrung dry of pride, this passionate call of youth to youth for surrender under a prescience of impending pain that shall be futile. The man Marsham admitted it as one taught by the world when it turned against him; the woman, who had nothing to do with the world, as one whose hunger was of that naïve order, almost forgotten in the modern confusion of appetites, which is perfectly willing to be fed. She might have said like a child, "You did take away my food when I was hungry, but you have brought it back—and I am still hungry."

Surely we have some reason to be grateful for a heroine who, being capable of so much compassion for every other character in the world, is reasonable enough to include in that compassion herself. Contrariwise, we have great cause to regret that, having in a campaign of retribution driven Fate herself to cover, Mrs. Ward ends her march at a sick-bed. After such a drubbing of defeat and besmirchment as Oliver Marsham, M.P., was led to suffer, the very literary notion of physical pain should have suggested anti-climax. It is a thousand pities that the candid splendor of Diana's visit, so straightforward and unhesitating, should be diminished by an expedient which a woman less noble than Miss Mallory, a writer less conventional than Mrs. Ward, might have demanded as an excuse for the lovers' meeting that insures the journey's end. The sick-bed is properly a resort for authors who drape happy futures upon their characters in such a manner as to avoid all nakedness of pride; and from this there seems to be no relief whatever, until the rest of us, situated on an island of imagination entirely surrounded by real life, are driven to sigh for some friendly accident whereby we too may possess our lover or win back our friend.

It seems quite positive that Mrs. Ward did not work out her

conclusion for the sake of a happy ending. On the contrary, she exhibits the conviction that romance should rightly come to this, and so perhaps it should as long as our stories are made to end with the wedding day. When modern social life has evolved a psychology to show that marriage is properly the beginning of drama, that then only are the relations of men and women capable of the deepest complexities, we shall inaugurate a comedy to which the romance of courtship will have been but a lyric prelude. If the fallen curtain of this novel were to go up again after marriage, we should regard this story differently, perhaps, but then we should regard most stories differently. The indignant woman who hoped for the sake of Mrs. Ward's motherhood—the British matron again!—that she would repent having given this woman in marriage to this man overlooked two useful facts. One is that in the refusal of Diana to marry Marsham we might have had the amusing anomaly of Diana in half-duplicate of Lady Lucy, fearing lest the weakness of the father reproduce itself in the children. The other is that the woman who would find marriage with Marsham a disappointment and a humiliation would be a woman whom unmanliness would offend to the death, and Diana had already proved herself not that kind of woman.

"He was not love-worthy, therefore she loved him." Thus to counterphrase Heine is not merely to point the relations of this hero to this heroine; it is to hint at the whole ordained unreason of woman's love. For we confess it, there is the woman among us who drinks glory through the incapacity to turn on her god when he sets any look save that which she gave when he rose. The God of nature forbid that ever the others of us should misprize this sunflower love. It is the very law of the garden.

CHARLOTTE LOUISE RUDYARD.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *October, 1908.*

To most Englishmen, the revelations made by Mr. Hearst in the course of the Presidential campaign have been chiefly interesting as affording another and very striking proof of the influence of money in modern politics. The perilous possibility that organized wealth may make an end of popular government is one that hovers over all democracies alike. That the United States is peculiarly exposed to it by reason of her vast material seductions, her system of electing officials for short terms, by popular vote, on low salaries, and with precarious tenures, the complexity of her scheme of State and Federal Government, and her maintenance of Protection, seems to English eyes self-evident. All the circumstances of the American polity make it easy and profitable for the corporations to take a hand in politics. From this form of corruption Great Britain is comparatively free. The temptations, for one thing, are not so strong; the system of government and of administration offers fewer weak spots to the pressure of the millionaire on the prowl; and the whole organization of British politics makes the league between the capitalist and the boss practically impossible. There is very little of a money or a money-making value attaching to political power in England, and therefore very little inducement to the big industrial companies to engage in politics. Public opinion, including the opinion of the business world itself, is strongly and effectively against the intrusion of statutory and joint-stock companies into the political committee-room. The evil of corporation subscriptions to campaign funds hardly exists.

But if from this particular abuse public life in Great Britain is well protected, at other points the power of money in politics

is strongly felt. In England, the present system of raising and distributing election funds involves a twofold peril. In the first place it robs the electors of some, at least, of their freedom. It gives an excessive influence to a few rich subscribers, and it enables them to nominate a candidate from motives that are concealed from the mass of the voters. In the second place, it makes it easy to apply an unwholesome pressure on the individual M.P. whose election expenses have been paid for him. It is true that so far there has been little actual ground of complaint. None the less, a system under which an increasing number of M.P.'s depend upon funds secretly subscribed and secretly disbursed for meeting their campaign expenses is one that is always liable to abuse. Another disquieting phenomenon in English politics to-day is the springing up of huge electioneering organizations, like the Tariff Reform League, formed to advocate some special measure from which its supporters will derive financial gain. These bodies raise large sums for which they render no account. They assist their favorite candidates at election with canvassers, speakers, "literature," and so on. They do for a candidate what he is absolutely unable to do for himself on such a scale. But no return of the moneys they spend is included in the statement of expenses which every candidate is required by law to furnish. In this way the purpose of the Corrupt Practices Act is in danger of being wholly frustrated. Of the cruder forms of political corruption there is, on the whole, very little in England. After the last general election, bribery, in the shape of actual purchase of votes, was only unearthed in four constituencies; but the gentler and less direct forms—indiscriminate subscriptions, for instance, on the part of an M.P. to all the charities, movements and clubs in his constituency—still flourish. Most observers, however, agree in thinking that the most harmful kind of corruption in England is not so much political as social, and that the worst of it springs from the vicious hunt for titles. It is possible for any man of wealth, by contributing to the party funds, to establish a claim for a knighthood, baronetcy or peerage that sooner or later will be recognized as valid. The type of man who enters public life as the easiest road to a title is becoming almost as common in England as he was in Ireland before the Union.

Englishmen have, indeed, before their eyes at this moment a particularly unedifying spectacle of the uses of corporate wealth

in politics. To the general statement that companies and industries as such do not take part in the public life of the country, there is one exception to be made. The exception, of course, is the brewing trade, the only trade which is regulated by the State and therefore the only one which stands to gain or lose by legislation and public finance. I have before now given in these pages the outlines of the Licensing Bill which the present Government has brought in and which is destined to be the main battleground during the autumn session. It has four main purposes: (1) to impose a time-limit of fourteen years, on the expiration of which all licenses will revert to the State and such of them as are reissued will be subjected to far higher duties than hitherto; (2) to reduce the present excessive numbers of licensed premises; (3) to restore to the justices their old unfettered discretion over licensed houses; (4) to give to the people in every locality a right to say whether they will have a new license in their area. Unless these purposes can be carried out, it will no longer be deniable that in England beer rules. The Government intends, if it can, to carry them out, but it is opposed by the entire resources of the trade, of the Unionist party and of the House of Lords. The trade, in particular, seems almost to have given up brewing for the sake of conducting a vast political campaign. "We are hearing much at the present time," says the "Westminster Gazette," "of the influence of Trusts upon politics in America, but do not let us forget that the trade in our own politics also, by virtue of its money power and its organization, exercises a pressure on Government which is at least comparable to that exercised by an American Trust. It does not bribe individual members of Parliament, we are thankful to say, but it has an enormous campaign fund, it powerfully influences elections and, when it chooses, can turn all its retail shops into political committee-rooms."

For the past eight months the trade has conducted an incessant and unscrupulous propaganda against the Licensing Bill, culminating on the last Sunday in September in a monster demonstration in Hyde Park. I should not care to defend the Bill in all its clauses, but on the main question the Government is undoubtedly in the right. That is to say, there must be a time-limit at the end of which the State shall resume its control over the monopoly it creates. Whether that time-limit is for fourteen

or twenty-one years does not greatly matter, when compared with the necessity of establishing once and for all the principle that a license is not a freehold. I do not myself believe that the Unionists in the House of Lords will venture to risk the odium of flatly rejecting the Bill, or that they will proclaim thus openly the completeness of their entanglement in the meshes of the trade. But the Government has undoubtedly a hard struggle ahead of it, even if it is only to hold sufficient ground for negotiating a compromise.

On the whole, however, the Liberals have very little complaint to make of the position in which they find themselves on the reopening of Parliament. They have been in office for nearly three years; they have passed momentous measures; they have held their majority together with unexampled success; in their colonial, their Indian and their foreign policies they have completely wiped out the legend of Liberal vacillation and light-headedness; their reforming zeal has been without precedent; and, though they are naturally weaker in the country than they were two years ago, I think that on the whole the nation is profoundly satisfied with them. Great tasks still await their energies. The Licensing Bill, the education question—at last on its way to settlement by mutual concessions—the reform of the Poor Law, the treatment of unemployment, and the reform of the electoral system, are all included in the Government's programme; and the majority of the people, in my judgment, would gladly see these measures on the Statute-Book. But trade has hardly yet begun to show even the first faint sign of recovery from the depression of the last six months; the current fiscal year seems likely to end in a deficit of nearly $20,000,000; the expenses of the old-age pensions scheme have to be met, and in addition a large increase in the naval estimates will be necessary; nobody knows quite how the money will be raised, and business and finance are consequently perturbed; and, besides the specific interests which the Government has alienated, there is a damaging suspicion in many quarters that its policy smacks of an untranslatable something called Socialism. The session, therefore, which will have opened by the time this communication is published will be anything but uneventful. On the way in which the Government weathers it we may be able to form some idea of the result of its appeal later on to the national verdict.

St. Petersburg, *October, 1908.*

Close students of politics and ethics, keen observers of men and things, like De Tocqueville, hold that a successful revolution, which is destined to further the well-being of many generations, utterly demoralizes the generation that brought it to pass. How much more baleful, then, is the effect likely to be when the revolution is abortive, when, having assumed the forms of insurrection, terroism and anarchy, it has had to be crushed by the tyranny which it was created to destroy. This is the only satisfactory explanation of the lamentable fact that Russian anarchy and chaos now extend to the spiritual and ethical domains. Old enthusiasms are burnt out and religious and social faith is too weak to bear the stress of latter-day ordeals. Hence murder is rife and suicide epidemic.

The contrast between the old and the new is brought into sharper relief by the presence of one of the greatest representatives of Russian literature at its best, the realistic novelist, Count Lyoff Tolstoy, whose eightieth birthday has just been celebrated. It was celebrated in spite of the Most Holy Synod, which still regards the greatest of living Russians as a reprobate. But Tolstoy, although not a prophet in his own country, is a hero there. People know or feel that through him the name of Russia has been uttered, and uttered with admiration and gratitude throughout the globe. It was he who more clearly than any other Slav writer discerned and fixed for all time whatever is noble and good in Russian life and character. The peasant in his smoky hut and Tsar Alexander III in his palace at Gatchina contemplated with delight and profit the wondrous panorama of private and national life which he unfolded to their gaze. Alexander III was so charmed with the earlier works of the genial novelist that he resolved to treat his most distinguished subject as a sort of fellow monarch who was above the law. Tolstoy, therefore, might write or say what he would—and he occasionally hurled bitter truths at his sovereign's head—without incurring any punishment. Tolstoy, then, is the first and only Russian man of letters who enjoyed and still enjoys absolute liberty and whose complaint was not that he was deported to Siberia or thrown into prison, but that he was not exiled or put into gaol for words and deeds which were treated as crimes in others.

In Moscow and, indeed, everywhere else in Russia, the eightieth

anniversary of the birthday of Count Tolstoy passed off very quietly. The masses of the people knew nothing of it and cared nothing for it. Most of the daily papers came out with supplements containing biographical or critical essays, but there was no demand for them and the number of journals sold was what it had been before. Telegrams and addresses were sent to Yassnaya Polyana, where the Count resides, several citizens of Moscow visited him in person, but on the whole the celebration fell far short of the great novelist's deserts. Possibly the cholera, which had then broken out, exerted a discouraging effect on would-be pilgrims.

The sudden advent of Asiatic cholera and the utter unpreparedness of Russian society to cope with it are characteristic of the listlessness of the Slav people. Last summer it had made its way along the Volga up to Saratoff, where a considerable number of victims were carried away during my sojourn there in September. At that time and ever since every one professed to believe that it would surely reach Moscow and St. Petersburg this spring, and the press accordingly exhorted the authorities to make ready to combat it. And yet it took everybody by surprise when it came. To begin with, its appearance in the capital was kept secret for a whole fortnight, during which time nothing whatever was done to stamp it out. The medical body, which was supposed to be vigilantly watching over the health of the capital, was taken unawares. So, too, was the administration of the city. People's minds were elsewhere. The Persian revolution and the Turkish constitution were absorbing themes of interest; and people were expecting a powerful reaction in Russia, when suddenly the cholera slipped in.

The truth is that the first cases of cholera were deliberately kept secret until a number of centres of the infection were created and then the difficulty of checking the advance of the disease became apparent. The Baltic coast is now infected with cholera germs and western Europe threatened. A sanitary committee had, indeed, long ago been created for the express purpose of coping with the cholera, but the President of the Committee was away in Carlsbad taking the waters, and the guardians of the public health who ought to have warned the population that cholera was in their midst hid the fact sedulously. Hence the house in which the first case appeared was not disinfected, not even cleaned.

Other people were accordingly taken ill there, and at last the number of victims amounted to fifteen. On the Winter Palace Square is situated the Ministry of Trade and Commerce. It is in one of the healthiest districts of the capital. One of the employees, however, fell ill of cholera here and only on the following day was he conveyed to the hospital. Another employee, however, meanwhile took his place and slept in his bed the ensuing night without any precautions whatever. There had been no disinfection, no cleansing, no change of coverings, nothing for a day and a half. Yet this was in a public Ministry, a few yards distant from the Winter Palace.

Before the Asiatic scourge had come all the hospitals were crowded to such an extent that even the corridors were blocked with beds. Then nobody knew what to do with the cholera patients. There were no vehicles to transport them from the suburbs. Even in the centres of the capital patients had to wait for hours before they could be taken away. In a house in one of the principal streets the hall porter fell ill of the disease and died in convulsions. His corpse lay on the staircase for nearly a whole day, and the only measures taken were measures to keep the curious away from his body.

The ordinary hospitals had at last to be evacuated by *bona fide* patients in order to receive the cholera victims. Whole categories of sufferers are now being denied admission to hospitals altogether, and some people went so far as to propose that the insane should be expelled temporarily from their asylums so that the cholera-stricken might have places of refuge to themselves. And in spite of all this there was not accommodation enough for the ever-increasing number of cases. As the members of the Municipality had no proposals to make on the subject, the police in the person of the city prefect interfered and ordered a number of schools to be closed and turned into temporary cholera hospitals.

But in the unsanitary condition of the slums of the capital there is hardly any change. St. Petersburg has not yet got any proper system of drainage. The streets are now flushed with disinfectants, and the sickly smell of carbolic impregnates the air. Bright steaming samovars or tea-urns are carted about the highways and byways, and passers-by may ask and receive hot tea sweetened with sugar *ad libitum*. Moreover, a whole series of sanitary regulations have been drafted and published, many of

which are observed. After some days, however, of self-complacency on the part of the municipal authorities several cholera cases broke out in the schools. An investigation was ordered, and it was found that the state of these establishments was filthy. Who was to blame? people asked. Nobody, was the reply, for in consequence of some oversight the obligatory sanitary rules laid down for the population had not been extended to the schools!

This culpable negligence was followed by a fit of irrational zeal during which symptoms of indigestion and inebriety were mistaken for symptoms of cholera, and scores of people were seized, hurried off to the cholera barracks and subjected to the drastic treatment in vogue there. This endeavor to be on the safe side after everything conceivable had been done on the opposite side is at once amusing and characteristic. One comical instance of it deserves to be recorded. A doorkeeper of a house in one of the principal streets gulped down in a couple of hours more vodka than an average man could swallow in a day without losing his life. After that he ate a heap of dried and salted mushrooms. And then he complained of "pains inside." Half an hour later he was spirited away to the cholera hospital and "treated." In this case there was something to be said for the officials. But another man, well, strong and sober, who happened to be also a doorkeeper in the same house, was pounced upon in like manner and isolated, although in his case there were no symptoms whatever. They divested him of his clothing, gave him thin linen garments, shut him up in a damp, cold room, the floor of which was of stone, and then they left him to his own devices. Hunger, cold and the damp garments drove him wild. "It is enough to kill a healthy man," he complained. His mate, the drunkard, was kept some days in the hospital.

The cholera is now nearly over until spring, when it may break out anew. If the lesson it teaches were taken to heart one might look upon its ravages this year as a blessing in disguise. But of this there is little hope. For Russia under the new *régime* is identical with Russia under the old *régime* in almost all aspects in which a radical change was needed and hoped for. In every walk of life we are confronted with the same short-sightedness, the same optimistic Micawberism waiting confidently for something to turn up. And nowhere can one discern a rising individual of light and leading, a great organizer, a leader of man.

WASHINGTON, *October, 1908.*

WITH the end of the Presidential campaign not far away, sagacious men, who are well acquainted with the part that money has played in close States like Indiana, where in 1880 the scale was turned by the corralling of the voters in "blocks of five," are indisposed to venture many prophecies. Some of the shrewdest Republicans in official posts at Washington—their names, for obvious reasons, cannot be mentioned—bearing in mind that this year, lacking money, their party must win solely on its merits, are inclined to think that, but for the defection from the normal Democratic vote which will be brought about by Mr. Debs (the Socialist candidate), and by Mr. Hisgen (the Hearst nominee), not a few States which are generally ranked in the Republican column might this year go Democratic. Among the Northern States which to these nervous spectators seem doubtful must be mentioned, first of all, New York, as to which we ourselves might share the doubt if we could forget the vote which Mr. Hearst has himself obtained in the past for Mayor and for Governor, and if we could forget that, even four years ago, Debs, who was much less popular than he is now, obtained nearly 37,000 votes, not one of which, apparently, was drawn from the Republican party. We confess ourselves quite unable to see how Mr. Taft can lose New York or New Jersey or Connecticut or any of the New England States. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan we give him as a matter of course; also West Virginia; likewise Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, though the last-named State he might have lost had Governor Johnson been the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. We take for granted, moreover, that the electoral votes of Kansas, North Dakota and Oregon will be his, and we shall be much surprised if the votes of the three States controlled by the Mormon Church, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, are not his also. On the other hand, we think that Bryan has a chance in Delaware; that he is sure of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, Colorado and Montana; that he is tolerably sure this year of his own State, Nebraska, and has more than a "fighting chance" in South Dakota, Washington, Nevada and California. In the last-named State we should judge his opportunity of success to be excellent but for the large diversion from the normal Democratic vote likely to be brought about by Mr. Hearst's two newspapers printed respectively in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

There are two Northern States of which we have not yet spoken; Indiana and Illinois. In view of the dearth of money on the Republican side, we cannot but regard the former State as in doubt. Illinois, on the other hand, seems to us quite safely Republican, because we cannot forget that Mr. Debs polled nearly 70,000 votes there four years ago, and that Mr. Hisgen (the Hearst nominee), is also certain to poll a good many. We are unable, therefore, to figure how Mr. Bryan can be elected, although we cheerfully concede that he is likely to get considerably more electoral votes than were cast for Judge Parker four years ago. In view of the prospects, as here defined, we are unable to understand why many members of the New York Stock Exchange propose to keep offices open for business purposes in the uptown district of Manhattan Borough, in order that their customers, in the event of Taft's election, may operate by cable on the London Stock Exchange. We repeat, however, that their nervousness might be justified if Mr. Hearst and his seven newspapers—he has three in New York City—had supported Mr. Bryan this year with as much vigor as they have attacked him. The net outcome of the revelations made in the personal letters read by Mr. Hearst has been incomparably more hurtful to the Democratic than to the Republican party, because the disclosures have tended to hold up the Democrats as hypocrites.

Has Mr. Taft been helped or hurt by the voluminous letters which the President has written and the effusive interviews which he has given, in favor of his Secretary of War? Upon this point in Washington opinions are divided. There are those who think that it would have been better for the Republican candidate if Mr. Roosevelt, like other Presidents, had held himself serenely aloof from a campaign in which he was not personally concerned. We are ourselves unable to take that view of the matter. Of course, Mr. Roosevelt's utterances were not needed to influence the cool-headed, sober-minded, really conservative men whose judgment of Mr. Taft's fitness for the Chief Magistracy is based upon the tests to which his ability and character have been subjected in the course of a long, varied and difficult administrative career. The rank and file of the electorate, however, know nothing and care nothing about Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines or the administration of the War Office, except so far as demands are made upon the Treasury. The intelligent and thoughtful men who

are qualified to judge Mr. Taft by what he has accomplished in executive office are few. In the eyes of the mass of the voters, Mr. Taft's principal asset is the belief that he will carry out Mr. Roosevelt's policies; and, when they are in doubt upon this point, there is only one man in the world who can reassure them, and that is Theodore Roosevelt himself. If Mr. Taft is successful, our own notion is that he will owe his success primarily to the incessant exercise of energy with which Mr. Roosevelt has held the bulk of the proletariat to the support of the Republican candidate; and, secondarily, to the destructive work done in the Democratic ranks by Mr. Debs and Mr. Hearst. If we do not add Mr. Watson, it is because he can only injure Mr. Bryan in Southern States, which in no event would give their electoral votes to a Republican.

It will be recalled that last year Congress refused to provide funds for laying down in the current twelvemonth more than two first-class battleships. Since that time several ominous events have taken place. In the first place, the German Reichstag voted to appropriate the money needed to lay down four Dreadnoughts annually for four years to come. In the second place, the action of Austria in tearing up the Berlin Treaty has made it evident to the man in the street that Peace Congresses, which, at best, can only eventuate in treaties, represent a ridiculous waste of time. If even treaties are less binding to-day than they were a hundred or even two hundred years ago, how farcical is the talk about a reduction of military and naval armaments! There is no substitute for armaments but treaties, and, if treaties are worthless, the sooner nations increase their power of self-defence, the better. England has taken the dismal lesson to heart, and her Cabinet has agreed that, beginning this year, she shall lay down no fewer than eight Dreadnoughts, or super-Dreadnoughts, annually, for at least four years, a decision which, of course, would give her thirty-two additional Dreadnoughts at no distant day. This decision will have tremendous consequences. In the first place, France, which has no desire to increase her own navy, will drift more and more into a position of absolute dependence upon Great Britain. In the second place, Germany, which already found itself confronted with the necessity of borrowing $550,000,000 in order to carry out its four-Dreadnought programme, will recognize the absolute futility of competing with Great Britain for the

supremacy of the sea. For the United States, however, which have immense naval responsibilities on the Pacific as well as the Atlantic, the new naval programme of Great Britain has a different admonition. It evidently behooves us to make our navy at least as strong as that of Germany, which, for her part, has but little to do besides defending her North Sea and Baltic coasts. We are not surprised to hear that the change in the international situation has converted Senator Lodge from a "moderate navy" into a "big navy" advocate.

Most Americans seem to take for granted that the United States are not concerned in the extraordinary events which have taken place in Southeastern Europe during the last few weeks. It is true enough that it matters not the least to us whether the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina become integral parts of the Hapsburg realm; whether Bulgaria becomes absolutely independent or remains simply autonomous; whether Servia must renounce her age-long aspirations to develop, finally, into a greater Servian Empire; whether Montenegro does or does not secure absolute control of her one seaport, Antivari; and whether autonomous Crete does or does not effect complete political union with the Kingdom of Greece. Those matters are to us indifferent. Suppose, however, that a European Congress should decide, as it may, that Turkey, which, on the face of things, is the victim of all these changes, deserves some compensation, and that this should not take exclusively a pecuniary form, but should include an agreement on the part of the great Powers to treat Turkey at least as well as they have already treated Japan, and, to that end, relieve her from the so-called capitularies, or extra-territorial régime that gives foreigners a right to be tried by consular courts instead of by native tribunals, which, the galling implication is, are not trustworthy. Now, as things are, American citizens residing or sojourning in Turkey have a treaty right to be tried, not by native tribunals, but in courts presided over by their own consuls. That right cannot be anulled arbitrarily; the treaty conferring it cannot be abrogated by a European Congress to which the United States is not a party. That is why, if the coming Congress contemplates touching the capitularies, it must invite the United States to participate in its deliberations, so far as that particular matter is concerned.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

A Reply to a Lady.

THE following communication, of which a copy reached us simultaneously, appeared in a sprightly public journal of this city:

"*To the Editor of 'The Evening Sun':*

"SIR,—Colonel Harvey's article indirectly attacking the equal-rights movement can do little harm to that cause, but the harm that it can accomplish, if accepted literally, from a religious and moral standpoint is incalculable. Under pain of giving grave scandal, but for purposes of refutation, we quote as follows:

"'Wiser ones doubtless appreciate the extent of the immunity which they now enjoy, and they may well hesitate for a long time to forsake, for mere temporary advantages, a position likely to prove so serviceable in the hereafter. Whether feminine opposition to the attempt to establish equal rights on earth is based, in part, upon intelligent realization of the accompanying necessity of waiving this precious privilege we cannot say; but it is clear that no woman should be permitted through ignorance or misapprehension to adopt a course which tends to her undying regret in the world to come.

"'The fact, of course, is that women are not only not bound by, but are freed, at least by inference, from any obligation to observe the requirements of our fundamental religious laws. The Ten Commandments were written for men and apply to men exclusively.'

"This reduced to lowest terms seems to imply that license is granted to women to commit any sin they may desire without jeopardy their right to eternal happiness, provided they do not commit the sin of desiring to vote.

"Colonel Harvey doesn't supply any eminent authorities to support this statement, giving as his reasons the use of the masculine gender: 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, etc.' No prophet, poet, theologian or historian who has described in detail the torments inflicted in the world to come on those who failed to observe the Commandments has seen fit to exclude women, and of the many eminent ladies mentioned in these annals none was charged with being suffragists.

"If, as the editor states, the Commandments were written for men, it is a well-known fact that a majority of their observers are women. That is to say, a greater number of women keep a greater number of the Commandments than men do, and we all know that if all the Commandments were rigidly observed by every man and woman on the earth the Kingdom of God would be close at hand. Even if Colonel Harvey's contention held true, that all unfranchised women were freed from moral responsibility, would not that be sufficient reason to marshal every woman (that we cared to speak to) into the ranks of the responsible and respectable, or, in other words, the suffragists?

"It is a notable fact that all the leaders of this cause were and are exemplary Christians, so that the seductive blandishment of this article can have little weight with them. It is only fair to assume that people who are so capable of providing for themselves in the world to come should have a little more voice in making the laws that provide for material sustenance in this world. There is nothing in the Commandments against any one making himself or herself as comfortable as possible in the interval that must necessarily elapse before one can enter into the joys of eternal life, and one of the best means of supplying this comfort would be to possess a vote in the councils that manipulate the distribution of the wealth of the world.

"We sincerely hope that women in general, and the editor's female relatives in particular, will not feel disposed to take advantage of his false theology. The divorce courts are at present working overtime, and 'certain specified acts' covered by the Seventh Commandment are still far too common to be flippantly commended by any teacher or preacher (an editor of Colonel Harvey's standing ought to be both) possessing even the semblance of a conscience.

"SARA MCPIKE.

"NEW YORK, *September 17.*"

If the Lord had seen fit to create our correspondent in the image of Adam instead of in resemblance to Eve, thus enabling us to treat her from the plane of equality rather than of the courtesy prescribed by modern custom, we should endeavor frankly to impress upon her the advisability of so training her mind as to enable it to resist the beclouding effect of casual misapprehensions.

Because, in behalf of the cause of unsexed suffrage, we considered it to be our duty to warn women that they could not reasonably expect to be endowed with unlimited political rights unless they should manifest a disposition to accept full moral responsibility, not as yet imposed upon them by our fundamental religious law, it by no means follows that we regard the desire to vote as "a sin." On the contrary, it is an aspiration of the

highest order, the realization of which, as ever in like cases, must involve the penalty of severe deprivation—in this instance, of loss of immunity from punishment for infractions of the Commandments.

Because, too, none of the prophets, poets, thelogians and historians who have "described in detail the torments inflicted in the world to come" may have excluded women serves only to emphasize the fact that none really did include them, thus clearly confirming our position in the minds of those who, unlike ourselves, attach more importance to the torments anticipated in the hereafter than the sufferings necessarily, though regretfully, endured in the here. Of the "eminent ladies mentioned in these annals," none of whom was regarded as a suffragist, we are disqualified to speak, since we are unable to descry either the annals or the eminent ladies to which and to whom attention is called. Whether "a majority of observers" of the Commandments are women is necessarily a matter of opinion, since statistics convey no information upon the subject sufficiently accurate to convince a mind accustomed to base its conclusions upon the results of scientific inquiry. We are unable, moreover, to understand why, "if all the Commandments were observed by every man and woman, the Kingdom of God" would not be here, instead of only "close at hand." The admission that general acceptance of our "contention," *i.e.,* truism, would promptly marshal all respectable women into the ranks of the suffragists we cannot but regard as unwarrantably complimentary, and yet as indubitable testimony from an unwilling witness to the sincerity of our devotion to the cause.

We can understand the advisability of excluding from the Kingdom of God women whom "we"—meaning our correspondent and her acquaintances—do not "care to speak to," but why so stern a refusal to converse or even merely nod? Are not all women sinners, or, using a milder term, perhaps, human? Are we to assume that those who are most human are the ones to whom the least human feel warranted in refusing recognition? If so, we can now appreciate our correspondent's real meaning when she referred to the Kingdom of God as something which might be "close at hand" but never here. Upon what grounds our correspondent bases her confident assertion that a segregated group of women is "capable of [selfishly] providing for them-

selves [alone] in the world to come," is not apparent. Nor is it quite clear that none of the comforts closely related to "material substances in this world" need be forfeited through strict observance of the Commandments before—of course—"entering into the joys of eternal life." Indeed, if our correspondent will look closely at the Fourth Commandment, she will perceive readily that she would receive no "material sustenance" whatever on the Sabbath Day under her interpretation of that law, neither she nor her manservant nor her maidservant nor her stranger within her gates; whereas, under her unconscious application of our rendering we dare think it probable that she fares very well.

We shall pass gently, and without chiding, the somewhat personal remarks ventured by our correspondent in her closing paragraphs, hesitating for only an instant to inform her that we make it a rule never to afford gratification to spinsters by discussing with them the Seventh Commandment.

The Progress of Esperanto.

For the information of the two thousand members of The North American Review Esperanto Association, we take the liberty of printing the following communication addressed to the editor of this Review by Mr. Edwin C. Reed, Secretary of the Esperanto Association of North America:

"Sir,—According to the vote of the Council, you were unanimously elected president of the Esperanto Association of North America, and I am glad that it is my duty to notify you of this decision, since at Chautauqua I sent the first communication to you.

"We sincerely hope that this union of forces will work to the upbuilding of the association and the general cause of Esperanto in America.

"I am, sir,

"Edwin C. Reed, *Secretary.*

"Chicago, Illinois, *October 8, 1908.*"

As our readers have been made aware, the International Esperanto Congress at Dresden in August was notably successful. We hope soon to present the conclusions of Major Paul F. Straub, of the United States Army, the official representative of our Government at the Congress.

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XXVI.

(1) Kiel neĝo en somero kaj kiel pluvo en tempo de rikolto, tiel ne konvenas honoro por malsaĝulo. (2) Kiel birdo forleviĝas, kiel hirundo forflugas, tiel senkaŭza malbeno ne efektiviĝas. (3) Vipo estas por ĉevalo, brido por azeno, kaj bastono por la dorso de malsaĝuloj. (4) Ne respondu al malsaĝulo laŭ lia malsaĝeco, por ke vi mem ne fariĝu egala al li. (5) Respondu al malsaĝulo laŭ lia malsaĝeco, por ke li ne estu saĝulo en siaj propraj okuloj. (6) Kiu komisias aferon al malsaĝulo, tiu tranĉas al si la piedojn kaj sin suferigas; (7) liaj femuroj estas malpli fortaj ol ĉe lamulo, kaj li fariĝas instrua ekzemplo en la buŝo de malsaĝuloj. (8) Kiel iu, kiu alligas ŝtonon al ĵetilo, tiel estas tiu, kiu faras honoron al malsaĝulo. (9) Kiel dorna kano en la mano de ebriulo, tiel estas sentenco en la buŝo de malsaĝuloj. (10) Kompetentulo ĉion bone faras; sed kiu luas pasantojn, tiu luas malsaĝulojn. (11) Kiel hundo revenas al sia vomitaĵo, tiel malsaĝulo ripetas sian malsaĝaĵon. (12) Se vi vidas homon, kiu estas saĝa en siaj okuloj,—malsaĝulo povas pli esperi ol li. (13) Maldiligentulo diras: "Leono estas sur la vojo, leono estas sur la stratoj." (14) Pordo turniĝas sur sia hoko kaj maldiligentulo sur sia lito. (15) Maldiligentulo ŝovas sian manon en la poton kaj ne volas venigi ĝin al sia buŝo. (16) Maldiligentulo estas

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

en siaj okuloj pli saĝa, ol sep veraj saĝuloj. (17) Pasanto, kiu sin miksas en malpropran disputon, estas kiel iu, kiu kaptas hundon je la oreloj. (18) Kiel serĉanto, kiu ĵetas fajron, sagojn kaj morton, (19) tiel estas homo, kiu trompas sian proksimulon kaj diras: "Mi ja ŝercas." (20) Kie ne estas ligno, estingiĝas la fajro, kaj se ne estas kalumnianto, ĉesiĝas malpaco. (21) Karbo servas por ardaĵo, ligno por fajro, kaj homo malpacema por kaŭzi malpacon. (22) La vortoj de kalumnianto estas kiel sorĉo, kaj ili penetras en la profundon de la koro. (23) Varmegaj lipoj kun malica koro estas nepurigita arĝento, kiu kovras argilaĵon. (24) Malamiko havas maskitajn parolojn, kaj en sia koro li preparas malicon. (25) Kiam li ĉarmigas sian voĉon, ne kredu al li, ĉar sep abomenaĵoj estas en lia koro. (26) Kiu trompe kaŝas malamon, tiu aperigos sian malbonecon en popola kunveno. (27) Kiu fosas foson, tiu falos en ĝin, kaj kiu rulas ŝtonon, al tiu ĝi revenos. (28) Mensogema langoo malamas siajn riproĉantojn, kaj hipokrita buŝo kaŭzas pereon.

ĈAPITRO XXVII.

(1) Ne fanfaronu pri la morgaŭa tago, ĉar vi ne scias, kion naskos la tago. (2) Alia vin laŭdu, sed ne via buŝo, fremdulo, sed ne viaj lipoj. (3) Peza estas ŝtono, kaj sablo estas ŝarĝo, sed kolero de malsaĝulo estas pli peza ol ambaŭ. (4) Kolero estas kruelaĵo, kaj furiozo estas superakvego, sed kiu sin tenos kontraŭ envio? (5) Pli bona estas riproĉo nekaŝita, ol amo kaŝita. (6) Fidelkoraj estas la batoj de amanto, sed tro multaj estas la kisoj de malamanto. (7) Sata animo malŝatas dolĉan sukon, sed por malsata animo ĉio maldolĉa estas dolĉa. (8) Kiel birdo, kiu forlasis sian neston, tiel estas homo, kiu forlasis sian lokon. (9) Oleo kaj odorfumaĵo ĝojigas la koron, sed dolĉa parolo de amiko estas pli bona ol bonodora arbo. (10) Ne forlasu vian amikon kaj la amikon de via patro, kaj en la domon de via frato ne iru en la tago de via mizero; pli bona estas najbaro proksima ol frato malproksima. (11) Estu saĝa, mia filo, kaj ĝojigu mian koron, kaj mi havos kion respondi al mia insultanto. (12) Prudentulo antaŭvidas malfeliĉon kaj kaŝiĝas, sed malsaĝuloj iras kaj difektiĝas. (13) Prenu lian veston, ĉar li garantiis por aliulo, kaj pro fremduloj prenu de li garantiaĵon. (14) Kiu frue matane benas sian proksimulon per laŭta voĉo, tiu estos opiniata malbenanto. (15) Defluilo en pluva tago kaj

malpacema edzino estas egalaj. (16) Kiu ŝin retenas, tiu retenas venton kaj volas kapti oleon per sia dekstra mano. (17) Fero akriĝas per fero, kaj homon akrigas la rigardo de lia proksimulo. (18) Kiu gardas figarbon, tiu manĝos ĝiajn fruktojn, kaj kiu gardas sian sinjoron, tiu estos honorata. (19) Kiel en la akvo vizaĝo speguliĝas al vizaĝo, tiel la koro de homo estas kontraŭ alia koro. (20) Infero kaj abismo neniam satiĝas, kaj ankaŭ la okuloj de homo neniam satiĝas. (21) Kiel fandujo por arĝento kaj forno por oro, tiel estas por homo la buŝo de lia laŭdanto. (22) Se vi pistos malsaĝulon en pistujo inter griaĵo, lia malsaĝeco de li ne apartiĝos. (23) Bone konu viajn ŝafojn atentu viajn brutarojn. (24) Ĉar riĉeco ne daŭras eterne, kaj krono ne restas por ĉiuj generacioj. (25) Aperas herbo, montriĝas verdaĵo, kaj kolektiĝas kreskaĵoj de la montoj. (26) Ŝafoj estas, por vesti vin, kaj kaproj, por doni al vi la eblon aĉeti kampon. (27) Estas sufiĉe da kaprina lakto, por nutri vin, por nutri vian domon kaj por subteni la vivon de viaj servantinoj.

ĈAPITRO XXVIII.

(1) Malvirtulo kuras, kiam neniu persekutuas, sed virtuloj estas sentimaj, kiel leono. (2) Kiam lando pekas, ĝi havas multe da estroj; sed se regas homo prudenta kaj kompetenta, li regas longe. (3) Homo malriĉa, kiu premas malriĉulojn, estas kiel pluvo batanta, sed ne donanta panon. (4) Kiuj forlasis la leĝojn, tiuj laŭdas malvirtulon, sed la observantoj de la leĝoj indignas kontraŭ li. (5) Malbonaj homoj ne komprenas justecon, sed la serĉantoj de Dio komprenas ĉion. (6) Pli bona estas malriĉulo, kiu iras en sia senkulpeco, ol homo, kiu iras malĝustan vojon, kvankam li estas riĉa. (7) Kiu observas la leĝojn, estas filo prudenta, sed kunulo de malĉastuloj hontigas sian patron. (8) Kiu pligrandigas sian havon per procentegoj kaj troprenado, tiu kolektas ĝin por kompatanto de malriĉuloj. (9) Kiu forklinas sian orelon de aŭdado de instruo, ties eĉ preĝo estas abomenaĵo. (10) Kiu forlogas virtulojn al vojo malbona, tiu mem falos en sian foson, sed la senkulpuloj heredos bonon. (11) Riĉulo estas saĝa en siaj okuloj, sed saĝa malriĉulo lin tute travidas. (12) Kiam triumfas virtuloj, estas granda gloro, sed kiam altiĝas malvirtuloj, tiam homoj kaŝiĝas. (13) Kiu kaŝas siajn pekojn, tiu ne estos feliĉa, sed kiu ilin konfesas kaj forlasas, tiu estos pardonita. (14) Bone estas al homo, kiu ĉiam timas, sed kiu

havas malmolan koron, tiu falos en malfeliĉon. (15) Leono krieganta kaj urso avida estas malvirta reganto super malriĉa popolo. (16) Se reganto estas neprudenta, tiam fariĝas multe da maljustaĵoj; sed kiu malamas profiton, tiu longe vivos. (17) Homo, kies konscienco estas ŝarĝita de mortigo, kuros al foso, kaj oni lin ne haltigu. (18) Kiu iras en senpekeco, tiu estos savita, sed kiu iras malvirtan vojon, tiu subite falos. (19) Kiu prilaboras sian teron, tiu havos sate da pano; sed kiu sekvas vantaĵojn, tiu havos plenan malriĉecon. (20) Homon fidelan oni multe benas, sed kiu rapidas riĉiĝi, tiu ne restos sen puno. (21) Konsideri persononjn ne estas bone; pro peco da pano homo pekus. (22) Homo enviema rapidas al riĉeco, kaj li ne scias, ke malriĉeco lin atendas. (23) Kiu faras riproĉojn al homo, tiu poste trovos pli da danko, ol tiu, kiu flatas per la lango. (24) Kiu rabas de sia patro kaj patrino kaj diras "ĝi ne estas peko," tiu estas kamarado de mortigisto. (25) Fierulo kaŭzas malpacojn, sed kiu fidas Dion, tiu estos bonstata. (26) Kiu fidas sin mem, tiu estas malsaĝa, sed kiu tenas sin prudente, tiu estos savita. (27) Kiu donas al malriĉulo, tiu ne havos mankon; sed kiu kovras siajn okulojn, tiu estas multe malbenata. (28) Kiam malvirtuloj altiĝas, homoj kaŝiĝas, sed kiam ili pereas, tiam multiĝas virtuloj.

Ninety-fourth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 188: No. 6.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY

December, 1908.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

Significance of the Election . . . . HENRY CABOT LODGE

God, Man and Immortality . . . . PETER S. GROSSCUP

Austria-Hungary and the Near East . . . BRITANNICUS

Bulgaria and the Treaty of Berlin . SVETOZAR TONJOROFF

Lyof N. Tolstoy . . . . . W. D. HOWELLS

West Point and the Public Schools . AUGUSTUS D. SMALL

The Solvency of Savings-Banks . JOHN HARSEN RHOADES

Problem of the Navy Personnel, Commander ROY C. SMITH, U. S. N.

The Congo Question and the "Belgian Solution" . JOHN DANIELS

The Weird of Sir Lancelot . . . . . MARY CHILD

Prohibition in the Light of Christian Ethics, The Rev. P. GAVAN DUFFY

The Dawning of a Wiser Chinese Policy, STEPHEN W. NICKERSON

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

"The Whole Family" . . . . . CLARENCE H. GAINES

King's "The Way of Perfect Love" . LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

Newman's "Richard Strauss" . . . LAWRENCE GILMAN

WORLD POLITICS

London: The King's Proclamation to His Indian Subjects; Effect of the Kaiser's Interview on Anglo-German Relations. Constantinople: The Duplicity of Baron von Aehrenthal; Bulgaria's Declaration of Independence; Turkey's Attitude. Washington: Result of the Election; Will Mr. Bryan Run Again? Is Mr. Roosevelt's Influence Waning?

THE EDITOR'S DIARY

White Rock
PURITY
Old King Cole was a merry Old Soul
With a cellar list from Beer to Hock
Yet he chose to think, the very best drink
Was a bottle of cold White Rock

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

H. C. Lodge,

one of the most cultured and scholarly of American statesmen, has long held a large place in the esteem of his countrymen. He was editor of The North American Review from 1873 to 1876, and in the latter year he was appointed University Lecturer on American History at Harvard, a position which he held for three years. In 1886 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives, and during the years in which he served his constituency in that capacity he exhibited such marked ability in representing their interests, and in dealing with the greater questions of national concern which came up for consideration in the lower house of Congress, that in 1893 he was transferred to the United States Senate, in whose deliberations he has ever since taken a commanding part. Senator Lodge has been a life-long student of American history. Among the works which have resulted from his investigations in this field may be mentioned "A Short History of the English Colonies in America," "The Story of the American Revolution," "Hero Tales from American History," and, in the "American Statesmen Series," the lives of Daniel Webster, Alexander Hamilton and George Washington.

Peter S. Grosscup,

Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals since 1899, was born in Ashland, Ohio, in 1852, and educated in Wittenberg College and the Boston Law School. For a number of years he practised law in his native town and in Chicago. In 1892 he was appointed United States Judge for the northern district of Illinois. During his occupancy of

the bench, Judge Grosscup has rendered decisions in various important cases which have attracted the widest attention, the latest being the reversal of a judgment imposing a large fine upon the Standard Oil Company.

BRITANNICUS

is a well-known English writer, who for many years has made a close and comprehensive study of international politics, and of the questions which arise out of, or affect, the relations between the great European Powers.

SVETOZAR TONJOROFF,

a Bulgarian by birth, was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Harvard University. He has done editorial work for newspapers in Boston and New York since 1894, and is now connected with the editorial staff of the "Daily Journal" of Providence, Rhode Island. He has contributed articles on European politics to various publications.

AUGUSTUS D. SMALL

is a graduate of Colby College, Waterville, Maine. He has long been engaged in educational work. During his last two college terms he was temporary Principal of Coburn Classical Institute. He was successively Principal of the High Schools at Rockland, Maine, and at Newport, Rhode Island; a member of the Rhode Island Board of Education; Superintendent of Schools in Newport, Rhode Island and Salem, Massachusetts. He was sub-master of the Lawrence Grammar School in South Boston, and he has been head-master of the South Boston High School since its organization in 1901.

JOHN HARSEN RHOADES

graduated from Harvard University in 1892. He is the head of the New York banking firm of Messrs. Rhoades & Company. His interest in savings-banks and subjects related to them has been life-long, his grandfather, E. F. Wheelright, and his father, the late John Harsen Rhoades, having been presidents of the Greenwich Savings-Bank of New York City for many years. Mr. Rhoades himself is a trustee of the Greenwich Savings-Bank.

COMMANDER ROY C. SMITH, U.S.N.,

has written several articles for the REVIEW. He has served at sea on the various Stations, was aboard the battleship "Indiana" at Santiago, and has lately commanded the

cruiser "Chattanooga" on the China Station. His shore duty has comprised the Naval Academy, the Torpedo Station, Lectures at Harvard, service as Naval Attaché at Paris and St. Petersburg, and at present the Naval War College. He is a gold-medallist of the United States Naval Institute, and he has been decorated by the French Government in the Legion of Honor.

JOHN DANIELS

is a graduate of Harvard University. As holder of the Harvard Fellowship at the South End House, he has been making a study for several years of the situation of the negro in Boston. He is corresponding secretary of the Congo Reform Association, and secretary of the American branch of the recently created International League for the Defence of the Natives in the Conventional Basin of the Congo. He is the author of a recently published work entitled "An Outline of Economics."

MARY CHILD

is an English lady who has devoted herself to the study of old English literature, on which she has written a number of articles.

THE REV. P. GAVAN DUFFY,

who comes of a long ecclesiastical line, was born of Irish parents in an English vicarage. He was educated at St. Mary's College, London, and Pocoke College in Ireland. His health broke down while he was studying for Holy Orders and he was advised to seek recuperation in America. He spent about two years in the region of the Rocky Mountains, and, while he was on the point of returning to England, he was persuaded to accept the rectorship of the Episcopal Cathedral of Kansas City, a position which he occupied for some time. He has held several preferments in different parts of the country, and he is now rector of the Episcopal Church in Vergennes, Vermont.

STEPHEN W. NICKERSON

is a member of the Bar of the Federal Courts, and of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island Bars. He is a native of Boston and a graduate of Brown University. He is the author of a "History of the Bank of England" and of a pamphlet on "The Law of Money." He was appointed Honorary Vice-Consul for China at Boston in 1902, and

promoted to be Consul in March, 1905, before his three years' term as vice-consul expired. In the autumn of 1906, he went to China, where he remained some time and visited most of the treaty ports and Peking, being received with flattering honors by officials of the Chinese Government and by Chinese merchants.

CLARENCE H. GAINES

was graduated from St. Lawrence University in 1900, after which he spent two years in post-graduate work, specializing in English literature. In 1902 he accepted a position in the literary department of the Lothrop Publishing Company of Boston, and since the failure of that firm, in 1904, he has devoted himself to literary work in New York.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

was born in Chicago. She is the daughter of a Unitarian minister, and was educated in France, Germany and England. Later, she studied for two years at the Conservatory of Leipzig, and for two years in Birmingham, England. She has lived in Virginia since 1887, and has been a contributor to "East and West," "The Chap-Book," "The Century," "The Outlook," "Poet-Lore," "The Times-Democrat" of New Orleans, "The Boston Transcript" and "The Evening Post" of New York. For several years she has been a reader and adviser of one of the leading publishing houses, and has regularly contributed editorials to "Harper's Weekly."

LAWRENCE GILMAN,

who has been a frequent contributor to the REVIEW upon musical and literary subjects, has been music critic of "Harper's Weekly" since 1901. Among his books are "Phases of Modern Music," "The Music of To-morrow," "Stories of Symphonic Music" and analytical guides to Richard Strauss's opera "Salome" and Claude Debussy's "Pelléas et Mélisande."

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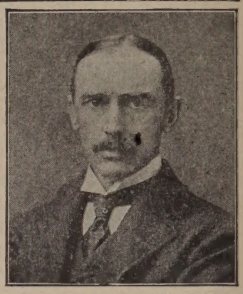

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Authors, Books and Publishers.

Librarians, book-buyers, and readers generally will confer a benefit upon the publishers, upon themselves and upon us by writing freely to the publishers here advertised for any further information concerning their publications. This department will be glad to answer queries concerning books, or to forward those queries to the proper places.

It is easy to see why a history of Wall Street should be called a story, as it has been in Frederick Trevor Hill's narrative *The Story of a Street* (Harpers). From a cattle trail to a lane, from a lane to a brush-bordered road, from a road to a walled street, from a walled street to a Wall Street, thence to a present canon of exchange, is indeed somewhat of a story. Wall Street in the days of the Dutch, during the Revolution, in later times as the centre of government, as the social centre, as the centre of finance—the author traces all its strange transformations in brilliant, allusive style, mingling humorous anecdote with sober historic narrative. The great events the Street has witnessed, the great men it has housed, its pageants, its mobs, pass before the reader's eye in varied procession. One learns how Captain Kidd came to be one of the earliest proprietors of the Street, and hears, for the first time, no doubt, of Governor Cosby, who used to masquerade in women's clothes "with the pleasing delusion that he might be mistaken for Queen Anne." As authentic history, the book has unique value, for nothing before it has been written that covers the same ground. Mr. Hill's diligent search of old records which are inaccessible to the ordinary public has made the work like a quaint old document in itself, and this impression is deepened by many etchings and prints that portray old street scenes. Mr. Hill's is a book of truly national interest which will increase with years.

After a long silence Maxim Gorky again comes before the American public with his new book, *The Spy, the Story of a Superfluous Man* (Huebsch). When all is said and done, Maxim Gorky is still at the head of the younger Russian writers, so that his study of Russia's revolutionaries and secret police cannot but be of thrilling interest to the reader.

Elizabeth Jordan enjoys the interesting distinction of having had published on the same day one book of which she is part author, and another of which she is author—*The Whole Family* and *Many Kingdoms* (Harpers). Her contribution to the famous composite "Family" is "The Schoolgirl," an intense and sentimental youngster, said to be one of the most delightful members of the family by two critics no less acute than Henry James and William Dean Howells. Both Mr. Howells and Mr. James were co-authors in the story. Mr. Howells has paid Miss Jordan a tribute in saying that no writer to-day better portrays that fearful and wonderful person, the half-grown schoolgirl.

The *New Library of Medicine*, edited by the popular and versatile Dr. C. W. Saleeby (Dutton), is intended for the lay reader even more than for the profession. It covers practically the whole field of medicine and hygiene as it is to-day, and as the intelligent reader can readily understand. The works are, so far as possible, divested of technical terminology and prepared by the highest authorities.

Sir Oliver Lodge, the first of the great scientists to believe in the spirit world, has published an important work in *Science and Immortality* (Moffat, Yard & Co.). Science, thanks to Sir Oliver Lodge's work, has broadened its field so extensively in the last few years that many a scientist of thirty years ago would scarcely recognize it as his domain.

George W. Cable's new novel, *Kincaid's Battery* (Scribners), was published in November. Mr. Cable writes of the life in New Orleans just before and during the Civil War. He is the only novelist now writing of that period who actually fought on the Southern side during the Civil War, and in this new story he has some chapters about that conflict which are among the most breathless and thrilling scenes in all our fiction. No story since *The Cavalier* has so vividly and realistically brought home the period of the early sixties, and the absorbing romance which develops in the book makes this a novel of vital and deep interest.

Authors, Books and Publishers (*continued*)

Authors relish a frank opinion of their works, but find this uncommonly hard to get. One time, to be very sure, is when a speaker expresses his opinion while ignorant that his listener is the author. Sir Gilbert Parker, on his return voyage from America last summer, fell to chatting with a fellow-passenger, a physician, who introduced the subject of popular novels, using to illustrate one of his points —and not without criticism—*The Right of Way*. "I don't agree with you," said his companion with a smile; "but, then, you shouldn't expect it. I happen to be the man that wrote the book." Shortly after Sir Gilbert's return a signed copy of *The Weavers* found its way to the candid man, who, of course, was a Yankee.

Another story told of Sir Gilbert is this: Every author hates to hear others speak of his fiction as "little stories." On one occasion a bishop genially remarked to the novelist, "Still writing little stories?" "Yes," was the reply; "still preaching little sermons, Bishop?"

Sir Christopher Wren (Scribners), by Lena Milman, is the title of a new volume in the Library of Art. This is a very satisfactory and thorough biography of the greatest of English architects, and is illustrated by more than sixty reproductions of photographs of every phase of his work from the exterior of St. Paul's to the decoration of a doorway. The book gives a comprehensive story of his full and active but rather uneventful life, and a very complete account of his work in all its different periods. The photographs are most interesting and excellently reproduced. The great works which Wren planned and executed and the all-important part he played in the rebuilding of the England of his day, as well as the number of his works which are still standing, make him a particularly interesting figure.

No Stevensonian can afford not to read Will H. Low's delightful book, *A Chronicle of Friendships* (Scribners). It is a gentle pen that draws again the beloved lineaments of R. L. S., whom every one was so eager to befriend, and lovers of Stevenson will be grateful for this new portrait, which does honor alike to subject and painter.

The collection of "Oriental Literature" published by the Lamb Publishing Company, and sold by Brentano, contains enough wonderful Oriental tales to fit out several wayside inns. All the lore and wisdom of the East that the general reader hears of but frequently does not know where to obtain is comprised in this set of books. Be it Hindu literature or Persian, Turkish or Egyptian, Chinese or Hebrew, all are represented in these ten volumes, edited by the late Max Müller and Sir Edwin Arnold.

William Winter, the Grand Old Man of dramatic criticism on this side of the water, publishes in *Other Days* (Moffat, Yard & Co.) the chronicles of a lifetime spent with great actors and celebrated personages generally. From his snow-white hair and Gibbon-like style of to-day, no one would imagine that Mr. Winter was a gay companion in the Bohemia of New York of fifty years ago, which centred about Pfaff's. Mr. Howells, in one of his books, pokes some gentle fun at the Bohemians of that day.

An Immortal Soul, a novel by W. H. Mallock, who wrote *A Romance of the Nineteenth Century* and, along an entirely different line, *A Critical Examination of Socialism*, has been published by the Harpers. The central figure is a young English girl but just out of the schoolroom, a wholly adorable and fascinating specimen of femininity. She is at once the coquette and the devotee; the ingenuous child and the sophisticated woman—wilful, capricious, and eternally lovable, the epitome of her sex. There is a double suggestion here of double personality—no one fully understands this extraordinary young woman—and it is even doubtful if she is acquainted with herself. But she is undeniably "different," and, accordingly, she dominates every situation that it pleases her to enter. The reader of fiction will find this an absorbing story.

A loose-leaf encyclopædia seems to be the latest device by which to meet the headlong progress of this era, which has been the foe of encyclopædias. Nelson & Sons announce such a work, to be maintained by a staff of permanent editors.

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Medical Officer of Health of Brighton; President of the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers of Health (1899–1900); Examiner in Public Health to the Universities of Cambridge and Victoria; late Examiner in State and Preventive Medicine to the Universities of London and Oxford.

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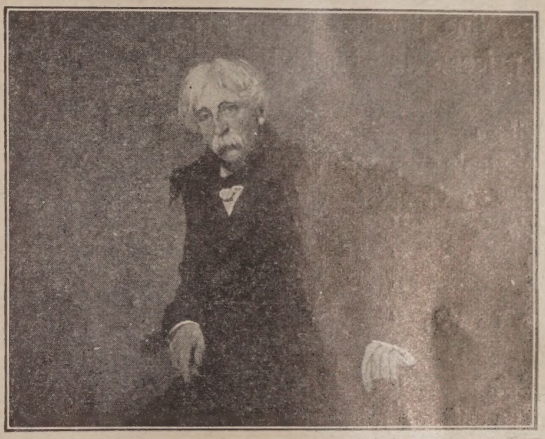

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXXXVII.

DECEMBER, 1908.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION.

BY HENRY CABOT LODGE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

DEMOCRATS and superior persons, who in greater or less numbers serve in political campaigns as Democratic auxiliaries, constantly assail the Republican party as guilty of the crime of desiring to live upon its past. This habit is a very old one, and this particular criticism of the Republican party is one which, ever since I can remember, I have heard made against that party with varying degrees of intensity. The Democrats, considering their own history, have good reason to make the attack, and the auxiliaries employ it for lack of something better to say. Yet it is, after all, as natural for Republicans to refer to their past, although they indulged in it very little during the campaign just closed, as it is for Democrats to object to discussing party records. I premise this by way of apology, because it seems to me impossible to say anything intelligently as to the results of the late election without a reference to some of the facts of history.

The Republican party came into power and complete control of the Government in 1861. It retained that complete control until 1875, when the House became Democratic. The House re-

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mained Democratic until the election of 1880; and, during the last two years of the administration of President Hayes, the Senate was also Democratic. With the accession of Garfield in 1881, complete Republican control was re-established, but the House of 1883 was again Democratic and remained so until 1889. The Democrats also had the Presidency from 1885 to 1889. From 1889 to 1891, the Republicans were once more in complete control. At the elections of 1890, however, they lost the House, and in 1892 the Presidency and the Senate as well. For the next two years, therefore, from 1893 to 1895, the Democrats had complete control of the Government. In 1894, they lost the House in an overwhelming defeat; and, since 1897, complete control of the Government in all its branches has been in the hands of the Republicans. In the forty-eight years which have elapsed since 1860, the Republicans have had complete control of the Government for thirty years, and in addition they have controlled one or more branches of the Government for sixteen. In other words, in forty-eight years the Democratic party has had complete control of the Government for only two. These statistics are impressive. They cannot be explained away on the ground of accident, or good fortune, or superior organization, or the possession of money. They furnish conclusive proof that the American people have an almost incurable distrust of the Democratic party and a deep-seated belief that the Republican party has leaders of greater ability, that it is able to rule and govern, and that, whatever its defects or shortcomings, it has done, on the whole, good work for the country and can be intrusted more safely than its opponents with the heavy responsibility of legislation and administration.

It is obvious, then, that one result of the election has been to demonstrate once more, and most emphatically, that a large majority of the American people have no confidence in the Democratic party and are, as before, ready to trust the Republicans after a large experience of Republican supremacy. It is also shown by the election that the American people still regard the Republican party as a better and more efficient instrument of government than their opponents. People, as a rule, do not stop to consider the statistics as to party control during the last half century, but they have a deep significance; and the fact that during that long period the Democrats have been able to get complete

control of the Government for only two years possesses an important meaning which deserves to be carefully pondered.

Passing now from what we may call the general historical aspect of the late election, let us try to discover its significance in relation to the vital questions of the present day. Primarily, the vote of November 3rd was a vote of confidence in the Republican administration of Theodore Roosevelt, and of approval of the policies associated with his name. When Mr. Roosevelt came into the Presidency, he found a situation which for some years had been a subject of grave and growing anxiety to all reflecting men. Great aggregations of capital and great corporations, the necessary and, economically, the beneficial developments of modern times, had gained a position in the business world which was almost despotic; and they were also exercising a political power which was dangerous and, in many cases, both corrupt and corrupting. The possession of this power had made many of the men who exercised it entirely lawless. They had come to feel that money and "business interests" had the right to do what they pleased, and to disregard and override laws which in any way interfered with their desires. The knowledge of these facts had become general and had produced, not among the discontented and violent elements of society merely, but among the great body of the American people, who are honest, industrious and patriotic, and who have no base envy of wealth or success, a profound feeling of unrest. This great element of the people, naturally conservative and law-abiding, the bone and sinew of our body-politic, were beginning to feel, not merely that their individual rights in business and daily life were disregarded and frequently trampled upon, but that their own Government was passing out of their rightful control into the hands of a comparatively small number of persons who possessed large amounts of money. With these apprehensions the American people were beginning to listen to the agitators and men of violence, who in many instances were actuated by envy and malice, and who always wished to destroy, and sometimes to obtain revenge for real or fancied wrongs. In other words, the American people were beginning to lose confidence in their Government, and no greater peril to the Republic can be imagined than a failure of faith in its principles and institutions. President Roosevelt met this situation, and he has restored the confidence of the American people

in their national Government. He has made them feel once more that the Government is theirs and represents them, and is not controlled by money or by great corporations. He has achieved this impressive result by enforcing the laws without regard to the wealth or the power of those who violated them, and by urging and securing additional legislation which enables the Government to regulate and supervise the railroads, and by proving that the Government exists for the benefit of all the people and is not the chattel of financial interests, no matter how great and potent those interests may be. For this work he has been savagely denounced. The attacks have come from those whom he has brought to the bar of justice and whose violations of the law he has arrested. Money is powerful and can hire many people to plead its cause and assail its enemies, in some instances, at least, with an absolutely insane fury. President Roosevelt has also had to endure the severe and even savage criticisms of many personally honest people, who thought it better that certain great financiers and managers of corporations should violate the law than that their own investments should be disturbed by bringing the violators of the law to justice. But, whatever attacks have been made upon Mr. Roosevelt, the American people understood what he was doing and gave him their confidence without limit or deduction. Assailed with greater bitterness, perhaps, than any President in our history, among the American people at large he became during his term of office the most popular and trusted President who ever occupied the White House. It is the fashion with his opponents, who are extremely vocal, even if they are not numerous, to speak of him as destructive and as a promoter of socialistic tendencies. History will say, and calm judgment will declare before history is written, that his course has been fundamentally conservative. To those who have studied the currents of popular feeling and of public opinion, and who are not blinded by personal interests or paid to advocate the business of money-making as the most sacred of causes, it is now apparent that if Mr. Roosevelt had not met the situation which confronted him with force and courage, some one who would make Mr. Bryan seem like a timid reactionary would have been elected on the third day of November, and legislation would have followed which would have been little short of a social and political revolution.

To accomplish his purpose of destroying evils which had grown up, Mr. Roosevelt had a task of the utmost difficulty. He was obliged to steer between the radicals of discontent, on the one side, and the radicals of reaction on the other, utterly opposed to each other, but who in their different ways would alike have brought on violent and destructive changes, if not actual revolution, could either extreme have had its will. Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in following this difficult middle path and has incurred the reproaches of both sets of extremists and especially of the reactionaries, who like the rule of money and of what is euphemistically called "business interests." It was not easy to argue directly that Mr. Roosevelt was to be overthrown because he proposed to enforce the laws in the execution of his sworn duty, or to revile him because he urged additional legislation to curb existing and admitted evils. So his opponents, for the most part, resorted to the old trick of saying that his objects were good but that his methods were bad, violent and disturbing. Danton declared that revolutions were not made with rose-water and profitable wrong-doing fights and dies hard. Vested abuses cannot be extirpated by soft words or gentle deprecation, nor can the people be aroused or public opinion formed and moulded in whispers. Mr. Roosevelt struck hard and often, he aroused the people, he gathered behind him an overwhelming force of public sentiment; and, in so doing, he hurt the money-making opportunities of some people and jarred upon the feelings of others who disliked being rudely disturbed. But a beginning had to be, and tender touches would probably not have affected very much evils which had hardened during many successful years. It is proper and appropriate to use the shears and the pruning-knife in an old English park or an ancient Italian garden, but you must attack the wilderness and the jungle with an axe if you would clear away the noxious growths, let in the light of day and make the generous soil fit for cultivation. The work of the pioneer is always hard and often rough, but it is the great work, none the less, upon which all that comes after of beauty and profit must depend. In any event, Mr. Roosevelt did his work. He restored the confidence of the people in their own Government, he enforced the laws, he uncovered and punished corruption, and he has raised the moral tone of both business and politics. Then he did what no other man or body

of men could have done, took himself finally and irrevocably out of the list of Presidential candidates, although he could have easily had a third term, an act which many people think a great renunciation in accord with the best traditions and the keenest sense of honor, and which they also believe will loom large in the pages of history which future generations will read.

Thus it befell that the Republican party was called upon to pass judgment upon Mr. Roosevelt's administration, and to choose the man whom they desired to be his successor.

When the Republican National Convention met, it approved the Roosevelt policies and promised their continuance. It then nominated Mr. Taft as its candidate for President. Mr. Taft was a leading member of the Administration which had formulated and put the Roosevelt policies into operation. He had the earnest support of the President, and he has declared over and over again that he should continue the policies of the Administration of which he himself had been a member. Mr. Taft is a man whose words may be absolutely believed, and of such strong character and determination that every one knows that any promise which he makes will be fulfilled to the letter, so far as he has power to do it. Thus the issue upon the Roosevelt policies was put to the people clearly and distinctly by declaration and by candidate, and their answer has been given in electing Mr. Taft by a large majority of electoral votes and by an enormous popular plurality. The issue was plain and the verdict was even plainer.

It must be remembered, also, in giving due weight to the electoral majority and the popular plurality, that the Republican party is always confronted by the unreasoning and stolid vote of the South. The electoral vote of the Southern States gives no just idea of the opinions of the people of those States upon the issues of the day. The Southern electoral vote merely means hostility to the negro, and it has not changed since the days of reconstruction. The feeling against the negroes is kept alive now solely for party purposes, and the increase of the white Republican vote in the South in favor of Mr. Taft is one of the hopeful signs of the last election. Without being oversanguine, this increase of the Republican vote, which is wholly among the whites, suggests that the South is slowly awakening to the false and unhappy position which it occupies. The result of their present position is that the Democratic party cares nothing for their

interests, and will do nothing for them because it is sure to have their votes, no matter who is nominated and no matter what policies are declared. The Republican party cares less than nothing about them, for it knows that in any event the electoral vote of the South will be Democratic. It is a wretched position for a great group of States to occupy, and the time must come when the people of those States will cease to cast a meaningless vote upon a dead issue and will once more express their opinions upon the tariff, the currency, the standard of value, the policy to be pursued toward corporations and other living questions. Mr. Taft rendered a great service to the country when he went into the Southern States, and the increase of the Republican vote is a good omen because it shows that the white men of the South are beginning to grow restive under a condition which compels them to throw their votes away so far as any question in which they are really interested is concerned, and which makes them politically a negligible and a neglected part of the Union.

Another result of the election is to show that a majority of the American people favor the Republican attitude in regard to the banks and adhere firmly to the policy of protection. As to the latter question, indeed, the strength of the protection policy is not sufficiently exhibited in the popular vote, because it gives only partial expression to the beliefs of Southern protectionists and because many men who believe in protection in the North vote the Democratic ticket from habit, or are against the Republican party for reasons other than its position upon the tariff.

There was one other very momentous question upon which the American people expressed a very decided opinion, which was only in an indirect manner an issue between the great parties, but which was none the less passed upon by the voters. The Democratic party adopted a resolution in regard to labor which might mean anything and on its face meant nothing. Mr. Gompers, however, after a conversation with Mr. Bryan, announced that Mr. Bryan took a position satisfactory to him and that he proposed to give him the votes of organized labor, and as far as possible of unorganized labor too. Now, although we do not know what the Democratic party meant by their resolution, we know exactly what Mr. Gompers meant when he stated that Mr. Bryan's position was satisfactory to him, although Mr. Bryan maintained a stillness upon this subject which was as profound as

it was unusual. In the ocean of his talk, his practical silence in regard to his relations with Mr. Gompers was as conspicuous as a lonely rock rising up in splendid solitude from the waste of waters. But what Mr. Gompers proposed and that to which he said Mr. Bryan was committed was the bill which the former had caused to be introduced in the present Congress. This bill, briefly stated, legalizes the boycott and the black list, and deprives every man of his property in his business or in the good-will which he may have been able to establish. It created, in effect, a privileged class and gave to certain American citizens the right to engage in acts which all other citizens would be criminally prosecuted for attempting. Nothing more un-American or more hostile to the welfare of the Republic was ever proposed than this attempt to establish by law a privileged class, when one of the corner-stones of American Government is the hitherto unquestioned doctrine that there shall be no privileged classes in the United States. The means by which Mr. Gompers sought to accomplish his ends was to use non-political organizations, formed for totally different purposes, organizations which hold secret meetings, in such a way as to compel all the members, no matter what their political affiliations might be, to vote as he commanded because they belong to these non-political organizations and were members of one class in the community. To use secret organizations to control politics is bad enough, but to seek to array class against class in the United States is little short of a crime against our free representative Government. With these methods and with these objects, Mr. Gompers entered upon a violent campaign in behalf of Mr. Bryan, which, if successful, would have made him little short of a dictator, so far as one highly important field of legislation was concerned. Dictators of any kind are justly hateful to the American people, and the very idea is alien to all American traditions; but a dictator like Mr. Gompers would be deplorable. From the domination of Mr. Gompers this election has rescued us for the time at least, and time is a powerful ally in a combat against dangerous principles in politics and government. The working-men of the country, as any examination of the returns clearly shows, refused to be delivered by Mr. Gompers and insisted on voting according to their political convictions. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that they resented the attempt of Mr. Gompers to crush their political in-

dependence and convert them into the helpless tools of a leader whom they themselves had created for far other purposes and to perform a wholly different task. It is also clear that the voters generally regarded with great disfavor Mr. Gompers's plan of creating a privileged class, and, still more, his attempt to embitter feeling and array class against class with such objects in view. In this connection, it may also be observed that one of the encouraging results of the election was the failure of the Socialists to obtain anything like the vote which they boasted would be theirs. The wild denunciations of Mr. Debs, and his brutal attacks upon everybody who differed from him and especially upon those who had succeeded where he had failed, apparently found little response among the great body of American voters. It is not wise to underrate the Socialistic movement, and, as it aims at a political and social revolution which would carry us back to a lower level of civilization, it is well to do battle with it at every stage in its career; but it is encouraging to note that it does not seem to be prospering among the American people, even in a period of depression when those who seek to destroy crowd with hoarse clamor into the field of politics as the birds of prey hover over the field of battle.

In addition to the great national results, there was one State election which assumed national proportions and has a national significance. That was the contest for the Governorship of New York. The election of Governor Hughes goes far beyond the limits of a party victory in its meaning and importance. This is due, not only to his own character and achievements, but to the nature of the opposition which he encountered. Governor Hughes had shown himself a strong man as Governor, and as one devoted to promoting at all hazards what he honestly believed to be right and in the public interest. The criticisms upon him for lack of tact and for an unsympathetic attitude toward those with whom he came in contact were trivial and not to be considered in the light of his great services to good government and in view of the ability and force of character which he had displayed. Mr. Chanler ran against him, not on any merits of his own or as representing any policies, but solely in the interests of certain elements in the community which for selfish or base reasons were opposed to Governor Hughes. It so happened that those elements which were most interested in compassing Governor

Hughes's defeat were the most undesirable that exist. Mr. Chanler not only appeared as their representative and beneficiary, and in no other capacity, but he showed himself to be helpless in debate and his speeches were so feeble that even party zeal withered beneath them. It is not too much to say that the defeat of Governor Hughes, in the light of his own record and of the quality of the opposition to him, by the candidate who ran against him, and by the methods which were employed for his overthrow, would have been a national calamity. It would have declared in unmistakable terms to all men in public life, and especially to young men entering politics, that a man who fought for the right must expect nothing but defeat, and that the road to success was to be found in a servile subserviency to special interests and to some of the worst elements in the community. That the attempt to defeat Governor Hughes failed is a cause for profound satisfaction, because it is a victory for what is best in American politics and will help to encourage high ideals of public service.

Thus it has come to pass that the people have again committed the Government of the country to the Republican party for another four years. This renewal of power brings with it heavy responsibilities, for there are many very serious questions just now to be dealt with at Washington. It is not a moment for wild exultation on the part of Republicans, but for very sober reflection as to the duties which lie before them. The party is fortunate in having as President one of the best men ever chosen to that great office. No man better equipped and better trained was ever nominated by any party for the Presidency. He not only takes with him his training and experience, as well as a wide knowledge of the work of administration and of diplomacy, but he is imbued with a fine spirit of disinterestedness and has a complete sense of his great responsibilities. He is entirely fit to be President of the United States, and it is not possible to give him higher praise. Under his leadership, we may confidently hope that the Republican party will meet the responsibilities which lie before it as successfully as it has met them in the past, for responsibility is not new to the Republican party; and, although there have been moments in its career when it has hesitated, it has never in the end failed to rise to a great opportunity or shrunk from settling difficult and perplexing questions.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

GOD, MAN AND IMMORTALITY.

A LAYMAN'S VIEW.

BY PETER S. GROSSCUP, JUDGE OF THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS.

AN article in a recent number of this REVIEW, by the late D. H. Chamberlain, in reconstruction days Governor of South Carolina, entitled "Confessions of a Free Thinker," and the comments thereon by Professor Goldwin Smith, have prompted this article.

Mr. Chamberlain's article is not a compact or scientific statement of any theory or belief; it is rather a statement of the picked-up thoughts of a bystander who has allied himself to a theory or belief; and Professor Goldwin Smith's article is only a running commentary in the way of reply. The subject, from a purely popular standpoint, deserves, it seems to me, a more careful exposition; and, while I am but a layman both in science and theology, the work can be performed, perhaps, as well by a layman as by an expert.

Ex-Governor Chamberlain was one of those men who, attracted to the subject as only a side interest in a busy life, came late in life to believe that the universe is entirely physical; that man is but one of the many physical outbursts of this physical universe; that there are no such things as mind distinguished from matter, spirit distinguished from body—mind and spirit being functions only of matter, as digestion is a function of the stomach; that there is no overruling intelligence, no moral plan, no personal immortality. And could we penetrate the shell of the more or less conventional beliefs of the world, we might find many such men—mental lives that run in their later years in exactly opposite directions to the mental lives of their earlier years; mental lives that run in exactly opposite directions to the mental lives of such men as Kant, Virchow and Bois Raymond,

who, beginning in their views on this subject where Chamberlain left off, themselves left off, in their ripened maturity, in the full conviction that there *is* a God, a soul-life aside from physical life, and an immortality.

The best popular exposition, perhaps, of the school of thinkers into which Chamberlain drifted, will be found in the books of Ernest Haeckel, Professor in the University of Jena; and his best single book, perhaps, the one entitled "The Riddle of the Universe." I am not competent, of course, to measure argument on this subject with a man of the vast resources of Haeckel; nor would one who was competent have room enough within the space of a magazine article. But I can state, I think, accurately and fully, the thread of his reasoning, and place against it the considerations that make it, to my mind, wholly inconclusive as a demonstration of the theory that man is wholly material—that mind and spirit are nothing but functions of matter.

The most interesting and suggestive link in the chain on which this materialistic theory proceeds is the striking resemblance between the evolution of man as a species, and the evolution of each particular man and woman of the species—man, as a species, evolved from the simplest and lowest organisms of the world's animal life, and the individual man and woman evolved from the temporary fœtal organism in which each begins. In man as a species, millions of years were spent in the process of evolution, the material beginning in a simple cell; while, in the individual man, the evolution takes place in the flash of a moment, comparatively, from the temporary fœtal organism. In the evolution of man as a species, the lowest stages of organization are endowed with sensitiveness; in the evolution of the individual man, the same is true. In the second stage, in each, infinitely different as they are in the point of time involved, there is the same appearance of simple sense organs, followed by differentiation into specific organs; and this again by a nervous system becoming more and more complex and centralized. After that, conscious perception; and finally the higher mental and moral perceptions, as distinguished from the perceptions that the lower animals have—each individual man and woman being, in the quick progress from the fœtal cell to maturity, a reproduction, in all essential respects, of the progressive steps that, through the ages, out of the world's earliest living organisms, evolved the first man.

And having thus fixed the mind, in the study both of the individual and of the species, upon these forms or organisms as they appear in the line of development, each graduating into a higher form, performing higher functions, the Haeckel school arrive at their *deduction,* that the whole process is physiological; that each graduation from lower to higher form was a physiological change only; that in the primitive cell, away back when the world's life began, and in the fœtal cell with which each individual form of life now begins, a process began, purely material, that unaided by anything *apart* from the purely material has culminated in the man as he is to-day—the mental and moral man, as well as the material body that the mental and moral man inhabits.

This I say is what the school of Haeckel and other materialists *deduces.* Neither Haeckel nor any other materialist affirms that this conclusion is reached by any other process than that of inference or deduction. Mark these words—"inference," "deduction." They separate what belongs to, and is the product of, experiment and observation by the senses from what belongs to, and is the product of, reasoning *upon* what has been observed or experienced by the senses. No one, for instance, by any reunion of the chemical elements that make up the living organism, has ever yet artificially created life. That would be experiment observable by the senses. It is life that begets life; and in the whole domain of physics, plant and animal, no other way to beget life has been observed, not even the lowest forms of life. All that we know, then, through experimentation or from observation, of the earliest material cell and the life that animates it is, not that they are one and the same thing, but that they are *concomitants;* all that can be said, through experience or observation, of the advanced material organisms and an advanced state of life is, not that they are one and the same thing, but that they, too, are concomitants; and all that can be said of man, from any standpoint of experience or observation, is that, with him, his physical life and his soul-life are concomitants. But whether the concomitancy of the material cell with the life that animates it, and the concomitancy of the physical body of man with the soul that inhabits it, are due to life having its origin in the cell and the soul having its origin in the physical body, or whether life and soul are, in the last analysis, entities separate from the cell and body—the real entities of the universe—utilizing these material

forms as instruments only, as we utilize the telephone transmitter and receiver as instruments only, are, at most, deductions only, not facts scientifically established—*deductions that any school of belief may either accept or reject without rejecting any part of the array of facts that actual observation and experience have established.*

Imagine a human being so circumstanced that he had never known another human being—had never heard music or the human voice—coming suddenly into touch with a telephone, getting from its material organism the first and only note of music or sound of human voice that had ever come to him. Might not such lone man, with apparent reason, draw the deduction that music and voice were functions only of the organism; that, apart from that organism, there was no evidence of such a thing as music, no evidence of such a thing as human voice? And if, on investigating the organism before him closely, he discovered that any misadjustment interfered with or silenced the voices that came from it, and that in proportion as it was loosely put together, or was finely balanced, there issued sounds that were rudimentary only, and sounds that rose to the perfection of the finished voice, would he not have additional apparent reason for the deduction that the voices were but a function of the organism? Indeed, why, in the absence of wider knowledge or a deeper insight, should not this lone man conclude, from the manifest concomitancy of organism and sound, that sound and the organism before him had no separate existence—that one was in truth but the function of the other?

To the extent that we cannot see with our material eyes, or touch with our material fingers, or hear with our material ears, any soul-life apart from the material organism called "body" and "matter," we are in the situation of the lone man suddenly come upon the organism out of which sound and music issue. Is the physical organism, out of which these voices issue, the beginning and the end of the voice and the music? Why should the lone man, who has never heard a voice or music in any other connection, have any absolute scientific basis on which to answer, "No"? Is the physical organism called "the body of man," out of which seem to issue the wonderful something called "soul-life," and "the moral universe," the beginning and the end of soul-life, and the moral universe? Why should we who have never

seen with material eyes, or touched with material fingers, or heard with material ears, the thing called "soul-life," and "the moral universe," except in connection with the material organism, think we had any absolute scientific basis on which to answer, "No"? But, on the other hand, neither in the one case nor in the other is there any absolute scientific basis on which to answer "Yes." In both cases, the conclusion reached, whether it be one or the other, is a process, not of scientific observation, but of inference only, the deduction that the mind draws from given facts. And, that being the case, there is nothing in the present state of science that excludes *as unscientific* those who believe that soul and matter are distinct entities, any more than it excludes as unscientific those who believe that soul is only a function of matter; for from a purely scientific standpoint—the standpoint of materialistic science I mean—the question is still an open one, to be determined, so far as it can be determined, within the limits of man's knowledge, by that intelligent weighing of all the known facts that the mind must make use of in determining any of the debatable questions of this life.

Now, starting just where actual science has brought us, and rising from that into the field of deduction, which inference, that of the materialist, or that of the believer in soul-life as a separate entity from material life, is the most probable one? The array of facts in favor of the materialist is an interesting one. I have no space, further than already employed, to run over these facts. The one indicated—the scientific fact that both in the evolution of the species and of the individual, the development of certain organs connected with life seems to have come in the same order, and to have come concomitantly with the development of life and mind, is the matrix of them all. Not another fact in the whole array produced by the materialist rises to such a degree of convincingness as this. Not another fact in the whole array escapes the inconclusiveness of this. All of them borrow their logic from the inference to be drawn from the concomitancy of soul and matter in process of evolution—that because soul and matter have evolved concomitantly, and in the same physical embodiment, it is to be taken that soul *is* matter—that because the voices issuing from the telephone have, so far as the lone man knows, no origin except in the telephone, it must be taken as established, *as to him,* that the voices are of the telephone.

But let us turn to another array of facts, no less actual than the ones stated, that look exactly in the opposite direction. I shall only give the three that appeal to me most strikingly. The first of these is that there is in this universe such a thing as a Moral Plan. Let me illustrate this in some only of its more obvious relations. We are living in a time, for instance, when, for their material comfort, men have tapped deeply the secrets of nature. Are you seated in your house at midnight, engulfed in light? Are you, without any exertion of your own, carried, swiftly and lightly as the bird flies, over long distances, and by invisible pinions? Are the stars brought near you through the lenses of the telescope? Is sight restored to you through lenses produced at the optician's? Is every comfort from every clime brought every morning to your door? Are the heart and intellect of every age waiting to speak to you from your bookshelves? Do you perceive that in this throbbing, whirling, power-charged universe, every rein is falling into your hands? And do you look upon all these advances as the achievements of men? So they are; but you must add to this, to make the fact complete, that every capability of nature, just as we know it now, uninterruptedly has existed from the beginning, waiting only for the capability lodged in man to discover and possess it. And, add to this again that though the capabilities of nature existed from the beginning, only a hint of them was given to man—the race in its childhood, like the children of men under far-sighted teachers, being left to *work out* the problem; to evolve, by study and experiment, from the summer lightnings playing from cloud to cloud, the masterful electrical forces; to evolve by study and experiment, from the sands of the sea, the lenses that bring worlds together; to evolve, by study and experiment, the facilities that ore and coal and water give us; to evolve, by study and experiment, that most far-reaching of all things, the organization into a cohering whole of the sounds of the human voice that, put on paper, in the characters of the alphabet, have given the heart and intellect of every age a medium through which to speak. True, the law of the survival of the fittest applies to every step in the evolution of this material civilization. But that law does not account for the fact without which evolution would have no ground to begin on, that into nature *were put* these capabilities, and into man *was put* the corresponding capability to event-

ually uncover and utilize them; it does not account for the fact, every day becoming plainer, that into nature nothing has found way that is not a helpful force, present or future, in the economy of mankind. Now, such *adaptation* of capability to capability cannot be chance. Such adaptation is *purpose*. True, its development, step by step, is evolution. But it was not evolution that ordained the adaptation. Behind this composite machine of man and matter, each cog of the one engaging with a corresponding cog of the other, is intention, mind, purpose, moral plan; and all the more clearly is this brought out, and all the more clearly is the object of the purpose made, when we hold before us the fact that, though man and matter were thus adapted to each other from the beginning, it was left to man to *work out* the relationship, in order that man, himself created as we are told in the image of his Creator, might in a lesser degree, through the power working within him, become a creator also—might link his individuality with the Father individuality behind all things. I never contemplate this adaptation of nature, in all her recesses, to the uses of mankind, that I do not acknowledge the *certainty* and the *bountifulness* of the original Intention; and I never dwell on the fact that it required the effort of man to uncover and utilize it, that I do not acknowledge the *benevolence* of the Intention. We are not chance creatures. We are children for whose good all things have been ordered.

I have gone to this material side of moral plan in the universe only because it is the more obvious—is more easily understood. But it is not on that side of life and human history only that a moral plan is discernible. History is only a small part, probably, of the years of the human race. It only goes back to the time when men were far enough advanced to begin to create records. But take the whole of historical mankind—the race in its early tribal relations, living from hand to mouth, cruel as wild beasts, and almost as aimless, rising step by step to what it is now, all the riches of nature at its door, and all the forces of nature plastic in its hands, society governed by law, society taking care of the weak, justice more and more becoming the ideal toward which society strives, the best part of mankind living as if there *were* a God, a moral universe and future responsibility—does not such a history show that civilization and the race have grown up around some life-principle *higher* than its

mere material life; some purpose, some design, some plan for the orderly accomplishment of what has taken place, as distinguished from haphazard and chance? No one will deny that the tree or the blade of grass that, starting from a seed, grows and strengthens and then blossoms and ripens, has grown and strengthened and blossomed and ripened—the same phenomena occurring year after year, along the same lines—in accordance with an underlying life-principle. Is there no design, no plan, no life-principle behind our race's grasp of beauty, of justice, of the ideals that have worked out the greater plan, the very *grasp* of which is the blossoming and the ripening of all that has gone before? And does not this show that into matter, at some time, and from some source higher than matter, there enters moral principle—that concomitant with matter, but above it, there is purpose, plan, the adjustment of capabilities and of events, toward an end wholly different in kind from mere material ends?

The second great fact in the array is the universal *consciousness* of man that, behind this material panorama spread out before the eyes, there is something that gave it being—a something, too, to which each individual life in that being is responsible. I do not mean by this the universality of religion among men; that is a sequence only of the universal consciousness to which I refer. Nor do I mean the almost universal wish among men that there should be a future life; that, too, is only a sequence—along with religious phenomena, one of the things that manifest themselves because underneath, in the universal consciousness, there lies the insight, that in some way *sees* that mind is different from matter, and that behind matter is something, not itself matter, out of which mind and soul have emerged, and to which they are responsible.

Does that underlying consciousness mislead us? It has run through human nature of every race, and through all time. Is it a mere phantasm, the by-play of hope and the imagination? Let us test the inquiry by what the same kind of underlying consciousness means in those things with which we daily come in touch.

I will illustrate out of my own experience. Through almost sixteen years now, I have been hearing, from one end of the year to the other, judicial causes of almost every kind—causes that involve human emotions; causes that, escaping the field of emotions,

involve the law as the mere evolutionary means of the social safety and progress of mankind; and causes that, escaping both these, involve the laws of nature, mechanics, electricity and the like. Many of these causes have in their presentation been greatly clarified—many almost hopelessly jumbled; but, in every instance, no matter what the nature of the cause, or what the helpfulness of the presentation, the *first sight caught* of the right solution has been something in the nature of intuition or feeling, rather than conscious perception—the intuition, *underneath* reasoning, that points the way, leaving it to conscious reasoning to assure one that the way thus pointed out is indeed the right way. And what is this intuition, this feeling, this universal subconsciousness that rules every one, in every relation of life, but the sensitive plate through which environment imprints its meaning —the so-called "reasoning faculties" being the room only in which the plates are developed and put into order. And if this be true of the daily problems presented by our immediate environment, why is it not true also of the eternal problem presented by the greater environment, the greater problem presented by the question, Whence came we? and Whither are we going? Is not the difference of environment and question simply a difference in the magnitude and difficulty of the work of developing that which this latent consciousness holds? In the one case, as in the other, is not the latent consciousness *insight*—the thing that the soul *sees* in advance of reason catching up to classify and explain? And, as such, is it not just as much a fact in the universe of truth as any other established fact?

The third fact in my array is the fact that there is Unity in the world of Thought and Feeling, as well as in Nature. Let me illustrate again by something personal. I was once in a region where there were many springs, some on the mountainside, some in the valley, some pouring out great streams, some that were mere threads; but, whether large or small, whether on the mountainside or in the valley, they all rose and fell in unison, all had a common pulsation like the heaving and falling of a single bosom. To any student of past history or observer of contemporaneous events, the manifestations of mind, heart and conscience that characterize the movements of men disclose a like unity. True, what we call "exact knowledge" usually comes slowly, and from widely scattered sources. But not so with the

really great convictions and impulses of the world. These seem to burst forth everywhere at once, as the great fountain at Versailles bursts forth, every aperature, big or little, whether at the pinnacle or whether obscure, responding at once and according to its capacity. Indeed, to those who observe closely, and who have read discriminatingly, there is no fact more fully proven than that, behind thought and feeling, the world over, there is a common source, some central mind, some central heart, from which each individual mind, each individual heart, receives its pulsations.

Now, as a *premise* for *deduction,* each of these facts is just as much a scientific fact, and just as scientifically determinable, as the facts upon which, as premises, the school of materialists base their deductions; and upon them we can build deductions that have the same kind of scientific warrant that any mere deduction is entitled to claim. Indeed, the only respect in which the honest materialist differs from the believing world, is that the horizon of the materialist is a restricted horizon only; stops long before the limits of known facts are reached; and excludes everything, however clearly seen by the mind, that the material hand does not touch. All that the believing world asks of science and philosophy—and in so asking stands squarely on scientific ground—is that, before any deductions are finally accepted as conclusive, the horizon upon which they are predicated be enlarged to include every known fact.

And within this restricted horizon of the materialist—to sum it all up—what have we? A deduction that spirit and body are one, founded wholly on the premise that life, mind, heart and conscience have developed *concomitantly* with that part of matter that we find in the physical body—a deduction no more valid than the deduction of the lone man who had come across the telephone, that the voice and the telephone were one, because *to him* they were concomitant.

Within the larger horizon of the believer, what have we? Nature in all its apparent diversity disclosing plan; the Moral World disclosing plan; Nature stored from the beginning with forces—from the first fire struck by flint to the last wireless message sent across the seas—that would have been forever superfluous in the absence of man; the Moral World developing its ascending forces—beauty, charity, justice—that might as easily

have had their places taken by the descending forces had not an ascending mankind been in the centre of the plan. Nature yielding of its store only in response to man's thought and endeavor; in that way developing, as only exercise could develop, those fibres in the human race that have made material civilization possible; the Moral World unfolding its store only in response to the religious perceptions and better instincts of mankind; in that way developing in men, themselves, a part at least of the power that has lifted up mankind. Man the point toward which everything in Nature is directed; man the point upon which everything in the Moral World is centred.

And through it all, in the consciousness of mankind, as the ever-recurring note that forms the key to the composition, the persistent insight that, behind all this, there is an Intelligence, and a Love, that only the acceptance of man as the child of God can account for. So all we have to do is to recognize these voices as facts within the realm of Science, and like the lone man with the telephone, who eventually discovers that what he supposed was a part of the instrument is really behind and apart from the instrument, we will begin to see that *behind* the material body is something apart from the material body—something that, while speaking *through* the body as the instrument now at hand, is infinitely above the material body—Soul, not body, the real entity of the universe.

I have excluded from this paper every consideration based on Revelation or Faith. I have dealt with the subject as if there were no Inspired Word—as if the world knew nothing of a Son of Man who at the same time was a Son of God. But I do not wish it to be understood that this Jesus of Nazareth is not to me a sufficient foundation on which to rest, in abiding security, my belief in the world to come. When I turn over in thought the words some great man uttered to his contemporaries—a Cromwell, a Washington or a Lincoln—and then reflect what those words and that man subsequently accomplished, a new belief attaches to their truth and wisdom. And so it is also when I turn over in my mind the word given to us by this Jesus of Nazareth. He was born of parents who, but for Him, would have lived and died a mere carpenter and his wife. He never set foot outside a province of the Roman Empire that, in its day, was as little taken notice of, by the rest of the world, as is one of

the small islands of the Philippine Archipelago. And He passed out of this life unmentioned in any writing of His time, for the mention by Josephus is probably an interpolation. But His Life and His Word "have divided the world into two"; everything that has come after Him is His; everything that shall come after us increasingly His. More than all the other forces of civilization, more than the combined lives of the world's great men, His Life and His Word have remade the world. Why should not I, turning back as I often do, with a new faith to the words of the world's great men who have done great things, turn back to the Life and the Words of Him, who not only has done great things, but has *remade* the world, with an abiding faith in their inspired truth?

PETER S. GROSSCUP.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE NEAR EAST.

BY BRITANNICUS.

IMPELLED as much by the pressure of Germany as by "manifest destiny" or by an exclusive regard for her own interests, Austria-Hungary has steadily made her weight felt in the tangled scheme of Balkan politics. The ultimate goal of her aspirations is to find herself planted at Salonica; nothing less than that will content the forward school of Viennese Imperialists. The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first long step to that end, the first, and until recently, almost the last. For nearly thirty years a combination of difficulties has held Austria back from all schemes of overt adventure. The internal distractions of the Dual Monarchy, serious enough in themselves and liable to be indefinitely multiplied, if, as the result of an Austrian advance upon Macedonia, some millions of intractable Slavs were to be added to the polyglot chaos of the Empire; the pacific and cautious temperament of Francis Joseph; the fear of Russia, which, without moving a man or a gun herself, could pour the Servians and Montenegrins upon the Austrian flank; the certainty that the conquest of Macedonia would raise the question of Albania in its acutest form, embroil Austria with Italy, and jeopardize and not improbably disrupt the Triple Alliance; and the crowning need for economy in the Imperial finances—have all condemned Austria-Hungary to a policy of obligatory conservatism. To keep things as they are "till all be ripe and rotten" has been her consistent principle. Thus every movement among the smaller Slav States towards economic or political union she has ruthlessly and instantaneously repressed, recognizing, and from her point of view quite rightly, that nothing could more imperil her present position and her future prospects than the growth of a formidable Slav kingdom in the Balkans, in league with Russia

and affiliated by ties of racial kinship and sentiment to many millions of her own subjects. Thus, too, she has made it a fixed object of her policy to keep Turkey weak and distracted, to foment discord in Macedonia and to hamper—it has been easily done—the European Concert in its work of reform.

It is only by keeping this dual objective in mind that the self-denying ordinance entered into in 1897 by Austria-Hungary and Russia can be appreciated. Momentarily deaf to the appeal of Pan-Slavism and absorbed in the Trans-Siberian railway, Russia was but too willing to conclude a compact that, without endangering her interests in the Balkans, would leave her a free hand in the Far East. Austria-Hungary, torn by internal dissensions and desiring nothing better than to see her mighty rival occupied on the Yellow Sea, was not less willing to meet Russia half-way. The two Powers agreed, accordingly, to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans, to refrain from any schemes of conquest or aggression, and to respect the independence of the separate Balkan States. For the past ten years this agreement has been the basis of the Near Eastern situation. Up to last January it was observed on both sides with adequate fidelity. Russia, indeed, seemed for a time to have relinquished her traditional guardianship of the Balkan Slavs, and Austria, while busy as ever with sap and mine, abstained from any frontal attack on the *status quo*. When the misery of Macedonia became too poignant to remain any longer unheeded, the two Powers received from the Concert of Europe a mandate to carry out a common programme of "reform." Some good was undoubtedly effected, but the spectacle of Austria and Russia ministering to the needs of Turkey was not unlike that of two jealous and not overscrupulous heirs called in to prescribe for a dying man. Neither Power really desired or worked for genuine reform. Both were equally concerned in prolonging the disease. Such benefits as actually accrued to the Macedonians were the result of the pressure and insistence of Great Britain, France and Italy. When these latter Powers, at the beginning of the present year, raised and pressed home the crucial questions of reforming the Macedonian judiciary and improving the *gendarmerie,* the Concert of Europe flew to pieces and the ten-year-old compact between Austria and Russia was abruptly dissolved.

It was Baron von Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Minister

for Foreign Affairs, who by a single decisive stroke shattered at once the unity, such as it was, of the Great Powers and the Austro-Russian Agreement. Behind the backs of his colleagues in the European Concert he negotiated with the Sultan for the right to build a railway through the sanjak of Novi-Bazar. By placing himself under special and secret obligations to the Turkish Government, at a moment when the Concert of Europe was engaged in a last desperate effort to maintain itself and coerce the Sultan, Baron von Aehrenthal deliberately isolated Austria-Hungary, destroyed the confidence which alone offered a chance of united action, made continued co-operation with Russia impossible and effectually blocked the path to all further reform. It is of the first moment to ascertain, if possible, the motives that prompted his action. Why did Austria-Hungary last February suddenly assume an initiative that had long been foreign to her Balkan policy, throw over Russia and ostentatiously separate herself from the Concert of Europe? There are, I think, several reasons that account for her conduct. In the first place it was becoming clear that an autonomous Macedonia, under the protectorate of the Powers, was the ultimate and inevitable solution of the Macedonian question. An autonomous Macedonia could only in the end mean a Macedonia in which the Bulgarians held the upper hand; and a Macedonia in which the Bulgarians held the upper hand would amount, as was pointed out at the time, to "a racial wall of concrete across the route to Salonica, shutting off the Hapsburg monarchy from the port upon which her revived naval ambition is now unmistakably fixed." In the second place the concession extracted from the Sultan of a railway through Novi-Bazar represented an object the attainment of which was indispensable to Austrian expansion in the southeast. A glance at the map will show why. Novi-Bazar is at once a wedge driven between Servia and Montenegro and the easiest pathway of approach to Macedonia and Salonica. A railway through it, under Austrian control, would thus go far towards realizing two of the supreme aims of Viennese policy. It should still further divide the Serb race, and it would enormously facilitate the Austrian prospect of succeeding to Macedonia and of reaching the Ægean. It would achieve these two ends, moreover, without crossing Hungarian territory, and therefore without compromising that freedom of action which Austrian statesmen may con-

ceivably before long be obliged to assert even at the expense of their fellow subjects across the Leitha. By procuring, therefore, the right to link up the Bosnian railway system with the Turkish, Baron von Aehrenthal obtained for his country an asset of real strategic and political value. This, however, does not of itself explain why he set out to obtain it at the time and in the manner he did. Novi-Bazar is perhaps the most curious of the many curiosities of diplomacy. It was placed by the Congress of Berlin under the military occupation of Austria and the civil administration of Turkey, and among the rights assigned to Vienna was that of "having military and commercial roads" throughout the sanjak. None of his predecessors had thought of giving any practical application to these words in Article 25 of the Treaty of Berlin. Why, then, should Baron von Aehrenthal? What were the circumstances that induced him in February to resurrect an almost forgotten privilege and make it the basis for negotiating a railway concession?

The new influences that inspire and justify the new policy and the new assertive spirit are partly political and partly personal. Among the former I would give the first place to the reflex action of the introduction of universal suffrage. In a country so composite as Austria it was a venture of obvious and peculiar hazard, but it has abundantly succeeded. For the time being, it has flattened out racial jealousies and restored to political health and confidence a State that, but a few years ago, showed every symptom of creeping paralysis. Within the last thirty months there has been visible a startling accession of national strength and a pervasive concentration on the work of practical social reform. For the first time in three decades Austria finds herself no longer convulsed by racial feuds, no longer in the throes on interminable Parliamentary crises, but a harmonious, smooth-running State, capable of sustained and concerted action. Hungary, on the other hand, which has preyed incessantly on Austrian distractions and impotence, demanding fresh fiscal concessions and asserting her right to what was little less than military and economic independence, now finds herself embarrassed and at a disadvantage. The Magyars detest, and will do all they can to prevent, the introduction of any genuine scheme of universal suffrage into their half of the realm. They are acutely aware that it spells the doom of their racial and political ascendency, and of the

social and commercial privileges that go with it. To Hungary the mere prospect of universal suffrage has brought infinite perplexity; to Austria its actual realization has brought an unwonted sense of union and stability. But the resurrection of Austria carries with it other than domestic consequences. A writer in the November number of the "Fortnightly Review" justly observes that the courses of internal and foreign affairs are more or less connected in every country, but nowhere so intimately as in the Dual Monarchy. An Austria racked by civil strife at home was an Austria incapable of strong action abroad. An Austria tranquil, hopeful and self-possessed is an Austria with both the desire and the ability to make herself felt abroad. The initiative which she has taken upon herself in the Balkans derives the impulse which makes it at once so formidable and so interesting from the happy change which has transformed her internal situation. Nor, as it happens, could she have timed her resurrection at a moment more auspicious for a policy of positive action. She worked her way from a seemingly hopeless malady to convalescence, and from convalescence to buoyant and tingling life, precisely at the moment when her great rival, Russia, was reeling through disasters abroad and revolution at home. While Austria was gathering strength and assurance, Russia was passing through a crisis that for many years to come must weaken, if not paralyze, her moral and material energy. Just when Vienna, after nearly half a century of passivity, felt stirred to self-assertion and expansion, St. Petersburg was grappling perforce with the wholly opposite problems of "peace, retrenchment and reform."

But the renaissance of Austria, and the temporary disablement of Russia, are not the only factors that have operated upon the recent diplomacy of the Ballplatz. They are linked with and reinforced by two other factors of a more personal but not less potent character. Austria is unique in the possession of two "dark horses." The heir-apparent, the Archduke Ferdinand, is one; Baron von Aehrenthal is the other. Both are newcomers in the field of international affairs; both are believed to share much the same views of Austria's internal and external policies; both have given proof from time to time of a strong and decisive personality, and both are called to high, one of them to the highest, positions in the service of their country; yet to Europe at large, and to their own people in only a slightly less degree, both

are unknown, enigmatical figures whose future courses and actions at once defy and invite speculation. It is only two years since Baron von Aehrenthal succeeded Count Goluchowski. But the two years have sufficed to refute nearly every forecast of his probable policy that was current in 1906. It was commonly expected of him that he would make it his first object to seek a broader accommodation between the Dual Monarchy and Russia. He was believed to be a Russophil on grounds which, sound or otherwise, were, at any rate, plausible enough to have earned for him the suspicions of Berlin. It was surmised that one of the results of his accession would be a certain stiffening in Austria-Hungary's attitude towards her acquisitive ally and, as its inevitable counterpart, a movement towards such an understanding between Vienna and St. Petersburg as had been effected between Rome and Paris. Count Goluchowski, by the stark coercion of his methods in the matter of the Servo-Bulgarian customs union, had left Austrian policy in Southeastern Europe an object of violent distrust. Here, again, it was thought likely that Baron von Aehrenthal would modify his predecessor's programme, and that while Austria was engaged in experimenting with a democratic franchise, and while the Magyars were engrossed with holding their own both against Austria herself and against the insurgent peoples around them, the Dual Monarchy as a whole would abstain from any policy of adventure or repression in the Balkans. Every one of these expectations has been proved to be baseless, and Europe is now alive to the fact that a new, redoubtable and wholly mysterious personality has emerged upon the stage of international politics with every apparent qualification and intention of playing thereon a commanding rôle. A German-Bohemian aristocrat by descent, a diplomatist by profession, the friend, confidant and literary executor of Count Kalnoky—who was not only an excellent judge of men, but an ardent believer in Austrian expansion southwards—the husband of Countess Szechenyi and through her in direct touch with Magyar thought and feeling, in appearance rather a professor than a statesman, tall, bespectacled, parchment-hued, of a slow, methodical suavity of manner, monotonously precise and unrhetorical in his form of address, a master of reserves and blessed with the gift of avoiding notice—Baron von Aehrenthal has shown himself the first Austrian Foreign Minister since Andrassy who gives promise of carrying on the great

traditions of Kaunitz and Metternich. Twenty years as *attaché* and Ambassador at St. Petersburg, where he made himself enviably popular, have given him a knowledge of Russian statesmen, policy and conditions that is probably unrivalled by any other European; and the central clue to his actions as Foreign Minister is unquestionably to be found in his conviction that Muscovite power for many years to come may be treated as a negligible quantity, and that now is the golden hour for Austria to steal a march on her rival in the Balkans. Baron von Aehrenthal, moreover, has proved that he can execute a policy as well as frame it. Within the past two years he has separated Servia and Bulgaria; he has breathed a new vigor into the Triple Alliance; he has, in effect, though not in words, denounced the Austro-Russian Agreement; the speech of last January in which he defended the Novi-Bazar concession revealed a vast and co-ordinated plan for building and expanding Austrian power in the Balkans on the bedrock of railway development; he has raised Austria from the position of Germany's satellite to one of leadership and independence; and within the last two months he has torn up the Treaty of Berlin by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina.

What enormously adds to the significance of these achievements is the belief that Baron von Aehrenthal was selected for his present post by the heir-apparent, that he is the Archduke Ferdinand's right-hand man, and that the policies he has initiated are the policies to which Francis Joseph's successor will lend the full weight of Imperial support. This, I say, is the belief, but as even in Vienna itself you will hear twenty different versions from twenty equally well-informed observers of the Archduke's political views, character, ambitions and activities, it cannot be called a certainty. The balance of evidence and of probability, however, inclines decidedly to the opinion that the Archduke, to whom the Emperor is more and more surrendering the guidance of affairs, is the true inspirer as well as the enthusiastic backer of the new forward policy; and it is not inconceivable that he looks forward to uniting it with the realm of the Hapsburgs remodelled, and perhaps extended, on a Federal basis. We have seen, therefore, that long before the Turkish revolution many forces were at work urging Austria to assume a more vigorous and prominent part in Balkan politics, and that several months before the plans of the Young Turks were even suspected by

Europe the Ballplatz had furnished decisive proof that the days of Austria's subordination and inactivity were over and that a period of calculated aggressiveness had begun. On a sudden, however, it seemed as though the new policy might be wrecked before it was fairly launched. The Hamidian despotism disappeared in a day. The prospect of a strong, united Turkey and of a tranquillized Macedonia became an incredible reality. In Vienna and Berlin alike the developments were watched with something akin to consternation. Every proof that accumulated of the absolute downfall of the old régime, every sign that was forthcoming of the moderation and capacity of the Young Turks, was another death-blow to Austrian and German influence and to long-cherished, fast-maturing designs of commercial and political exploitation. Let it be said at once that a Turkey strong enough to stand alone is neither an Austrian nor a German interest, and that all the resources of the diplomacy of both Powers have been, and will continue to be, directed against its formation. Both Vienna and Berlin were quick to see that it was not Abdul Hamid alone whose power was gone, and that the advent of constitutionalism meant the collapse of the whole Austro-German scheme of cajolery, intrigue and browbeating for economic, political and territorial ends. It was clear even to duller eyes than those of Baron von Aehrenthal that a pacified Macedonia left little scope for the arts of the *agent provocateur,* and that a reorganized and regenerated Turkey, allied, as in the long run it infallibly would be, with the power of Bulgaria, would interpose a fatal barrier to any advance on Salonica. To humiliate the Young Turks, to foment reaction, if possible to bring their precarious régime clattering to the ground, became therefore at once a prime object of Austria's policy. Its achievement was not difficult. The authority and prestige of the Young Turks, it was confidently expected, would be irreparably damaged if the first result of their accession were to be the loss of portions of the Ottoman Empire. To instigate, applaud and second the declaration of Bulgarian independence and to proclaim the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were the means that immediately suggested themselves.

Nobody denies the excellence of Austria's administration of the two provinces that were handed over to her by the Congress of Berlin. It has been a civilizing work of the first order, successful in almost everything that can be seen and tabulated, but

not successful in winning the affections of the people. Nobody, again, denies that the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while technically temporary, had, in fact, become permanent, and that the chances of their ever again passing back into Turkish hands had ceased to exist. Nor will it be contested that the demand for autonomy in the two provinces, long persisted in and greatly stimulated by the grant of universal suffrage in Austria-Hungary and by the unlooked-for triumph of constitutionalism in Turkey, had become at once most difficult to resist and yet impossible to grant, so long as any doubt remained as to whether they formed part of the Hapsburg or the Ottoman dominions. Nor, finally, is it open to dispute that during the past two or three years the ideal of Greater Servia has been pressed with unwonted determination; that it is an ideal which profoundly moves some nine millions of people, two-thirds of whom are Austro-Hungarian subjects; that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where all the inhabitants are Serbs, though Serbs of different faiths, in Croatia, in Novi-Bazar, in Dalmatia, and in Servia and Montenegro, the Serbs have been drawing together on a basis of mutual revolutionary agitation against Austrian and Magyar ascendency; and that the nightmare of the statesmen of Vienna —the formation, namely, of a great Slav community on the southern flank of the realm of the Hapsburgs—was beginning to acquire a disturbing reality. All this is beyond question, and in judging Baron von Aehrenthal's action full allowance must be made for it. Especially must we remember that Bosnia and Herzegovina lie at the very centre of Serb distribution, and are therefore most susceptible to the recrudescence of Serb nationalism.

What do these considerations amount to? They amount, I think, to this: that the formal incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Hapsburg dominions had become, or was fast becoming, quite apart from the Turkish revolution, a political necessity. My information is that it would not in any case have been long delayed, and that the upheaval in Constantinople merely hastened and altered the manner of its advent. But for the complications induced by that amazing event, it is more than probable that the annexation of the two provinces would have been amicably negotiated between Vienna and Constantinople, with every formality of deference to the other Powers that signed the Treaty of Berlin. The triumph of the Young Turks pre-

cipitated what had already become virtually inevitable, forced Baron von Aehrenthal's hand and provided him with an opportunity for striking simultaneously at the Serbs and the new rulers in Constantinople. He acted with masterly decision and comprehensiveness. By seconding Prince Ferdinand's proclamation of independence, he made it impossible for Bulgaria to join hands with the Serbs in resisting Austria's own violation of the Treaty of Berlin. By handing back Novi-Bazar to Turkey he achieved the semblance of compensation without any real sacrifice of Austrian interests. If the *coup* had to be executed one may, at least, be permitted the remark that it could not have been executed more adroitly. Its effects will be many and enduring. The tornado of passionate resentment that swept through Servia and Montenegro when they beheld their supreme racial aspirations dashed to pieces, and the Greater Servia of their dreams placed forever beyond all hope of realization may not—I believe will not—lead to war, but neither, on the other hand, will it pass away without accentuating every element of Austro-Russian antagonism. It may, indeed, prove in the end that the possibility of a Greater Servia, so far from being wrecked or delayed, has been positively furthered; that representative institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina will exercise an irresistible attraction over the Southern Slavs and furnish them with a new centre of gravity; and that the Hapsburg sceptre will ultimately extend over a Federalized monarchy in which Servia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Dalmatia will form a component State. Some such calculations as this may have been working in the minds of Archduke Ferdinand and Baron von Aehrenthal. Some such premonition as this may account for the instinctive hesitation of the Magyars in applauding the annexation. That, however, is a matter for the future to settle in its own incalculable way. It is enough for the present that Austria by a single stroke should have outraged Slav sentiment both in Russia and the Balkans, should have torn up in her own interests a great international compact, should have estranged the confidence of Western Europe, and should have dealt the new régime in Turkey a staggering, it may be a fatal, blow. These and the annexation of the two provinces, and a new consciousness of capacity for the diplomatic initiative, are the outstanding results of her recent *coup*.

BRITANNICUS.

BULGARIA AND THE TREATY OF BERLIN.

BY SVETOZAR TONJOROFF.

THERE was a lively commotion at the British, French and Russian chancelleries as the luncheon hour was approaching, on October 5th of the present year. The digestion of statesmen was gravely menaced by the receipt of cipher messages from Bulgaria, which conveyed the news that at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of that day Prince Ferdinand, in Tirnovo, the ancient capital of the Bulgarian Tsars, had proclaimed the complete independence of his country and had torn to shreds the paper bonds that Europe had imposed upon the principality thirty years earlier, at the Congress of Berlin. The act was disquieting to the official mind. It constituted a reversal of the expert judgment of statesmen, and especially of the expert judgment of Lord Beaconsfield and Prince Bismarck, who at the Congress had concentrated the combined influence of Great Britain and Germany upon the task of placing a permanent check upon the future growth of the vassal state which they were creating. The two dominant plenipotentiaries—the Prussian *Junker* and the English Jew—had pledged the power of Germany and the wealth of Britain to prevent the establishment of a Russian advance-post in the Balkans. They had decreed that the Bulgarians should be divided, like ancient Gaul, into three parts—the principality of Bulgaria, to be a vassal to Turkey; the province of Eastern Roumelia, to be governed by its people under a Governor-General appointed by the Sultan; and the three vilayets known by the historic name of Macedonia, to be administered directly by Turkey under a modified system of autonomy. To this arrangement all the great Powers of Europe—some coerced by a show of force and others bribed by offers of actual or prospective advantages—affixed their signatures. Having achieved the famous gerry-

mander and created a new Poland, Prince Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield thanked the Congress for its devotion to the cause of peace and dissolved it, serene in the conviction that they had changed the course of history with a stroke of the pen.

But the ink was hardly dry upon the parchment when forces which Bismarck and Beaconsfield had utterly failed to gauge began to operate, silently yet irresistibly, to undo that which had been done. One of these forces was the sturdy and independent character of the Bulgarian people. Another was the lamentable inability of the Osmanli race to conform to the requirements of civilization. Yet another was the failure of Russian diplomacy to grasp a few simple facts of history.

Muscovite statesmen, as if eager to confirm the worst suspicions of Disraeli, began to treat the people whom their arms had just liberated, in a manner that smacked but too strongly of a protectorate by the grace of the boot. The high-handed methods employed by Russian agents in Bulgaria quickly convinced the Bulgarians that between them and their cousins-german of the North a deep gulf was fixed. Two years after the liberation, the liberators were regarded at Sofia as a national peril, to be opposed to the utmost. In 1882, the gallant Alexander of Battenberg, first Prince of Bulgaria, rent asunder the leading-strings of Russia by announcing his adherence to the constitution which the Russians had sought to abrogate—in accord, undoubtedly, with the cynical *bon mot* of Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian plenipotentiary at the Congress of Berlin, who is recorded to have said, in discussing the sacred character of constitutions: "*Une constitution, c'est comme une belle femme: elle n'est faite que pour être violée.*" Alexander's declaration of independence marked the end of Russian domination in Bulgarian affairs.

The Ottoman Empire did its part to carry out the mandate of history and to keep the sentiments of patriotism and resentment keen and hot in Bulgaria. Sultan Abdul Hamid II demonstrated his contempt for the treaty which had saved his empire in Europe, by promptly violating every one of its provisions which it lay in his power to violate. He began by declining to introduce even a semblance of reforms in Macedonia and Armenia. He ended by setting race aginst race in the European vilayets, in a destructive struggle that culminated in a European intervention with a scheme of international control.

The continuous state of anarchy in Macedonia exerted a powerful and unforeseen influence upon the temper and the aspirations of the Bulgarians. It imposed upon the people of the principality the necessity of organizing and maintaining a strong army which, in the course of time and events, might be in a position to right the wrongs that were being inflicted upon their brothers by blood, language and faith under Turkish misrule. The contrast between conditions in the principality and the adjoining Turkish vilayets is thus described by the late Emile de Laveleye in 1887, nine years after the liberation of Bulgaria:

> "What a difference between this hell [Macedonia] and freed Bulgaria! Unhappily, the condition of the Bulgarians in Macedonia is now even more fearful . . . because the Turks and Greeks, fearing the formation some time of a great Bulgaria, join their hatreds and powers of injury to repress, and, if possible, to extirpate, the Slav element."

Such was the situation that confronted the people of the principality. They took up the task of the future with zeal. Conscripts hastened to the colors with the exaltation of devotees. The military uniform became the symbol of the country's hope. At the news of each fresh excess in Macedonia, the free people of Bulgaria gritted their teeth—and were reconciled anew to the staggering burden of militarism which they had assumed voluntarily, with a cheerful devotion to a cause. All this went on under the surface. Outwardly, the Bulgarians were patient, as is their wont. Occasionally, a flash of temper in the "Peasant State" reminded the world of the harvest of dragons' teeth that was being sown in Macedonia by the hand of Abdul Hamid. The European chancelleries from time to time received a protest from Bulgaria against the continuance of the state of terror in the neighboring territory. The chancellors read these memoranda—and yawned. Sometimes they did not take the trouble to read them. It became a fixed idea in the collective mind of European diplomacy that these disorders were being fomented by Bulgaria for her own purposes—that the Bulgarians of the principality were effecting the extermination of their brothers beyond the boundary so as to keep up a convenient grievance!

Meanwhile, interesting events were casting their shadows before in Eastern Roumelia. The Bulgarians in that province—who then constituted five-sixths of a population of a little less than a million and a half—were organizing a movement for

union with Bulgaria. The agitation reached its climax on September 18th, 1885, when the Roumelians sent a delegation to the palace of the Turkish Governor-General to invite that official to leave the country. The delegation called at the *konak* in Philippopolis at two o'clock in the morning. Gavril Pasha Krustevitch, aroused out of sleep, rubbed his eyes, cast a hurried glance at the troops massed before his windows—and bowed low to the will of the people. On the following day, Prince Alexander, responding to the call of the Roumelians, entered Philippopolis at the head of two or three regiments of Bulgarian troops, and proclaimed the union of the two Bulgarias, North and South, an accomplished fact. The Sultan, restrained by international considerations from going to war, consented to a "regulation" of the existing situation by appointing Prince Alexander Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for a term of five years. Then came, in quick succession, a declaration of war against Bulgaria by Servia as champion of the balance of power; the decisive defeat of the Servians at Slivnitza, at Nish, at Pirot, and the halting of the victorious Bulgarians on the road to Belgrade by a threat of Austrian intervention.

The war and its wholly unexpected outcome demonstrated two facts which produced an impression upon the world and foreshadowed the course of destiny on the Balkan Peninsula. One of these facts was the hitherto unsuspected capacity of the Bulgarians for organization. The other was their inevitable preponderance among the small states of the peninsula. When Russian intrigue finally brought about the abdication of Prince Alexander, by this time the idol of his people, the crisis failed to affect the permanence of things in the country. The regency that was created in 1887 to take over the Government demonstrated, under the aggressive leadership of Stefan Stambouloff, the "Bismarck of the Balkans," the determination of the Bulgarians to be neither Russian protégés nor Turkish vassals. By a series of brilliant moves upon the chess-board of diplomacy, Stambouloff rejected the last vestige of Russian guardianship. To do this, he found it necessary to execute the death sentence upon a few of the agents who had been sent out of St. Petersburg to promote disorders in the country. These details of the policy of defence were denounced by Russia, with an appropriate display of indignation, as acts of barbarism. Stambouloff retorted by

handing over to the European press copies of letters bearing the signatures of Russian diplomats—notably those of M. Yonine, consul-general at Sofia, and M. Hitrovo, minister at Bucharest—which disclosed the fantastic methods of Muscovite statecraft.

While he was checking the activities of Russia on the one hand, the "Bismarck of the Balkans" was playing a masterly game with Turkey on the other. When Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha was elected by the *Sobranje* at Tirnovo to the vacant throne, he found that the theoretically vassal state had already established an actual sovereignty among the nations of the earth. At Constantinople, the Bulgarian agent was a recognized member of the diplomatic corps. A similar position was accorded to Bulgaria at Paris, at London, at Vienna. The signatories of the Treaty of Berlin had winked broadly at that provision of the preposterous instrument which bound a European nation to the chariot-wheels of an Asiatic despotism. The work of Prince Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield was crumbling under the weight of the logic of events.

But all that had been accomplished in Bulgaria up to 1887 was preliminary to the work that awaited Prince Ferdinand, who, during the twenty-one years of his occupancy of the palace at Sofia, has displayed an energy in action and a power of control in inaction, that have marked him as a person to be reckoned with in the final solution of that riddle of statesmen, the Eastern Question. The grandson of Louis Philippe, at the very outset of his reign, was confronted by a combination of unfavorable circumstances which might well have caused even a man of his unusual endowment of courage and resolution to hesitate before the undertaking. Russia withheld her recognition from the new Prince of Bulgaria because the Bulgarians had laughed to scorn the candidacy of an Asiatic khan, whose pretensions to the princely throne had received the endorsement of official personages on the Neva. Turkey refused to recognize him, because the vassal had seen fit to elect a prince without consulting the suzerain. The rest of the Powers suspended judgment while they awaited the issue. The situation required tact of the highest order.

Prince Ferdinand, even before the echoes of the "Te Deums" and the salvoes of artillery that had welcomed him to the country had died out, settled down to work. He had the aid of patriotic ministers and of a gracious lady—his mother, the Princess Clem-

entine, whose name is now a kindly memory in the country of her adoption. The people as one man worked with their prince, constructing a great network of national railways, developing a prosperous foreign commerce, perfecting a public-school system that is fast eliminating illiteracy, building up an army organization which has opened the eyes of the world by its efficiency and by its intense devotion to the cause that brought it into being. Every barrack became a school, not only for the study of the arts of war, but also for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. At every army post was established a schoolroom, where, in the evening, the recruits from the farms and the pastures were taught their letters by the young officers—themselves for the most part taken from the plough and the threshing-floor—who in the daytime had taught them how to shoot straight and defend the country "from internal and external foes."

By 1893, Prince Ferdinand had achieved the preliminary success of his reign. Bulgaria had become "regular" in an international sense. Russia had reconciled herself to the inevitable. So had Turkey. So had the other Powers. Incidentally, a change had been effected by imperceptible degrees in the status of Eastern Roumelia. True, Prince Ferdinand still held the Governorship of the former Turkish province by appointment from His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, but it had come to be well understood at Constantinople that the nomination of any other prince to the post would require something more than an imperial *irade* to make it effective. Abdul Hamid preferred not to try the experiment. He was not prepared to employ force. Therefore, he permitted matters to drift until even the formality of appointment was discontinued at Yildiz, and Bulgarian possession of Eastern Roumelia acquired sanction as a formally recognized fact. The province ceased to be called Eastern Roumelia. It became South Bulgaria. The Bulgarians, in effect, had wiped out one of the boundaries which the gentlemen at Berlin had traced upon the map in an effort to keep them divided—and consequently ineffective.

Another arbitrary boundary remains to be obliterated. It is the line that separates the Bulgarians of the new Tsardom from their brothers in the three vilayets of Macedonia. Under the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, which the Powers at Berlin replaced with the Bismarck-Beaconsfield scheme of partition, the

greater part of Macedonia was included within the boundaries of the principality. The Bulgarian state was placed within reach of an outlet to the Mediterranean, *viâ* the Ægean Sea. With such a gateway for their commerce, the Bulgarians would ere now have solved the Macedonian problem after a prompt fashion of their own, and the Eastern Question never would have troubled the slumbers of statesmen. The Treaty of San Stefano, however, had accomplished its moral purpose, despite its summary abrogation. It had created the ideal toward which the Bulgarians have aimed ever since their liberation, and will continue to aim until they shall have achieved it. The "Great Bulgaria" is the watchword of minister, soldier and peasant alike. It is the Shibboleth of politics, the test of patriotism, the inspiration under which farmers and townsmen send their sons to the regiments and their taxes to the treasury without a murmur of discontent. It is the end toward which the energies of the nation are bent with a singleness of purpose which somehow recalls the development of Japan from a fairy-tale to a menace and the stolid growth of Prussia from a geographical term to a colossus.

Nowhere is it better realized than at Sofia that upon the solution of the problem of Macedonia hinges the future of the Balkan Peninsula. The people of Bulgaria, during the thirty years of their freedom, have spared neither labor nor treasure in the work of maintaining the life of their nationality across the frontier. The Macedonians, under the grotesque Ottoman administration, are taxed heavily for the support of schools; but the schools are never granted. They pay outrageously large amounts for public improvements; but these improvements are never vouchsafed. They stagger under a load of imposts for the upkeep of a civil service system, a judiciary and a police; yet the Turkish Government, despite its solemn undertakings under the Treaty of Berlin, has never given the population the elementary guarantees of existence—security of life and property, without which no progress is possible. Under these discouraging circumstances the Macedonians have looked to the principality for aid and comfort. If the Bulgarian schools in Macedonia have been developed largely with funds from Bulgaria, it is because the sentiment of race unity has been the key-note to the policies of the principality from the moment of its inception. If Bulgaria from time to time has been overrun by refugees from Macedonia, involving a heavy

drain upon the treasury and upon the resources of private charity, it is because the Macedonians recognize in the new Tsardom their natural protector.

The difficulties of the problem presented by the determination of the Bulgarians to unite with their neighbors are keenly appreciated by Tsar Ferdinand and his advisers. There are no illusions at Sofia concerning the profundity of Austria's desire for Salonica. Neither have Bulgarian statesmen failed to take account of Italian, Servian and Greek pretensions. But all these obstacles to the realization of the ideal of "Great Bulgaria" are not regarded as insurmountable. The history of the Tsardom has shown conclusively that the unexpected is by no means the impossible in the Balkans. Before 1885, a prophecy that Bulgaria in that very year would acquire Eastern Roumelia, without firing a shot, would have reflected badly upon the prophet's repute for sanity. Before October 5th of this year, the forecaster who should have undertaken to predict that Bulgaria would declare its independence of Turkey without bringing on a Balkan war, would have been laughed to scorn as a dreamer of fantastic dreams. Yet both events are a part of the archives of the chancelleries.

There are indications that the Bulgarian Foreign Office discerns the day drawing nigh when the grouping of the Powers will be such as to give to Tsar Ferdinand a free hand in the solution of the Macedonian problem. That problem, be it remembered, is not nearly so complicated as the vociferous claims of contending politicians might make it appear. The Bulgarians constitute a clear majority of the population of Macedonia. The Greek propaganda, despite its noisy manifestations, is a purely exotic movement. The best proof of the fact that the weakness of the Greek position in Macedonia is thoroughly realized at Athens, is to be found in the bitter opposition which the Greek agitators have offered to the suggestion, repeatedly made by the Bulgarians, that the question of race preferences in the three vilayets be referred to a plebiscite of that territory, to be conducted under international auspices in order to assure an untrammelled expression of sentiment. If the Greeks are even partly sincere in their contention that Macedonia is inhabited by a predominantly Greek population, why do they not accept the conclusive test to which they have been challenged?

The Italian pretensions to a part of Macedonia need not be considered seriously, because they rest upon no ethnological basis, and, moreover, are completely offset by rival Austrian claims. No district in Macedonia is inhabited even partly by a people of Italian origin or Italian traditions. Italy figures in the speculation merely as a self-appointed protector of the Albanians—who, however, neither speak an Italian dialect nor show any other sign of race-kinship with the people of the Italian Peninsula. The Servian propaganda is not so completely devoid of convincing characteristics as the Italian, but it is confined to the vilayet of Kossovo, known as "Old Servia." To territory beyond that even the most chauvinistic among the Serbs lay no claim.

The only logical heirs to the gateway into the Ægean, then, are Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. Austrian designs upon Salonica are inspired exclusively by military and economic considerations. The statesmen at Vienna are frankly waiting for the psychological moment. So are the Bulgarians, who rest their case confidently upon the argument that the numerically dominant unit in the population of Macedonia is Bulgarian by blood, language and sympathies. They point, for the benefit of their Austro-Hungarian rivals, to the fact that the digestive system of the Dual Empire is already overloaded with racial incompatibilities. There are not lacking, even in Austria, men who gravely fear that the coming attack of acute indigestion will begin at the bier of Franz Josef.

It is firmly believed at Sofia that the problem of the Near East will never be solved for good until it is solved upon ethnic lines. It was Cavour who said, during the period of Italy's struggle for unification, that the problem of nationalism was the dominant factor in the political life of his epoch. Tsar Ferdinand, and the Bulgarian nation as a unit behind him, hold the unalterable conviction that the same principle must rule in the affairs of to-day, and that the Eastern Question ultimately will be disposed of with due regard to legitimate race-aspirations and in conformity with the inexorable logic of history. Meanwhile, with untiring industry and infinite patience, Bulgaria has achieved the prologue to the drama that is yet to be played upon the Balkan stage.

SVETOZAR TONJOROFF.

LYOF N. TOLSTOY.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

At eighty a man has so well-nigh finished his work that it may be considered as something definite. He then "has lived," as the Romans preferred to phrase the great final fact, and if he continues to exist, it is because his work lives for him in such praise and blame as the nearer future may then give it as fitly as the further future. In such commemoration of Lyof N. Tolstoy's eightieth birthday as any friend of his may offer, this study of the reasons of his fame may not be the least tribute of affection and gratitude.

The century in which Tolstoy mostly lived and mostly wrought had among its many great names few more memorable than his, if it had any. There was Napoleon and there was Lincoln, and then there was Tolstoy in an order which time may change, though it appears to me certain that time will not change the number of these supreme names.

Since I have set them down here they have suggested to me a sort of representative unity in their relation to one another. If you fancy Napoleon the incarnation of the selfish force which inspired and supported his own triumphant enemies in their reaction against progress; if you suppose Lincoln the type of humanity struggling toward the ideal in the regeneration of the world's polity, you may well conceive of Tolstoy as the soul's criticism of the evil and the good which, however wholly or partially they knew it, the others imperfectly did. The work of Lincoln was no more final than the work of Napoleon; and like Napoleon's and like Lincoln's, Tolstoy's work has been without finality. So far as I can perceive, it has even been without effect in a civilization which calls itself Christian, but which has apparently been no more moved by the human soul as it was

in Tolstoy than by the divine spirit as it was in Christ. At first, indeed, the world was startled by the spectacle of a man of the highest rank, of a most ancient lineage, of great wealth, of renown in arms and in letters, putting from him fame and ease and honor, and proposing literally to obey the word of God, by making himself as one of the least of the brethren of Christ. It was a very curious sight, a bit droll, rather mad, wholly extraordinary. The world could hardly believe its eyes. It rubbed the sleep of two thousand years out of them at the sound of this voice crying in the wilderness, this voice that had so charmed it in fable, and bidding it prepare the way of the Lord and make His paths straight. Some tears came into its eyes, and some smiles; but after a while its lids fell again, and all was as before. The event, one of the greatest in the history of mankind, has been without perceptible effect in civilization.

On this side the teaching and the living of Tolstoy have been a failure so utter, so abject, that the heart sickens in considering it. An enemy might say that it could come to nothing better, for it was altogether lacking in originality; it was merely the living and the teaching of Christ over again, or if it had initiative in anything it was in the eschewment of some eases and pleasures in life which Christ permitted himself, or others, as harmless. An enemy might reason that this new ascetic was as illogical in the terms upon which he proposed regeneration as he was in the means he employed; and, in fact, the position of Tolstoy was full of illogicality. He proposed to himself poverty, but poverty without the fear of want is the least of hardships; he would give himself to work with his hands, but that was, so far as it went, taking the bread out of the mouths of those who needed the pay for the work of their hands; he dedicated himself to the good of others, as if it could be well to bestow the happiness which he refused; he would deny himself a soft bed and a luxurious board, but how many in all ages had fared simply and lain hard! He was defended from the consequences of his precept and his practice by the inalienable wealth of his family, the inalienable affection of the sovereign for the name and memory of his race. He was safe amidst his renunciations, and his protestations; he could freely do and say things for which the really poor and humble must suffer hunger and prison and exile. It was undeniably grotesque, but it was also pathetic, almost the most

pathetic predicament in history for a noble and sincere and unselfish man. Yet it excited mainly derision, though the actor in the involuntary drama again and again disclaimed and deplored it, and humbly besought those who witnessed it at close range not to regard it as his ideal. Once, to an interviewer, out of those scores and hundreds of interviewers who have swarmed upon him and reported his willing or unwilling words, he turned with the entreaty that he should not be taken as supposing that his life was comformable to his doctrine. It was what he could make it, the best he could make it, on the conditions he had accepted. He has said that he sometimes regretted not having really impoverished himself, though to do it he must have compelled the assent of those whom he had not the heart or perhaps the right to compel. He asked to be regarded as a man staggering through the dark, and often stumbling and falling down, but struggling up and staggering on again.

In this he showed a humility more genuine and precious than all that his simplification, his vowed and voluntary poverty, had graced him with. But the prophet who owns to human weakness, to human frailty of will and action, while he preaches fortitude and renunciation, will hardly have a following. There is no sect of Tolstoyans, there are no disciples or apostles. A few just people in England have gathered in a small community for the practice and the publication of his teaching, his interpretation and application of the doctrine of Christ. But I know of no other embodied acceptance of Tolstoy in an age when Mormonism holds its own, and Eddyism spreads among millions of comfortable people, cheerful in the least and lowest of the least spiritual precepts of the gospel, and more eager to save their bodies than their souls alive. There may be, indeed, a tacit and occult effect from the Tolstoyan morality for which it is yet too early to look, but which may hereafter show itself in a renewed and revitalized Christianity. That end is all that he could hope or wish; and there must have come to him from many hearts a response, oftenest despairing and self-accusing, where his words have awakened a conscience which—

> "Not poppy or madragora
> Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
> Can ever medicine to that sweet sleep"

which they "owed yesterday." This conscience is the sense of

fealty to the eternal and universal human brotherhood, in which there is no high, no low, no better, no worse, no worthy, no unworthy, but only the bond of duty and the tie of love; and in whomsoever Tolstoy's words have awakened it, there is awakened the wish to do plainly and simply the plain and simple will of Christ.

In the hours of disappointment and impatience which he must have passed through, such a result, if he had been aware of it, must have been his sufficient consolation. Being supported in his self-sacrifice and his mission of self-sacrifice by no fanatical frenzy, by no pretence to divine authority which the gospel of Christ does not confer upon all, he doubtless needed this consolation. It has been stupendous, but not wonderful, how his precept and his practice have been misconstrued. Some such misconstruction is the lot of all the prophets whether they convince or confound their time. The greatest of them, Christ Himself, was misconstrued, first in His defeat and then in His triumph. The earliest Christians, who endeavored only for a life of love, peace and purity, were reputed guilty of every wickedness and filthiness. The world has got so far beyond this shabby state of suspicion and accusal, that nothing wrong could be believed of the life of this latest of the earliest Christians, but of his faith all things were misimagined. If any one, with the cloudy impression which most people have of this, will go to Tolstoy's books, he will be hardly less than astonished to find how little is expected of him there in the much that is asked of him. What Tolstoy asks of any one is that he shall keep trying to be like Christ; that he shall make this his ideal and perpetually endeavor to realize it in his conduct, though he shall and needs must fail to attain it. He asks this as Christ Himself asked His followers to be perfect even as their Father in heaven was perfect, knowing that more than the constant endeavor for that perfection was impossible. Tolstoy is otherwise apparently self-contradictory enough. In one place he supposes a devoted pair, who dedicate themselves to a life of good works, renouncing their worldly wealth and going down among the very poorest and foulest and basest, whom in the relentless logic of their self-sacrifice, they suffer to prey upon them and befoul them and infect them, till they end by being effectively in hell: hell here, though heaven hereafter. In another place he declares that he

"peacefully and joyously lives, and peacefully and joyously is approaching death" because he professes the Christianity which coincides with truth; yet so far as he may he is practising the precepts by which that devoted pair end in hell upon earth: the hell of futile endeavor for the good of others, which still he urges as the supreme object of the Christian life. That is, he urges it as the ideal, which must never be lost sight of though it may never be attained.

If you will read this saying in the light of his essay on "Life" it will not be hard, for there he shows the impossibility of the personal happiness which we are always longing for and striving for. Personal happiness is an unworthy end, which you fail of as you fail of personal righteousness, the worthiest end, the supreme ideal, the identification of the human with the divine. Yet this identification will be the destiny of the righteous man after death, when his human shall be merged in the divine; though what becomes of the unrighteous man we are not told. Perhaps it is felt that we are not concerned with the bad, the good being bad enough. Perhaps the way of the unrighteous man to such immortality is through his identification with all humanity first, and in his unity with the worst or the indifferent good, the righteous will prevail for the unrighteous. Tolstoy does not say that; he is chary of promising reward; but he says and he shows that the selfish life, the individual, the personal life, is always misery and despair, and, except for some moments of mad oblivion, is constant suffering. Some of the most beautiful, the most wonderful, passages of his fiction, both that which is real and that which is ideal in terms, embody events in which he seizes and perpetuates the heavenly rapture of a supreme act of self-sacrifice, of identification. The imagination has never gone farther than in these portrayals of mystical ecstasy; in them, indeed, the human consciousness of the original and final divine is suggested as no polemic could urge it.

Those who with Tourguénief regret that Tolstoy did not leave prophesying and resume imagining may say that here is proof of the greater power he could have had even for righteousness if he would have stayed to sugar his unpalatable truth with fiction. I do not think so, though I do not think that in fiction he has any peer or even any rival, because from the beginning he "took truth for his sole hero," and would have no other in any extremity,

or for any end. But even with his devotion to reality in the study of life, which, so far as I can note, was absolute, the prime affair was to captivate the reader, to lead his fancy, not to convince and persuade his reason. A great gulf, never to be bridged, divides the ethical and the æsthetical intention, though,—

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—

and though when the æsthetic intention presently becomes unconscious, and the creation of the truly beautiful may make for righteousness, still it is latent, still it serves two masters with the effect declared of old. But when once the call of Religion came to Tolstoy it came so powerfully, so loudly, that it must shut from his senses every voice that called before; there he stood; so help him God, he could no other than obey it, and it alone, testifying for it with all his heart and all his soul and all his mind. The moral spectacle is of unsurpassed sublimity, and no riches of fiction is conceivable, fiction even from him, the supreme master, which would console our poverty if we had failed of such books as "My Confession," "My Religion," "The Kingdom of God," "What is Art?" "What is Religion?" "Life," "What is to be Done?" and the many briefer essays, and occasional appeals to the world in signal events and emergencies against its blindness and cruelty and folly.

Suppose that he had never written these things, or such novels as "Resurrection" and "The Kreutzer Sonata" and "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch" where the purpose of captivating the imagination is renounced from the outset and a terrible story is nakedly told, with no ray of the prettiness or lure to curiosity in which the fictionist clothes his invention, and there is no appeal but to the agonizing conscience, would the world even of literature now be the better? I do not believe it. Before he came to his awakening Tolstoy had done enough for fiction and the art of it, for he had done incomparably more for it than any other master of it. He himself says that "War and Peace" is like Stendhal's *Chartreuse de Parme* in some of its battle-pieces, and he would not say that if it were not his belief; but Stendhal was to Tolstoy, in the ripeness of his art, as a beginner, and of the effect of some anterior imitator. Above all, he lacked Tolstoy's abounding and abiding moral sense, which is so one with that qualifying all human experience that in Tolstoy's work it needs no explicit ap-

plication; it is interwoven there with the tissue of every motive and every action for the reader to feel and own.

Yet it is not enough. The prodigious fascination of the tale is such, its interest is so powerful, its current is so compelling, that the inner purpose and meaning are hidden from some at times, and perceptible only to a few at all times. The escape from the exercise of his power upon the fancy is vital to the wizard himself. If he would become and remain a human being, in obedience to the call that he heard above the applause of his admirers, and the sighs and sobs of the hearts he wrung, he must renounce his world of art, the world he had won and held subject to his spell, and seek only that other world in which he must be as the least of the brethren except in the power to bear and to transmit its heavenly light.

No doubt Tolstoy was qualified and fortified for his ethical work by his æsthetic achievement. But he descended to the labor of teaching from such heights of art in fiction as no man had reached before. From "War and Peace," from "Anna Karenina," he humbled his art to such 'prentice-work as those little fables and allegories and sketches adapted to the understanding of peasants and peasants' children, as he humbled his life to the level of theirs. But he could not keep his charm out of the least of his writings, and he could not remain within the bounds of the narrow duteousness that he had set himself. From time to time he rose out of his self-prescribed limit, and then the whole world had masterpieces from him again: such masterpieces as "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch," as "Master and Man," as "The Kreutzer Sonata," as "Resurrection." He could not put his gift away; his mastery mastered even him; his own power made him its instrument, so that if he had continued directly to exercise his art we might not have had greater effects from it. His will was overruled in the simplification of his literature as in the simplification of his life; he could not make himself one with the lowliest in either. The event was in his literature a compromise as it was in his life, when he sat in a ploughman's dress eating a ploughman's fare at one end of the table, and at the other the world, economic and æsthetic, sat served with costly viands. Midway, the succession of interviewing and reviewing witnesses criticised and censured his hospitality and acclaimed or condemned according to their respective make, while in the hours

saved from his rude toil he continued his sublime work. The event was a compromise or it was a defeat, if you choose to think it so; but it was no more a compromise or a defeat than that of any other human career. Compared with the event of any other career in this time, the career of the greatest warrior, statesman, king, priest or poet, it is a flawless triumph.

Tolstoy's example is of the quality of his precept, which with the will to be all positive is first notable for what is negative in it. To have renounced pride and luxury and idleness, and the vain indulgence of the tastes and passions, but not to have known want or the fear of it, not to have felt cold, hunger, houselessness, friendlessness, is to have done something which for the spectator lacks its corollary in practice, as the proposition of certain truths lacks its corollary in precept. That is, your reason is convinced and your soul is moved by what you are persuaded is right in the one as in the other, while as yet the necessary deduction from either does not enforce itself. Tolstoy says, in summing up the results of his gospel studies, that he "believes in Christ's teachings," and that "happiness on earth is possible only when all men fulfil Christ's teaching," which is "possible, easy and pleasant." "I understand now," he says, "that he alone is above others who humbles himself before others, and makes himself the servant of all. I understand now how those that are great in the sight of men are an abomination to God. . . . Everything that once seemed to me right and important—honor, glory, civilization, wealth, the complications and refinements of life, luxury, rich food, fine clothing, etiquette—has become for me wrong and despicable. Rusticity, obscurity, poverty, austerity, simplicity of surroundings, of food, of clothing, of manners, all have become right and important to me. . . . Now I can no longer give my support to anything that lifts me above, or separates me from, others. I cannot, as I once did, recognize in myself or others titles or ranks or qualities aside from the title or quality of man. . . . I cannot help striving for what will not separate me from others" in knowledge, fame and riches, "but will unite me to the majority of men. . . . I cannot encourage or take part in licentious pastimes, novels, plays, operas, balls and the like, which are so many snares for myself and for others. I cannot favor the celibacy of persons fitted for the marriage relation. . . . I cannot help considering as sacred and absolute the sole and unique

union by which a man is once for all indissolubly bound to the woman with whom he has been united," for this union he deems the sole marriage, whatever it is called. He cannot discriminate between his own country and others, or maintain his rights of property, or obey the authorities against his conscience, or take oaths, or resist evil with violence, or fail to work hard with his hands for his bread and for the subjection of his flesh and its lusts.

The catalogue of what he may not do, and does not believe, is longer than that of the things which he believes and may do; for as I have more than once noted, the variety of evil in this strangely constituted world of ours is far greater than the variety of good; the vices outnumber the virtues two to one. His precept, therefore, is mainly negative, as his practice is mainly negative, and the corollary of the good life is wanting as it is not wanting in the gospel creed, for there is implicated in this the promise of everlasting happiness, of personal, individual happiness such as we long for here all our hungry disappointed lives, but shall elsewhere have our fill of with rest to our souls.

In the Tolstoyan interpretation of the gospel religion this promise is not implicit. What we are to hope for is reunion with the divine source of our being; which may suffice the self-wearied worldling turned peasant, but which is not the simple hope of the peasant born, who has never yet had enough of himself in even those commonest things which constitute the bliss of conscious being, the every-day joys, the delight of beauty, the rapture of repose, even the low content of a full stomach.

"It cannot be that the instincts which are implanted in us and which are in themselves not more vicious than virtuous shall become and forever remain the means of our mortification and disappointment," the reader of Tolstoy says. He feels without impiety that he may not regard ultimate absorption into the source of being as the supreme end of being, and that in so far as he has lived rightly and cleanly he may justly hope for a future life of conscious blessedness. All the more simply and fully does he hope for this if his life on earth has involuntarily been that ideal life of toil, hardship, denial, which Tolstoy sought when he left the world. The reader, even if he is not of that level, but some level nearer the intellectual and social level of the prophet, feels like asking him whether he has not made a mistake in

his premise. He follows him consentingly enough in his "Confession," and he owns tacitly to many, or most, or all of Tolstoy's transgressions, according as he knows himself to have lived selfishly. But at the same time, unless he is of an exceptionally gloomy temperament he is aware of living in a world which at its worst is not hopelessly wicked or unhappy. In the midst of its immoralities he believes that he has known many who were true and kind and chaste, but who had yet no thought of abandoning it to its comforts and conventions and seeking salvation at the plough-tail. "Salvation," he would say, "is indeed there; but it is also here in the midst of the easy-going world in which some things seem almost innocuous even when not innocent." He would say that the moral universe was not governed by logic in its events; that consequences often failed to follow causes, and that there was a divine unreason in the Oversoul which was supreme in the affairs of men. He might say that grapes from thorns and figs from thistles were necessarily no more impossible in the divine economy than the entry of a rich man into the kingdom of heaven. He might say with Tolstoy himself that if it was a question of ideal perfection at which we were to aim, though we knew we could never attain it, then neither were we without this aim, and that far or near was the same if the intent was the same.

In all this I think that the reader would be measurably or entirely wrong; but whether they would be wrong who said they remained in and of the world in the hope and belief that man was to be redeemed socially and not individually, by rescuing Christianity from the church and state to which it was devoted by the first Christian emperor when he conquered in its sign, and by making it the economic and political life, I am not so sure. All this, however, is something aside from the literary inquiry which I proposed to myself in writing about Tolstoy. The excuse for such an excursion is that the literature, especially the critical literature of Tolstoy, is not separable from the religion of Tolstoy, in whom ethics and æsthetics are one. This is apparent in all that he has written, so far as I know it, and there is but little of his writing that I do not know, that I have not felt to the full depth of my being. His literature both in its ethics and æsthetics, or its union of them, was an experience for me somewhat comparable to the old-fashioned religious experience of people converted at

revivals. Things that were dark or dim before were shone upon by a light so clear and strong that I needed no longer grope my way to them. Being and doing had a new meaning and a new motive, and I should be an ingrate unworthy of the help I had if I did not own it, or if I made little of it. The voluntary and involuntary allegiance I had been paying to the truth which is beauty and beyond art, and to an ideal of goodness and loveliness in the commonest and cheapest lives, was here reasoned and exampled in things beyond refutation or comparison. What I had instinctively known before, I now knew rationally. I need never again look for a theme of fiction; I saw life swarming with themes that filled my imagination and pressed into my hands. I had but to look about me, and there was my drama, comic or tragic, here, yonder and everywhere, with the meaning that could not fail my inquiry.

I first saw his book, "My Religion," in the house of two valued friends who spoke of it bewilderedly, as something very strange, which they could not quite make out. They were far too good to deny its strong appeal, but they were too spiritually humble, with all their reason for intellectual pride, to be quite sure of themselves in its seemingly new and bold postulates, which were, after all, really so old and meek. They showed me at the same time the closely printed volumes of the French version of "War and Peace," for it was long before its translation into English, and they were again apparently baffled, for a novel so vast in scale, and so simple and sincere in the handling of its thronging events and characters, was something almost as alien to modern experience as the absolute truthfulness of "My Religion." The incident was quite forgotten, and seven or eight years passed, in which I had for four or five years "The Cossacks" of Tolstoy on my shelves, unread and almost unlooked at. One day I took it down, wholly oblivious of the Russian author who had bewildered and baffled my friends, and dipped into it. To dip into it was to pass through its mystical depths, but I do not know that I yet received a definite impression of the greatness of a novelist who wrote so unlike other novelists, even other Russian novelists. By that time I had long known nearly all of Tourguénief, and something of his master Pushkin, but Tolstoy was a new name to me, and presently again it was a forgotten name. It was recalled to me by yet another friend, who lent me "Anna

Karenina" with the remark, "It is the old Seventh Commandment business, but it is not treated as the French treat it. You will be interested." The word was poor and pale for the effect of the book with me. The effect was as if I had never read a work of the imagination before. Now for the first time I was acquainted with the work of an imagination which had consecrated itself, as by fasting and prayer, to its creative office and vowed itself to none other service than the service of the truth. Here was nothing blinked or shirked or glossed, nothing hidden or flattered, in the deepest tragedy of civilized life. It was indeed the old Seventh Commandment business, not only not treated as the French treat it, but rightly placed as to the prime fact in its relation to all the other experiences of a sinning and agonizing soul. Nothing was disproportionately insisted upon; the story moved forward as with the steady pace of time, and the capital events in its progress were no more distinguished from the minor events by the author than the hours are distinguished from one another by the mechanism of a clock. It would be hard to say what was most searching in it; one scene, one incident, was as penetrating as another. If I name the moment when Anna defiantly, recklessly declares her love for Vronsky to her husband; or the moment when she steals into his house after she had abandoned it to wreak her mother soul in hopeless tenderness upon their child; or the moment of sleep when she escapes the agony of her guilt in the dream that she has two husbands and is crazily happy in it; or the moment in which she begins to be jealous of Vronsky and to suffer not only the ignominy of her social rejection, but the fear that he will leave her, and yet cannot help tormenting him out of sufferance; or that final moment when she lays herself down before the heavy train, and when its wheels crush over her breast would have saved herself from the death she sought; if I name these moments it is because they recur to me at random and not because I esteem them the effect of greater art than some others. I am not sure that the supreme effect of art in the book is not that moment when the dull, antipathetic Karenin perceives that he cannot forgive with dignity and yet forgives. Such a drama within the soul where the actor is the only spectator is something in its powerfulness beyond any overt action or experience.

It is now long since I read that story, and no doubt if I now

looked into it instance upon instance would start from its page to make me think my remembrance of the particulars of its greatness had served me ill. But I cannot be mistaken as to the greatness of its art as a whole; I recall no flaw in it, and its negative perfection is a truer witness of its art than anything positive could be. The happy story of the Levines in its parallel current with the dark stream of Anna's and Vronsky's tragical love is not to my sense the rift or seam in the perfection which some feel it. Rather it is an effect of the author's full sense of life, in which many diverse fates move parallel and inevitably contrast in the significance, the obviousness, which only a supreme artist can keep from seeming mechanical.

But I wish, in paying my eager homage to Tolstoy as an artist, not to appear only to treat of his art as technique. It is, so far as I know it, and I think I have left none of his fiction unread, always most spiritual; it is so far from seeking beauty, or adorning itself with style, as to be almost bare and plain. His art is from his conscience, and you feel his conscience in it at every moment. This was perhaps only implicit in his earlier work, but in his later work it becomes more and more explicit. He is never false to his reader because he is never false to himself; it would be foolish to suppose that he could not misrepresent or wrongly color a given motive or action in his tale, but you may trust your soul to him in the assurance that he will not.

Since I began to write these pages, I have read his critical study of De Maupassant, and though I cannot say that it has heightened my sense of his æsthetics, I cannot deny that it has clarified my knowledge. In this piece of criticism he tells us how, as he read the tales and novels of that great talent, who, he says, could consider of any piece of life so closely and long and deeply, as to see it in the "light that never was" before, he perceived a very great difference in the author's relations to his subjects and his characters. The subjects were, as we know, nearly always the old Seventh Commandment business, and the characters were the guilty lovers, the more guilty who overcame, and the less guilty who succumbed. In some cases, in some books, De Maupassant hated the evil in the seducers, and portrayed them with truth and conscience; in others he rather liked it and amused himself with their pleasures; in others he attempted to be Greek, as the Greek is supposed to have been, but probably

was not, to regard good and evil with a conscienceless indifference, and in the "creation of beauty" to be immoral, or as we vainly try to call it, unmoral. It is only when he was true to himself, to the sense of right and wrong which is innate in a man with his spiritual birth, that Maupassant is capable of that penetrating and absorbing attention which discovers the new meaning in things, and constitutes him to Tolstoy's mind a "genius."

Apparently from the very beginning of his fiction Tolstoy was capable of this penetrating and absorbing attention. From the beginning, therefore, he had but two questions to ask himself: Is this the fact? and, Have I represented the fact truly? If he had represented the fact truly, as in his conscience and intelligence he had known it really to be, he had treated it ethically and of necessity æsthetically; for as you cannot fail to feel in every piece of his fiction, the perfect æsthetics result from the perfect ethics. I cannot otherwise explain that greatness which I recognize in every page of his where he has not wilfully abdicated his artistry to do the work of the allegorist. Where the artist and the moralist work together for righteousness, there is the true art; for it is the business of the moralist to feel and the business of the artist to portray. Otherwise you have a sermon, or you have a romance, and not the homily in which your own soul is mirrored in that of some fellow man. When he had recognized and appropriated the principle that to see the fact clearly by the inner light, and to show it as he saw it, was his prime office, all other things were added unto Tolstoy. In the presence of his masterpiece, you forget to ask for beauty, for style, for color, for drama; they are there, so far as they are not of naughtiness, in such measure as no other novelist has compassed. Every other novelist, therefore, shrinks and dwindles beside him; behind him, in the same perception, but not the full perception or the constant perception, come Maupassant and Zola and Flaubert, Galdós and Pardo-Bazan, Verga, Björnsen, and perhaps Hardy, —yes, certainly, Hardy in "Jude,"—with, of course, Hawthorne from a wholly different air.

I like to call the names of his stories for the pleasure of recalling the pleasure I have had in them; it was oftenest the pleasure-pain which the truth gives; but I cannot call them in the order of my reading or of their relative greatness. I remember as paramount, of course, "War and Peace," and "Anna Kare-

nina"; but only of less scope and not less truth, to my feeling and thinking, were "The Cossacks," "Kostia," "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch," "Two Generations," "Polikushkta," "Master and Man," "The Kreutzer Sonata," "Resurrection," "Scenes of the Siege of Sebastopol," "The Invaders," "The Russian Proprietor." Some of these are scarcely more than short stories, and there are other short stories, mere sketches, such as left the wide and deep impression of masterpieces, alike whether they were large masterpieces or little masterpieces. The equality of their art is wonderful, for it is always the same, through the æsthetics deriving from the ethics with the clear insight and the truthful utterance. For this, I have never, in my profoundest gratitude for it, thought that Tolstoy was to be praised any more than most other artists, his inferiors, were to be blamed for their mechanical obtuseness. The world is full of ugly things made for people who seem to want ugly things; and literature abounds in foolish and futile fiction because the vast majority of readers seem sure to want foolish and futile fiction. Perhaps their systems need it; they might revolt, in their mental infancy, from the food that nourishes the minds of grown men and women. But for art's sake, criticism should recognize the supreme value, the prime quality, of the art which comes purified and strengthened to its office through the devout scrutiny of life and the religious will to tell the truth of it.

If one were called upon to say in a word what Tolstoy and what his art was, one could not do better than to say that they were religious: the man, and the art that was the man. The art was more the man than the man knew. Out of the twelve volumes which represent his activity in the edition before me, nine are works of fiction, that is, works of art, and in the remaining three the artistic nature of the man is recurrently, if not constantly, shaping the religious utterances of his spirit. To enforce this point or that, he supposes a case so vividly that it lives at his touch; he invents a parable; he recalls an incident, an experience which he involuntarily clothes in drama, but so as to show its human reality the more and not to hide or to disqualify it. When he halts wilfully in this natural tendency and holds stubbornly to the business of laying down the law, or the gospel, he repeats himself again and again, both in theme and in phrase; he addresses himself to compelling rather than persuading his reader.

It is then that ceasing to take the natural, the spiritual view of the world and its waywardness, he takes the temperamental view, and in the gloom of his mood gropes for a hopeless reversion to innocence through individual renunciation of society instead of pressing forward to the social redemption which the very ecstasy of error must help effect. The state of mankind is bad, but it is not so bad as he sees it in this temperamental view, for then he sees it within and not without, and though the world is within each of us, it is always a little different in each one from the world in another. Essentially it is the same, its good and its evil are always the same; these divinely established constituents of our being no human difference can change; but from youth to manhood, from manhood to age, the world within changes, so that evil will be more at one time and less at another, or if not that, then more or less pardonable; and good will be more or less virtuous. As for the great world without, which is the sum of all the little worlds within, we judge it temperamentally and provisionally as we do these. We may be sure that, bad as it is, it is not hopelessely a mistake, and with all our mistaking we cannot make it so. It seems to me, though I say this with due submission, that it is not altogether or always the world that Tolstoy sees it in his polemics; it is not intolerably bad. For youth there is abundant joy in it, for manhood there is abundant reward of hard working and right doing, for age there is still comfort and the peace of a life well spent. There is not enough of these things, not nearly enough, to go round, so that much merit misses of them; and there is untold sin and selfishness and misery. But at one time the balance will be on one side and at another time on another; and often it will seem as if the effect were altogether subjective, and there were really nothing of what our senses reported to us.

It is impossible not to believe what Tolstoy in his primarily ethical works tells us is the fact; he shows it, he proves it; he traces the cause, he points the consequences; you cannot refuse your assent. Those books, "My Confession," "My Religion," "Life," "What is to be Done?" and the rest, if you have once read them, may have passed out of your surface memory, and they may have seemed as dead as the hundreds and thousands of other books which you have read; but open one of them and you find it all alive, glowing with the fire in which your irresponsi-

bility was consumed, and the light from which you hid yourself, but which again shines unquenched around you. Undeniably, however, the second effect of the ethical books is not as powerful as the first. They have changed you; never can you look on life as you looked on it before you read them; but it must be that in the nature of it the ethics which are not æstheticized are of less permanent impression than the æsthetics which are ethicized. Very likely few of my readers are such inveterate readers of "War and Peace" as I am, but there must be one or two among them who have read it half a score of times and who yet come to it with an unjaded sense of its beauty and truth. If such a one will take, say, "My Religion" and contrast its effect upon him with the effect of "War and Peace," I think he will own the more lasting power of the fiction. It is not only as a drama incomparably vaster than has filled the imagination before, but as a homily, comprehensive and penetrating beyond any direct sermoning, that it moves and stirs the heart. It is one of Tolstoy's earliest books, but already his ethics were realized if not formulated. He already hated the evil in his characters and loved the good, but with an artistic toleration which was also an ethical tolerance of the evil-doers. It appears fatalistic, but it does not, in its panoramic view of the vast trend of human affairs, ignore the personal responsibility of every actor in the spectacle, great or small: you are made to feel that there was a moment in the history of each when he or she, pressed but not forced by destiny, consciously lent himself or herself to the evil done in them. We behold a multitudinous movement of human beings, each of whom is a strongly defined character in himself and is a type of innumerable like characters. Every passion is portrayed, every affection, every propensity, not because the author wished to include all in his scheme, but because the scheme was so vast that they could not be excluded. It seems superfluous to say that it is a conspect of the Russian world (which in its human side is the world we always know everywhere) as it was affected by the wars of Napoleon's aggression; but no minute fact of any personal situation escapes the vigil of this prodigious study of life. If the proportions of the scheme are vast, the density of the constituent incidents, in which there are always free motive and purpose, is not less astonishing. It is as if the story were built upon the divination of atomic activity in the moral as in the material

universe where stocks and stones are the centres of motion as unceasing, unresting, as blind, as that of the stars in their courses, but not less guided and intended. Where from time to time the author pauses and tries to tell why the things happened that he makes us see happening, neither he nor we are the wiser for his exegesis. What we do seem to be the wiser for is a toleration for the actors, not the actions, of the drama commensurate with the scene of the drama.

This toleration is what stays us and consoles us for the sorrows and sins of people who seem so terribly like ourselves, but for whose evils we are much abler to forgive ourselves than we are for those evils which in his religious books Tolstoy brings home to our own doors. It was inevitable that he should finally do this; it was the logic of what he had already done. For him it was not enough that he should create fiction far beyond his preaching in its appeal; he must tell us what he was doing and leave us to determine what in view of the facts enforced we mean to do.

Probably we mean to do very little, however much we have determined. In the mean time he has given many of his readers a bad conscience, and a bad conscience is the best thing a man can have. It may be the best thing that the world can have. At any rate, it can never be the same world it was before Tolstoy lived in it. Worse it may be, in mere shame and despair, or better in mere shame, but not imaginably the same. Such men do not die for all time. To the end of time they have their recurring palingenesis.

W. D. Howells.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND WEST POINT.

BY AUGUSTUS D. SMALL, HEADMASTER OF THE HIGH SCHOOL, SOUTH BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

A WEST POINT Professor, Colonel Charles W. Larned, U.S.A., in the September NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, maintains, in the title of his article, "The Inefficiency of the Public Schools." The arguments set forth fail to be so startling and iconoclastic as the title promises.

The eminence of the Professor, the already-felt influence of the great REVIEW, and the community of interests between West Point and the Public Schools call for reply. Giving due value to these three factors, we infer and admit that the article is not to be interpreted as purposely destructive criticism. Yet, it has been thus assumed to be by those who denounce the public-school education as bogus and who allege the superiority of some other system of instruction.

The fundamental weakness in the Professor's argument is his point of view. He premises that "the opportunities of testing the efficiency of public-school instruction . . . are exceptionally good . . . at West Point." The reason he gives is, that the "candidates are drawn from every Congressional District . . . and largely from . . . the primary and high schools."

The tenuity of this line of argument is evident to those who are acquainted with the conditions at the public-school end; they also are judges. The fact is well known that West Point does not attract the real representatives of our public schools. The boys by whom their efficiency is to be judged do not, as a rule, seek a military or a naval career. Their ambitions carry them in other directions. The best of them go to college or superior technical or professional schools, or they pursue some industrial vocation. The sphere that distinctly calls for the best will get the

best, and even now wise business men are asking for the graduates of our high or higher schools. Indeed, the qualities which impel a boy to enter the military or naval profession may not, in general, urge him to wide and critical scholarship—just as we find the athletic spirit needing the counterpoise of authority and specific eligibility rules to cause it to keep an equilibrium with the spirit of diligent study.

The writer of this reply has several times taken part in the preliminary examination of candidates for appointment to West Point and Annapolis. He knows the class of pupils who apply. With candor, he must say that the public schools should not be judged by them, nor by those selected thus throughout the whole country. Good, honest, bright boys, confessedly, they would not claim to be typical.

The writer is also connected with a public high school, in which are pupils preparing for many higher institutions. They are each under the advice and care of some teacher, called a "Consultor," who knows the demands of the higher course—preferably a graduate of the institution—and directs the preparatory studies. We show the same consideration for West Point and Annapolis, as for any other institution, by naming a Consultor for them. There are at present and have been, since our organization in 1901, no boys preparing in course for these Academies. We have military drill during the four years of schooling, and the boys take an enthusiastic interest in the drill, competitions and parades; but, in spite of the fears of champions of peace, no martial disposition is thereby developed. Exceptions to this case, if they occur, will be due to native mental bias. Athletics might send more boys to West Point or Annapolis than military drill, and the reputation of each Academy for sports would probably influence the choice between them, surely not decide it.

The Professor's premise has called the writer's attention to the facts related. Another inquiry also must precede the drawing of conclusions. Just who the 314 candidates at his examination were, is matter of greatest importance. It is not to be inferred; it is to be ascertained. Boys might go up who could not have obtained the credentials of the school. We have everywhere the remiss, as well as the diligent. Our doors are open wide; we cannot select the brilliant and dismiss the half-learners, who may trip before the Professor in the tangles of their own

poor ravellings of science. The public schools do the best they can for all. One failure among many successes does not condemn aërial navigation. What of the many times 314 successes in each of the many times 314 public-school systems from whose vicinity 314 went up to West Point?

Another weakness in the Professor's web of impeachment is the importance attached to a single examination, for any purpose. In the best schools, there is no crucial examination; in the best psychology, no sanction for one. Every test is correlated with other records and with daily endeavor. The poorer student may shine, and the better one be eclipsed, by the excitement of one decisive test. Harvard and Radcliffe still require such tests; because out of the abundance of well-prepared candidates, they risk nothing in the method. Many colleges admit upon certification from the preparatory schools, and these colleges, having made careful comparison of college records, affirm that the college standing of students admitted on certificate is higher than that of those admitted by examination. Herein is a suggestion for West Point.

The Professor did not show us his tests. They might be under our condemnation; for the line of thought and teaching has changed greatly within a decade. A few isolated samples merrily given indicate a state of mind rather than the condition of the schools, hasty and partial reading rather than imperfect teaching. The tests may have been better suited to discover what these candidates did not know, than what or how much they did know, of the subjects of examination. Confusion as to places or facts having no personal interest to a boy, or not emphasized by vital connection with other content of the science, may be consistent with a really strong grasp of the subject itself, geography or history. "What knowledge is most worth?" is a question imposed upon the teacher by his various practical limitations. We have paralleled the Professor's amusement over some piece of stupidity, and then been equally surprised at the cleverness shown elsewhere by the same boy. From the questions, we might judge how to evaluate the criticisms presented us. The writer has no intention to apologize for the crudities and errors quoted. Every experienced teacher has made his own collectanea of equally ridiculous blunders and has tried to draw conclusions from them. One inference, however, the Professor's details permit us to deduce. His candidates would be called "seconds" in the market

—that is, they were not the perfect finished product of the public schools. The grammar schools usually cover a period of eight years, sometimes nine; and the high schools, four years, sometimes five. The attendance of the 314 candidates averaged but six years and eight months of the grammar-school period and but three years and three months of the high-school period. Only three of the thirteen humorously described had completed the full periods. Some minds ripen faster, some mature more slowly. From the account, we should place the candidates, especially the thirteen, in the latter class; and they should not have made the recorded short cut to West Point. They needed better preparedness, and probably no teacher from whom they went would have sent them up for examination. Here is another suggestive point.

West Point should correlate with the public-school system above the high-school period. The examination reached down below it. Unless fitted for such an examination—perish the Professor's few months of "cramming"!—geography had not been studied for two or more years. These candidates passed best in geography and history. They failed most in algebra and geometry, the two subjects in which West Point "preps" should be strong. These, moreover, are high-school branches. Two inferences suggest themselves; one, that the candidates had not made successful algebra and geometry courses; the other, that West Point may fairly have rated them strictly in these two subjects. The minimum was 66 per cent. in each branch. One of the oldest secondary schools in the country makes 45 per cent. its pass mark. The rating makes this 45 worth as much as 60 or 70 in some schools. We are not informed as to the method of the West Point marking —whether severe or liberal, whether or not any credit was allowed for a correct part of each question. The examination must go on trial, before the schools of the nation may be condemned by it.

The Professor laments "the physical deficiency of our youth," 30 per cent. of his candidates being physically unfit. Here, he shows again his lack of acquaintance with the common schools at large. He emphatically censures the unsanitary schoolhouses of the country and the exclusive attention to mental development, but points out one Athletic League, originated by General Wingate, which the educational people of the country ought to imitate. Thus, he seems wholly unaware of the

great movement of the past decade or more in physical education. "If education is concerned with mental development alone," he asks, "does the result justify the outlay?" He should know that part of the outlay he cites is spent upon physical training, and that schools and teachers in great numbers, who may not have heard of the League in question, have been engaged in this important part of their work, which includes mental, physical, and moral education. For all that, "100 physically defective" boys might go up, from our whole country, to try for West Point.

The Professor's ideals are undoubtedly quite our own. The writer of this reply would join hands with him in advancing them, and particularly in sending better-prepared boys to West Point. The public schools and West Point and Annapolis are founded upon the same patriotic conviction of the people of this nation that they serve the public welfare, that they are needed by the nation; and there is no doubt that they will be held to their mission. We would deprecate any attempt to belittle West Point, or to show up its inefficiency, even if we were better qualified as a critic than is the Professor. We should only be providing poisoned shafts for the enemies of that important military school. The wish of the writer would be to help West Point, and the only true method would be constructive, and by no means destructive, criticism.

It is the writer's firm conviction that West Point and Annapolis are worthy of the best boys in the land, and that they would have their quota of them if admittance were on a better plan and the life beyond were made more attractive to the stirring, ambitious boy. The curtain has been raised and we do not recognize our best young men entering West Point. We will explain.

Taking our Boston high schools, for obvious reasons, as our example, we state the case. The full period embraces four years, and the diploma is granted then if 76 points are won. A point means generally one hour of prepared work a week, and a course consists of three, four, or five points during the whole year. There are four courses in English and there may be four in any foreign language, except Greek, which is limited to two, and Spanish, to three. History offers four courses; civics, one; algebra, geometry, biology, physics, chemistry, two each; music theory, three; drawing, including arts and crafts, four; and there are commercial branches. A course is won if the pass mark "C" be attained,

usually 60 per cent.; honor standings are "B," 80 per cent., and "A," 90 per cent. A pupil may elect his 76 points, subject always to the approval of the headmaster; and, provided he make 13 points in English, 7 in a foreign language or phonography and typewriting, 3 in history, 4 in mathematics or bookkeeping, and 3 in science—and 6 in physical training, 1 in hygiene, and 3 in choral practice—he may receive his diploma on the pass mark in every subject.

Getting a pass mark means serious work. So the great mass of pupils graduating every year are entitled to the recognition that they are graduates, that their minds—as well as bodies and souls—have received a discipline and an uplift that are worth while. Yet, admission to the Boston Normal School in seven out of twelve subjects is possible only to graduates winning honors in those seven, or else after passing examinations in them. Examinations, together with good records, are required in the other five. Massachusetts admits to her Normal Schools, without examination, any high-school graduate winning honors in any or all prescribed subjects. New England colleges admit high-school graduates, from accepted high schools, without examination, upon certification by the headmaster; but certain subjects are essential and it seems to the writer unwise to certify those who are not honor pupils, on the ground that only such, as a rule, can achieve success in collegiate studies.

Now, if West Point and Annapolis would require and obtain what these colleges secure, doubtless matriculation would be more satisfactory. The exhibited condition is that not even the pass mark is required—namely, the diploma, as granted. Those Academies might inform us as to the preparatory courses preferred and supply the literature of their curricula and student life. It might be an inspiration to many of our best boys to prepare and be ready for these Academies. With strong disciplinary instruction there, with required abstinence from tobacco and alcohol, and with a wholesome moral atmosphere, the Academies would seem to the most scrupulous parent desirable institutions. The writer is neither agitator nor promoter. He simply knows that alcohol and tobacco have no place in the best mental and physical activities. Further, he is visionary enough to see in the army post of the future a temperance town, where the ordinary soldier comes under the noble influence of West-Point graduates, with oppor-

tunities for education in the arts and sciences, literature and philosophies, where amusements are extensively athletic and intensively intellectual.

Do we forget that the appointing power rests with Congressmen and that they are supposed to be politicians? Not in the least. We would not change that at all. The representation of districts in our National Academies is a most excellent factor. It is commendable. The Congressman, however, who has the option of sending up a well-qualified boy to whom the Academy doors would freely open, or of sending up a doubtfully prepared one to be examined, would not hesitate long or decide the wrong way many times. The writer speaks advisedly, and he has confidence in the intelligence and statesmanship of our Congressmen, who would prefer to see the district well represented and the appointee winning a position of recognized merit. The plan might happily save him, and save West Point, from his friends. Without doubt, all patriotic citizens would rejoice in the advantage which such a method of appointment would confer upon our favored and honored National Academies.

AUGUSTUS D. SMALL.

THE SOLVENCY OF ELEEMOSYNARY SAVINGS-BANKS.

BY JOHN HARSEN RHOADES.

THE Eleemosynary Savings-banks, many of which exist in the Eastern States, are non-stock institutions. The trustees are paid nothing, the officers alone receiving compensation for their services. It is the general spirit and purpose of the charters of such banks that the depositors are entitled to all the pecuniary benefits arising from the deposits, less reasonable expenses chargeable thereon.

In New York State, particularly, the law covering investments is rigid, and the danger of loss through unfortunate purchases is at a minimum.

It is my purpose, however, to show that under our present savings-bank laws, if investments shrink in value, and remain for an indefinite period on a higher income yield, or if deposits increase too rapidly, there is a grave danger not only to individual banks in New York State, but to the whole Eleemosynary Savings-bank System. I wish to state emphatically that up to October, 1907, no officer nor trustee could be censured—it has taken a panic to open our eyes; but I believe they could be severely criticised if they permit the present state of affairs to continue. I wish to say also that the danger to the depositor at the moment is infinitesimal, for during the next six months deposits are not likely to increase, and bonds are almost certain to rise in value.

To raise the question, Should an eleemosynary savings-bank be kept solvent? would seem absurd to the mind of the average banker; yet, among savings-bank trustees, in New York State at least, there must be a confused idea upon the subject; for the law leaves it to their discretion to maintain a surplus or not. In its application to savings-banks the word "surplus" is mis-

used; in the State of Massachusetts it is called a "guarantee fund," which undoubtedly is a better term. Furthermore, at the last session of the New York Legislature a law was enacted providing, in a manner approved by the Superintendent, for the amortization or gradual extinction of premiums or discounts of securities, and, with its passage, the old law, which compelled banks to appraise their securities at their estimated market value, was abrogated. That the new law was passed by both branches of the Legislature without opposition on the part of the banks would indicate that they either approved of the results attendant upon the change, or else looked upon the law as an emergency measure.

The Superintendent of Banks of the State of New York wisely decided that the correct manner of amortizing securities is at cost; so the banks, as a result, are now compelled by law to report to the Banking Department their surplus, based upon investment value, which, to all intents and purposes, means that they are reporting their surplus based upon the original cost of their securities, and are no longer, except at the discretion of the Superintendent, reporting a surplus based upon the market value.

For the purpose of arriving at the actual income for any six months' period, it cannot be denied that it is an excellent law which compels all savings institutions semi-annually to amortize their bonds by the same method, *but such a law is useless as a means of determining solvency.* The fact that the Superintendent can demand a market report (which, to his credit, he did in July) does not answer the purpose, unless such a report be published and placed before the depositors.

However, it would seem that the law should make it mandatory upon officers and trustees to compute their surplus on the basis of the estimated market value of their securities, that a condition of insolvency may not come upon them unawares and, furthermore, that the law should be so framed that reports based upon market values should be published, so that the people of the State of New York will know whether a bank be solvent, and not leave the question of insolvency, a matter of such vital importance, to the discretionary investigation of the Superintendent.

If we admit that all earnings above necessary expenses belong to the depositors, it goes without saying that trustees are

powerless to prevent insolvency; but it is my purpose to show that such an admission is unwarranted, although made by many to-day.

Cases of insolvency have been known in the past, and, where the bank was small, the trustees were disposed to come to the rescue and make up the deficiency until a state of solvency could be re-established. By this means, in their infancy our gigantic savings-banks of the present day could have been tided over with comparative ease; but, with the great growth in deposits, amounting in some institutions to $100,000,000, it is now impracticable for trustees to put their hands in their pockets to save an institution from insolvency.

An eleemosynary savings-bank must necessarily be established by philanthropic men. There being no capital paid in, every trustee knows that such a bank should be protected until it reaches the point of independence. If the moral responsibility existed at the beginning, should it not hold good to-day?

For many years the question of solvency had never been discussed by officers and trustees, for the reason that, through the rise in the value of savings-bank securities, for which the banks themselves were responsible—the scope of investment for years being too small—and a general dividend rate of three and one-half per cent., the percentage of surplus on the market value had either been increasing or had remained stationary; but in the last ten years there has been a change so pronounced as to make the following statistics relating to savings-banks in the State of New York pertinent and interesting:

January 1st, 1883—Total Deposits, $412,147,213; Estimated Market Surplus, $60,630,827—14.71 per cent.

January 1st, 1885—Total Deposits, $437,107,501; Estimated Market Surplus, $68,669,001—16.70 per cent.

January 1st, 1887—Total Deposits, $482,486,730; Estimated Market Surplus, $85,633,329—17.74 per cent.

January 1st, 1889—Total Deposits, $523,677,515; Estimated Market Surplus, $92,009,091—17.57 per cent.

January 1st, 1891—Total Deposits, $574,669,972; Estimated Market Surplus, $89,741,231—15.61 per cent.

January 1st, 1893—Total Deposits, $629,358,273; Estimated Market Surplus, $88,752,443—14.10 per cent.

January 1st, 1895—Total Deposits, $643,873,574; Estimated Market Surplus, $91,574,734—14.22 per cent.

January 1st, 1897—Total Deposits, $718,176,888; Estimated Market Surplus, $93,653,237—13.03 per cent.

January 1st, 1899—Total Deposits, $816,144,367; Estimated Market Surplus, $106,896,623—13.09 per cent.

January 1st, 1901—Total Deposits, $947,129,638; Estimated Market Surplus, $118,294,674—12.49 per cent.

January 1st, 1903—Total Deposits, $1,077,383,743; Estimated Market Surplus, $113,286,775—10.51 per cent.

January 1st, 1905—Total Deposits, $1,198,583,142; Estimated Market Surplus, $112,853,766—9.41 per cent.

January 1st, 1907—Total Deposits, $1,362,035,836; Estimated Market Surplus, $102,192,265—7.50 per cent.

January 1st, 1908—Total Deposits, $1,380,399,090; Estimated Market Surplus, $83,255,275—6.03 per cent.

If the above statistics are carefully studied, it will be seen that, from 1887 down to the present date, there were many years when the market surplus in dollars actually increased, and yet the percentage of market surplus to total deposits was reduced, and it is the percentage of market surplus which is the *indicator*. If the indicator register too high, it signifies that the savings-bank is keeping from the depositor his rightful income; if too low, it signifies that the savings-bank is jeopardizing the principal of the depositor; if it stands below the zero mark, it means insolvency.

On careful analysis we find that the last occasion, when the banks as a whole held so low a market surplus as six per cent., was in the year 1872; but at that time total deposits were only $267,905,826, while in 1908 they stand at $1,380,399,090.

The crisis of 1893 was reached in August, and that of 1907 in October. The savings-banks entered the panic of 1893 with a market surplus equivalent to fourteen per cent. of deposits, and the panic of 1907 with but seven and one-half per cent. If deposits increase too rapidly and securities fail to advance sufficiently in value the banks may be forced to enter a future panic with even less, and it is the future, and not the present, that gives cause for anxiety.

When we realize that another change in money rates, sufficient to cause savings-banks securities to sell on a five-per-cent. income basis, would mean a decline of about four and one-half per cent. in the percentage of the market surplus, provided the deposits remain the same, the question of solvency is brought home to us. And, as I have intimated, if such change be coincident with an increase in deposits, that question will face us the more quickly.

Within the ten years from 1896 to 1906 the annual production of gold was more than doubled. To this impressive fact many ascribe the extraordinary rise in prices of commodities, and there are able-minded men to-day who believe in much higher money rates for the future.

If, on January 1st, 1907, every savings-bank in New York State had had a seven-and-one-half-per-cent. market surplus, or in 1908 a six-per-cent. market surplus, this article might not have been written; but it must be remembered that the figures given represent the average. As a matter of fact, on January 1st, 1907, sixty per cent. of the banks had a market surplus of less than seven and one-half per cent., and on January 1st, 1908, fifty-five per cent. had a market surplus of less than six per cent. We may infer that to-day twenty per cent. hold a market surplus of less than five per cent.

It is evident that the shrinkage in the percentage of market surplus has been brought about by two causes—the decline in value of the resources of the banks (owing to a change in money rates), and the great growth in deposits. In regard to the former, it is all very well to assert that savings-banks securities will never sell on a five-per-cent. income basis, for a five-per-cent. basis seems absurd; but the danger lies in the impossibility of forecasting the future. In 1899, the Equitable Life wrote to one hundred and fifty prominent financiers, asking their opinion as to what rate of income high-grade securities would realize during the ensuing twenty years. The answer, to a man, was—from three to three and one-half per cent., and a large number predicted the smaller figure.

As to the growth in deposits, an increase in itself could never throw a bank into insolvency, but it could reduce the percentage of market surplus to such a low point that the slightest decline thereafter in the value of a bank's resources would bring insolvency.

Another potential factor has been operative toward the shrinkage in the percentage of market surplus, namely, the increase in the dividend rate from three and one-half per cent. to four per cent. A general four-per-cent. dividend may have been justified when the percentage of market surplus was seventeen per cent.; but, with a percentage of about seven and one-half per cent. to-day, a four-per-cent. dividend is not justified. Under pres-

ent conditions, however, some officers fear that it is impossible for one savings institution alone, holding a small market surplus, to reduce its rate of interest from four to three and one-half per cent. That small market surplus might have resulted because the institution for years had been most conservative in its investments; consequently, its earning power was less. If these fears are justified, which I doubt, the present state of affairs puts a premium upon risk and a charge upon conservatism.

If it is not necessary to keep a bank solvent, the percentage of the market surplus is immaterial, and the surplus could be figured on investment, par or book value. In many Eastern States, it is computed upon book value, which I believe to be wrong, for the percentage of same to total deposits may not show the true condition of a bank.

If it be necessary to keep a savings-bank solvent, the surplus, if any, *must be based*, at least, upon the market value of the bank's resources.

What is meant by solvency? Solvency means ability to pay one's obligations in full. The statement that it is never necessary to compute market values to guard against insolvency, on the ground that every bank must of necessity be insolvent in the crisis of a panic, is preposterous. We all know that the question of insolvency must be more or less problematical, for we can never be absolutely certain whether a man or an institution be solvent unless we go through the process of liquidation. Nevertheless, we well know that we cannot dispose of our assets, even in a reasonable length of time, above their market value, and so it has been customary from time immemorial for financial institutions, generally at six months' periods, to value their resources at the market, in order to learn not only whether they be solvent, but an equally important fact whether their surplus be sufficient to insure solvency during the ensuing six months.

No sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between solvency and insolvency, and at times the trustees of an institution may conscientiously differ as to whether their institution be solvent or not; but on the financial seas insolvency represents the rocks, and the ships carrying the savings of the masses should give them a wide berth.

Bearing in mind that the eleemosynary savings-bank is a non-stock institution, and that all profits accrue to the benefit of the

depositors, there are trustees who go so far as to say that the law having designated the securities in which they may invest, and they having made the investments in accordance with the law, they cannot be held responsible if the investments decline in value. In other words, they look upon themselves as the personal representatives of the depositors, for whom they are investing their funds. It is just here that I believe the error is made, for they are not acting as individuals, but as part of a system.

Permit me to illustrate: suppose a savings-bank officer, acting in the capacity of an individual, invests $2,000 for A and B; and suppose the officer purchases two $1,000 three-and-one-half-per-cent. bonds at par. Let us assume that several years later the bonds are selling in the open market at ninety. We shall assume also that the officer has turned over to A and B three and one-half per cent. interest in the mean time. Now, A calls and asks for his money. The officer will naturally say to him that he can give him the bond, or that he can sell the bond at ninety and give him $900. A decides to take the cash. B appears later, and if he demands his money the savings-bank officer will sell his bond at the then current market and give him the proceeds.

Let us take a similar case, only assuming that the savings-bank officer is acting now in the capacity of an officer of a savings-bank, and not as an individual, and we shall consider A and B as depositors of the bank, and, to better illustrate the point, we shall suggest that they are the only depositors. The savings-bank officer, in a similar manner, invests the $2,000 in two $1,000 three-and-one-half-per-cent. bonds at par. Several years later, as in the previous case, the bonds are worth ninety. In this instance the officer does not turn over the full three-and-one-half-per-cent. income, for he must reserve something to pay the expenses of the bank. A calls for his money. What amount of money does the savings-bank officer give him? He gives him $1,000. B calls later and asks for his money. What is there left for B? About $800. Can any one say that this is just to B? Yet this is exactly what a savings-bank would be forced to do if it did not keep itself in a state of solvency. The trustees may not be responsible for a decline in bonds, but they could be held responsible if they permitted a condition of insolvency to continue, for no court in the land would allow certain depositors to be paid in full to the possible detriment of others.

Hence a savings-bank differs from the individual who invests money for another, in that it has a privileged obligation to keep from its depositors sufficient funds out of earnings to build up and maintain an adequate market surplus, or rather a guarantee fund. The absolute security of the principal sum should be first guaranteed beyond doubt before an increase of distribution should be tolerated, for the savings-bank depositor, besides drawing interest on his deposit, is vitally interested in the ability of the bank to return to him on demand the principal sum of money on which interest has been paid. And the trustee—has he not the right to protect his own responsibilities?

It is this privileged obligation which the banks have taken upon themselves, sustained by law, which has enabled them to build up the Eleemosynary Savings-bank System. However, the privilege should not be abused by maintaining a surplus unnecessarily large, nor one inadequately small. Savings-banks never have paid to depositors more than the principal the depositors originally placed in their care. Nor do any ever want to be in a position where they would be obliged to pay less; and, if many were in such a position, it would mean the downfall of our Eleemosynary Savings-bank System.

Over fifty per cent. of the depositors of our banks believe that the cash is in the vaults, and one hundred per cent. believe that their principal is intact, payable on demand, except in crises, when they may be forced to wait not more than sixty days.

It would appear that the system in New York State has one serious defect—that the banks have never been compelled by law to build up and maintain a minimum surplus. We have a maximum, but no minimum.

In determining the maximum, which is fifteen per cent. of deposits, the law directs that the surplus shall be computed by valuing bonds above par, at par and below par at the market. Without doubt this is an excellent way to determine a surplus, for, although at times it does not give the actual amount, it prevents the surplus from being enlarged through an abnormal rise in bonds. It is self-evident that this process is a hardship to a bank which holds a large amount of premium bonds, yet it must be borne in mind that to mark up the percentage of market surplus by a rise in bonds is to credit the depositors with profits before they are earned.

It would be difficult, without doing an injustice to some banks, to frame a law which will compel us to build up and maintain a fixed minimum, for, while one bank could afford to put aside five per cent. of its gross earnings for a given six months' period, and continue to pay at least three and one-half per cent. interest, another could not afford to lay aside over one-fourth of one per cent. If the majority of the banks were paying three and one-half per cent., it would be a question whether the few banks paying three per cent. could live.

A bank of deposit may reduce or even pass a dividend, yet many deposits will remain, but with an eleemosynary savings-bank there is undoubtedly a limit to the reduction in dividends.

The maintenance of a fixed percentage of minimum surplus is desirable, and it is to be hoped there may be a way to secure it. If it be impracticable to frame such a law, I am of opinion that the desired results could be effected in a reasonable length of time, if the present savings-bank law, forbidding the payment of over five-per-cent. dividends, were modified to compel a uniform rate of not over three and one-half per cent., with the privilege to pay an extra dividend whenever the par and market surplus shall be equal to ten per cent. of deposits. If such a law were enacted, I doubt if more than four banks in New York State could pay an extra dividend to-day, nor, in fact, for many years.

The same result could be obtained through concerted action upon the part of the banks without recourse to law, but such action would not answer the purpose, for it is more than probable that a like state of affairs may recur at a time when concerted action may be too late to save the day. So long, however, as the banks continue to pay almost their entire earnings to depositors, unless there be a large rise in the value of their resources, a large *decrease* in deposits, or both, it will take many years to restore the percentage of market surplus which formerly existed.

When we know how impossible it is for a savings-bank to make money, and how long it takes to build up a surplus, what a pity to allow the adequate percentage of market surplus of the past to be reduced, and what folly to gamble on a rise in bonds to restore it! Assuming that the effect of a rise in bonds is offset by an increase in deposits,—a fair assumption,—it can be demonstrated that it would take ten years for many a large savings-bank, con-

tinuously paying four per cent. dividends, to increase its surplus by three per cent.

There are trustees who feel that, if, as suggested, an attempt were made to pay a uniform rate of three and one-half per cent., serious objection would be raised by depositors. This hardly appears likely when we find that The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society in the year 1907 paid only three and one-half per cent. and actually gained $645,716.29 in deposits over withdrawals, while in the same year the New York State savings-banks were paying four per cent., and lost $31,608,897.75. The Philadelphia Saving Fund Society, on January 1st, 1908, had total deposits of $89,595,955.21, while the total deposits of the New York State savings-banks were $1,380,399,090. It can readily be seen that the Society for Savings actually gained .0072 per cent., while the New York State savings-banks lost .0022 per cent.

The greatest objection will come not from depositors, nor even from the Legislature, but from those banks which hold a market surplus to-day between five and ten per cent., and which are satisfied that their surplus is adequate to permit a four-per-cent. dividend.

I do not believe for a moment, however, when the situation is put before them, in view of the charitable nature of our banks, and the high character of the men who compose our boards, that the stronger banks would oppose legislation absolutely essential to the welfare of our Savings-bank System.

It would seem appropriate, at this point, to quote the closing remarks of an address made a few years ago by a late President of one of our banks:

"Let us remember that the savings-bank, in its essence, was founded as a means to lessen pauperism and to encourage thrift. Let us not forget that it rests upon foundations built upon philanthropy. No selfishness, no greed, no profit to ourselves, shall be the motto of this great and solemn trust. Our trustees are chosen from those who are willing to serve the public for the public's good, and the well-doing of the charge we have thus assumed is the only reward we can expect or desire. Let us therefore work not for the day, but for the morrow, remembering that what we build we build for the day and the morrow. It is in this spirit and with this aim in view that our work should go on, and unless we do this work unselfishly, we will sow the seeds of distrust among the people, and eventually the system itself will break down."

To return to our subject—without doubt twenty per cent. of our banks have a market surplus of less than five per cent. to-day. The failure of twenty per cent. might mean the failure of our entire system. At the moment there is little danger, for every man believes that a rise in bonds is pending, but the danger lies in the future. Let us not forget that in 1899 one hundred and fifty prominent financiers made a bad guess; prominent financiers may do the same to-day.

The trouble has been that the attention of trustees has been centred upon the increased earning power of their investments, and they have paid dividends accordingly, regardless of the fact that the great growth in deposits and the shrinkage in the value of securities on hand, have each played an important part toward causing an impairment in their percentage of market surplus in many cases of as much as fifty per cent.

I often wonder if savings-bank trustees in general thoroughly appreciate what a very small surplus ten per cent. really is, notwithstanding the high character of our investments, as an insurance against insolvency, especially in the case of a large bank. We have been so anxious to pay over all earnings to our depositors in the form of dividends that we have forgotten the word "insolvency" and what it means. If banks holding a market surplus of seven and one-half per cent., which they believe sufficient, would for a moment recall the panic of October, 1907, and the situation which developed among the trust companies, they might conceive of a similar condition arising among the savings-banks of New York State. Before the recent panic, many strong and conservative trust companies were absolutely indifferent to the welfare of a few sister institutions which were badly managed; but, when the crisis came, those in authority decided, in order to save the situation, that it was imperative to lend assistance to their weak neighbors by loaning millions of dollars at a time when they needed every dollar for themselves. Can any one suppose that a savings-bank, with a market surplus to-day of only seven and one-half per cent. of deposits, could materially aid its neighbor at such a time? In such a contingency, the right to use the sixty-day clause, which is absurdly but a by-law among our savings institutions, could be questioned. The purpose of the sixty-day clause is to give the banks time to sell such securities as they deem expedient, and depositors to recover from unwar-

ranted fright. In a case of insolvency, the fright of the depositor is warranted, and trustees are aware of the fact. Such a state of affairs puts a different complexion upon the situation.

The eleemosynary system, which now obtains, with some changes can be made perfect. And when we realize that the stock savings-bank, unless managed with conspicuous ability, is unsafe, that the postal savings-bank is not adaptable to our form of government and for the present should not be established, what a mistake it will be if we do not use every endeavor to make our eleemosynary system impregnable!

A savings-bank should be impregnable to an increase in deposits and a mere decline in bonds.

The seeming apathy with which many trustees appear to regard the matter of an increased market surplus as important to the great majority of the savings-banks of New York State is amazing. The difficulty is to reach a decision as to the best method to bring about the desired results. I am of opinion that these results can be achieved only through an educational process and free discussion of the problems presented. It is to this end that the above article has been written.

JOHN HARSEN RHOADES.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NAVY PERSONNEL.

BY COMMANDER ROY C. SMITH, U. S. N.

THERE has been much reference during the last few years, in Congress and in the press, to the condition of the navy personnel. No one doubts that the personnel is all right, as far as individuals are concerned; but there seems to be trouble about numbers and arrangement, and especially about the age of the higher officers.

The question of numbers is in the way of settlement by means of the large classes now passing through Annapolis. The other matters are not in so satisfactory a state. The public, perhaps, has not paid much attention to the subject. They may have thought it an agitation on the part of the officers to secure quicker promotion. If this were true, it would not be a matter of serious consequence. But there is more in it. If it were only a question of what officers thought they were entitled to, and if they could bring Congress to their way of thinking, the public would be satisfied, but would not feel called on to take part. It may as well be stated, however, that in what follows the results to officers are left entirely out of consideration. The question goes beyond individuals.

The principal trouble with the personnel at this time is that admirals reach their grade on the average at from sixty to sixty-one years of age and retire by law at sixty-two. But, it may be said, if this is a drawback, why is it not perfectly easy to correct it? Why cannot admirals be promoted as early as may be necessary? It seems simple, but it cannot be done without changing the existing law, in which the present conditions are inherent. Then the law should be changed.

So far, so good; but, on trying to devise a suitable change, complications seem to arise on every side. One serious compli-

cation is that the navy list is at present in an exceedingly abnormal condition, the result of past legislation, in that the various Naval Academy classes composing the list differ in numbers from four to 200. This would not matter if the four were near the top of the list and the variations were regular. But the small classes are near the middle of the list, with large classes at the top and bottom. As a result, nearly all the measures heretofore proposed are complicated, occupying several pages in the wording, are more or less difficult of comprehension, and are open to doubt as to their satisfactory working even though they should be enacted into law. It may be accepted that unless some simple measure shall be devised that can be expressed in a few lines, the working of which shall be perfectly plain, a change will be of doubtful expediency.

The principles of personnel and promotion are in themselves reasonably simple. The only difficulty seems to be the mass of details to be brought into harmony. As simple as the principles are, there are some that have never been recognized in this country. They are in the nature of truisms, and of course must be taken into account sooner or later. It will be the effort of this paper to indicate some of these essential principles, and then to show how a few of the most important may be put into practice.

The problem of the personnel, so far as the line is concerned, may be stated very simply as follows: to devise a means whereby admirals may serve, on the average, more than one or two years on the active list before reaching the age of retirement. From recent official information, the average length of service of admirals in certain foreign navies was as follows: German, six years; British, eight years; Japanese, eleven years; French, fourteen years. In our own navy the average length of service as admiral is about a year and a half.

Future naval wars will be settled by battleship actions in fleets, as was the Russo-Japanese war. Handling a fleet successfully is an art which requires much study, but, above all, practice in manœuvres. An admiral who has to acquire this practice and fight his action all within a period of two years will be at a great disadvantage as against an admiral who may have served ten years in his grade.

To correct this state of affairs in our own navy is really the only problem of the personnel at this moment. If admirals reach their

grade early enough to allow of an adequate length of service in the grade, it is obvious that captains and all other officers of lower grades will likewise reach their grades sufficiently early.

The problem may be solved in a number of ways. In our navy only, of those quoted, it has not been solved at all, at least not to the extent of legislative enactment. The present condition in our service arises very simply and naturally. A certain number of young men enter each year at the bottom and go up step by step, and eventually some of them reach the top. Suppose there are 100 entries each year from the Naval Academy. If the age of graduation is twenty-two and the age of retirement is sixty-two, there will be forty years of service. Each year there is a certain loss in each class, due to casualties, resignations, etc. This has been found by experience to be very close to three per cent. each year in all parts of the list. That is, after a year there will be ninety-seven in the class, after two years ninety-four, and so on; and after forty years there will be thirty. Hence, if thirty admirals only are allowed, and all have entered at the same age, then all the admirals on the list will be in the last year of their service. The result is thus inherent in the system of simple step by step promotion in order of seniority, and cannot be avoided as long as the system is retained.

There have been two general methods advocated for correcting this condition of affairs. One is to select officers for promotion, those selected thus passing a shorter time in the intermediate grades, and reaching flag rank earlier than they otherwise would. This method to be effective is coupled with an age retirement in the various grades. That is, officers not selected, when they become too old for the duties of their grade, are retired. The age varies according to the grade. A captain not selected for promotion might retire at fifty-five, a commander at fifty, and so on. This method is called "selection," or "selection-up."

The other method that has been advocated is to promote to all the grades by age or length of service, without regard to the numbers thus obtained in the various grades, and then to set aside out of the line of promotion as many in each grade as may not be needed for the duties of the grade. The officers thus set aside would receive no further promotion and would not continue to go to sea. They could, however, be given a shore duty, and would have the option of retiring after a certain number of years' total

service. (Any officer in the navy may by present law retire after thirty years' service). This method is called "selection-out," or "elimination."

Either system can be made to work. The arguments *pro* and *con* are somewhat as follows: Selection-up is more like the conditions in civil life, where the ablest men quickly come to the top. There is no reason why bright young officers should serve the full time in the lower grades, but they may be brought quickly to positions of responsibility and command and thus have a longer period of service in the upper grades, where their ability will be productive of the greatest good. The disadvantage is that the older officers in each grade have lost hope and are merely serving their time until they can retire. While a commander at thirty is full of ambition and zeal, those nearing fifty know they can go no higher and are a drag on the rest. So there is no improvement on the average. Then the conditions are not entirely the same as in civil life, owing to the absence of personal freedom in the service. A man is free to make his own position in civil life, but he is not equally free in the service, as he must go where his orders take him. Still, on account of the desirableness of having young men serve long periods in the higher grades, the plan presents many advantages. What the service itself thinks of the plan is not of material consequence; but as a matter of fact, selection-up is usually dreaded for fear that influence and favoritism may count for too much in the selection.

Selection-out, or elimination, has the advantage that the officers in the same grade have all about the same length of service, are of a suitable age for the proper performance of the duties of the grade, and serve long enough in each grade thoroughly to master the duties of the grade. Then the process of selecting out the least efficient in the grade raises the average of those who remain and there are no heartburnings in the active service. Those with a grievance take it with them out of the service. Selection may still be observed in the various grades, but selection of a different order—that is, selection for duty and command. Though the young men of each grade are not so young as the youngest of those in the former plan, nevertheless the captains and admirals all reach their grades reasonably young and have ample time in the grade to make their service of value. The least efficient suffer about the same by either method, but in selection-

out those who remain keep their same relative place and there are no heartburnings. This method appeals more strongly to the service itself than that of selection-up.

From what has been said earlier in this paper, it is quite clear that some method must be followed to accomplish the object proposed at the outset—that is, to insure that admirals shall be promoted early enough to serve a reasonable time in their grade before retirement. It might be supposed that these methods, by increasing the retired list, would increase also the expense. This would be objectionable, certainly; but, in a case of urgent necessity, expense should not prove an insuperable obstacle. As a matter of fact, however, the expense need not be increased. Though the number of retired officers may be increased, their average pay is decreased, and the total may remain about the same.

Under the present method, practically all officers retire as senior rear-admirals. The cost of the retired list is thus the number retiring multiplied by the number of years of expectation of life multiplied by the retired pay of a senior rear-admiral. By the American mortality tables, the expectation of life at the age of sixty-two is about thirteen years; consequently, for such period, practically all officers retiring for age receive the maximum rate of pay. By the method of elimination, or by that of selection, relatively few officers retire at the maximum rate of pay; a medium number retire as captain or commander, and a relatively large number retire as lieutenant-commander. The average rate of pay is thus very much lower, and the gain may be sufficient to allow for the pay of officers selected out before reaching the age of sixty-two. By a method proposed by the writer, in the "Proceedings of the Naval Institute" for September, 1906, the cost of the retired list is actually reduced.

As has been stated earlier in this article, these questions have been settled in all the principal foreign navies. It will not be uninteresting to state briefly the practice in the English, French, German and Japanese navies.

Promotion in the British Navy in the lower grades is entirely by selection. After reaching the grade of captain, officers retain their relative position with regard to each other and go up step by step entirely by seniority through the grades of rear-admiral, vice-admiral, and admiral, but are selected for the highest grade, admiral of the fleet. (We have no grades higher than rear-ad-

miral. Admiral Dewey has the special rank of Admiral of the Navy, but the grade expires with him.) Admirals of the fleet retire at seventy, admirals and vice-admirals at sixty-five, rear-admirals at sixty, captains at fifty-five, commanders at fifty, lieutenants at forty-five, sub-lieutenants at forty. In addition, if an officer remains unemployed for from three to three and a half years, it becomes necessary for him to go on the retired list. This is the plan usually followed in the case of captains and admirals who may be found unfitted for their duties. The English method is therefore selection-up and retirement for age in each grade or by lack of employment.

The French method is a combination of selection and seniority, but reverses the order, as compared with the English. That is, most of the earlier promotions are by seniority, whereas all the later ones are by selection. Thus, two-thirds of the promotions of ensigns are by seniority and one-third by selection; of lieutenants half by seniority and half by selection; and in the higher grades all by selection. Vice-admirals are retired at sixty-five, rear-admirals at sixty-two, captains at sixty, commanders at fifty-eight, lieutenants at fifty-three.

In the German Navy promotion is by seniority, with elimination of the unfit, or those whose services may no longer be required. There is complaint that the age of the higher officers is too great, due presumably to insufficient elimination.

In the Japanese Navy promotion is exclusively by selection, but in the grade of captain it follows quite closely the order of seniority. Below captain, selection is very free. The retiring ages in the grades are as follows: admirals, sixty-eight; vice-admirals, sixty-five; rear-admirals, fifty-eight; captains, fifty-three; commanders, forty-eight; lieutenant-commanders, forty-five; lieutenants, forty-three; junior lieutenants and ensigns, thirty-eight.

The condition of our navy list at the present time is somewhat peculiar, but not in any way such as to prevent placing it on a perfectly satisfactory basis within a very short time. The peculiarity lies in the fact that the various Naval Academy classes now constituting the list have varied in strength to a remarkable degree. At the head of the list the classes are large, the remains of the old "hump," as it was called—that is, the classes that entered about the time of the Civil War and for a few years thereafter, which classes were abnormally large. Beginning with the

class that entered in 1877, a rule went into effect (legislation of 1882) limiting the appointment of the yearly graduates to a number sufficient only to fill the existing vacancies. Some of the classes of about that time contain at present not over 4 to 10 members. The large majority of the members of these classes were discharged at the time of graduation for lack of vacancies. The result is that all the present middle of the list is made up of abnormally small classes, and there is no really large class until we come to the class that graduated in 1905, which now comprises a hundred-odd members. The present graduating classes are of double strength, numbering about 200 (legislation of 1903, to continue until 1913).

This present condition of the navy list is really the key to any satisfactory solution of the existing problems of promotion. Imagine, for instance, that there have been normal graduating classes of say 100 members, and that as the years have gone by the classes have gradually and uniformly diminished in numbers, from natural causes or by retirement of the least fitted, until it is now found that a suitable adjustment exists between numbers and length of service, and that the higher officers now reach their grades at suitable ages. The actual navy list, as contrasted with such an ideal list, shows entering classes 200 strong, small classes all through the middle of the list for twenty-five years, and large classes again at the top; two "humps" with a "trough" in the middle. The "trough," as has been seen, was formed by the legislation of 1882. The classes composing it were by that act reduced below the possibilities of any plan of elimination or selection that could ever be advocated or desired. Hence, when they get to the top of the list, as they will in ten or twelve years, promotion will be as satisfactory as possible. In the mean time, the old "hump" blocks the way. It is not probable that the new "hump" will ever be troublesome, as it will no more than fill the depleted "trough."

Thus it is seen that, for the present, there is no obstacle to officers reaching flag rank early enough to be of some use while on the active list, save only the remains of the old "hump." The problem, then, is so to dispose of this "hump," or a part of it, as to allow admirals to reach their grade at about fifty-five years of age, instead of at over sixty as at present, the age of retirement being sixty-two. We have thus again reached the state-

ment that was made at the outset. There is evidently one very simple method of solution—that is, to promote all the captains who are over that age, or, what is better, those that have a length of service corresponding to that age on the average. There would evidently result too many admirals. The excess could be allowed to retire voluntarily, and, failing a sufficient number of voluntary applications, the remaining necessary number could be selected out.

It may be pointed out that this measure would result in a positive financial gain to the Government. The main reason is that without such action these officers would nearly all in course of time become senior rear-admirals and retire at the rate of pay of that grade. The gain is in retiring them instead as junior rear-admirals. It may be shown that, taking account of all the circumstances, each such retirement would save the Government about $20,000. The measure thus has everything to commend it.

The best way to put it into effect would be to enact a law that any captain over fifty-five years of age could, with the approval of the President, retire at any time as a junior rear-admiral. Such a law in conjunction with the present personnel law, which may force a certain number of captains each year to retire as commodores, might be found to be all that was necessary. Any one of such captains would naturally prefer to go voluntarily as a junior rear-admiral, and at his own convenience, rather than to be forced out at the end of the year as a commodore. If, however, at the end of a couple of years the results should not be found entirely satisfactory, then another law promoting all captains with a length of service corresponding to fifty-five years of age on the average, and a forced retirement from the grade of rear-admiral of the excess over the number required, would accomplish the rest.

The above measures will thus clearly bring admirals to their grade reasonably young. Incidentally, the captains and commanders will also be young. This condition will continue during the whole period the "trough" is passing through the upper grades —that is, for about twenty-five years. During the passage of the "trough" there need be neither selection nor elimination, for the classes composing it have already been over-selected out by the legislation of 1882. Nor need the new "hump" give us any uneasiness. It is probable that the natural expansion of the

navy will dispose of it inside of twenty-five years; but, if it does not, it may be treated as it is now proposed to treat the old one.

But there is another matter that is beginning to give trouble now and will become worse year by year. By present law, the numbers in the grades are fixed, and amount to 750 down to and including lieutenants. In addition, there are at present about 670 ensigns and graduated midshipmen. These ensigns and midshipmen are most of them performing the duty of lieutenants. For a number of years to come, midshipmen will be graduating at the rate of about 200 annually—that is, during the time the classes of double strength are passing through the Academy (the last double class enters in 1913). But as we can have only 750 officers down to and including lieutenants, these new graduates will be accumulating all this time in the junior grades, and by 1913 will amount to about 1250. We shall thus have the illogical proportion of nearly two-thirds the whole navy below the rank of lieutenant.

The trouble is that the 750 down to and including lieutenants were based on a total of about 1000. When the total shall have reached 2000 it is clear that the 750 will not be a suitable proportion.

In other words, the junior grades will be filled out of all proportion and the senior grades will still be short. Thus, fixed numbers in the grades are logical only when the total number is fixed. When the total number is varying rapidly, fixed numbers are entirely illogical.

The remedy is, of course, apparent. By making the numbers in the grades percentages of the whole, then, no matter how the total may vary, the proportions will still remain correct. The proper proportions have been worked out a number of times in official reports and other papers. A study of these results seems to show that the following are reasonable percentages for all the grades below that of rear-admiral, including graduated midshipmen, viz: captains, 5 per cent.; commanders, 6 per cent.; lieutenant-commanders, 16 per cent.; lieutenants, 40 per cent.; lower grades, 33 per cent.

The following table shows the navy list below flag rank as it stands to-day, and the prospective list for 1913, with the numbers in the grades as by the present law and as they would be if the above percentages should be adopted.

Rank.	Present Law.		Proposed Law.		
	1908.	1913.	Percentage.	1908.	1913.
Captain	70	70	5	70	98
Commander	112	112	6	84	118
Lieutenant-Commander	200	200	16	224	315
Lieutenant	350	350	40	560	788
Lower grades	668	1238	33	462	651
Total	1400	1970	100	1400	1970

The briefest inspection of the above table shows the benefits that would be derived from such a change. The officers now banking up at the foot of the list would be suitably distributed in all the grades by the new plan, whereas by the present plan there is no attempt whatever at such distribution.

The perfectly simple changes that have been described above would put the personnel on an entirely satisfactory basis for the next few years. After 1913, however, the present law of entry of midshipmen will have expired, and there will have to be some measure to regulate the admissions in accordance with the needs of the service. This is fortunately as simple as the rest. The purpose of the personnel is to officer the ships. The number of serviceable ships is always a known quantity, and the number of officers needed will bear a certain relation to the number and size of ships. This relation has been worked out in official reports at various times. It may be expressed in the number of officers required per thousand tons of shipping. Considering our own needs and foreign practice, it may be shown that three officers (including midshipmen at the Naval Academy) per thousand tons of serviceable and authorized shipping is a reasonable and moderate ratio.

In this country the fact that such a relation exists has never been given its full importance. Navies are usually estimated in numbers of ships of the various types, armies in numbers of regiments. In appropriating for ships it is very easy to overlook the necessity for officers and men to man them; but in appropriating for regiments, it is the officers and men themselves that constitute the regiments, and it is they that are provided for. A steamship line in acquiring new ships would naturally and necessarily provide for additional officers and men to man them. This practice has never obtained with regard to the navy. Owing to its continuous oversight, it was found, some six years ago, that, while the new navy had been building, no provision had been made for

additional officers, and as a result the personnel was short by a number equivalent to 100 per cent. of itself. An article by the writer in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for September, 1902, entitled "The Navy's Greatest Need," showed this condition very fully. At the next session of Congress, *post hoc,* but not *ergo propter hoc,* the condition was remedied in a measure by doubling the appointments to the Naval Academy for a subsequent period of ten years. At the end of this period, the total will be very close to full strength at the ratio above stated—that is, three officers and midshipmen to every thousand tons of shipping. By enacting a law at such time that future admissions to the Naval Academy shall be regulated in a manner to preserve this ratio, there would be no further trouble as to adequate numbers. This change could be made very readily. The present method of appointment is that the President and each Senator and Representative may maintain a certain number of appointees at the Academy. Under the proposed method they would make appointments in regular rotation to the extent each year that should be found necessary.

At this point it will perhaps seem tolerably clear that the question of the personnel, which should in reason be perfectly simple, is in reality sufficiently complicated. The complications, however, are in the details and not in the principles. If by a few simple and fundamental measures the principles can be satisfactorily complied with, the details may then be left to themselves. The measures thus recommended are:

1. A temporary one; allow captains over fifty-five years of age to retire at any time as junior rear-admirals (at an average saving to the Government of $20,000 for each retirement);

2. After a couple of years, promote all captains with service corresponding to an average age of fifty-five years to the grade of rear-admiral, and should there be an excess of rear-admirals, select out such excess from the whole grade;

3. Immediate and urgent; arrange all the officers on the list below flag rank in a percentage of the whole for each grade instead of in fixed numbers as at present, which present method allows the new graduates to bank up at the bottom;

4. As early as practicable, but at all events before 1913, when the present law of appointment of midshipmen will expire, arrange that appointments to the Naval Academy shall be made in

order of rotation of the various nominating authorities and in such numbers each year as will maintain the total strength of the personnel in a fixed ratio to the amount of shipping.

In the course of a generation, it may be necessary to devise a measure of a similar nature to some of the above to regulate the new "hump"; but this is not certain, nor indeed probable.

The measures thus advocated are all of great simplicity, a matter of much importance in legislation. Their adoption, so far as can be now foreseen, would put the navy personnel on an entirely satisfactory basis for practically all time.

One matter has not been considered—the question of vice-admirals and admirals. It is difficult to understand why our navy alone has no vice-admirals or admirals. It cannot be the expense, for that is insignificant compared with the cost of the navy. It does not seem in accordance with military principles that the commander-in-chief of a fleet, with possibly six rear-admirals under his command, should have the same rank as they. Then, too, it is derogatory to the dignity of the country that our naval representative, in his official intercourse with other nationalities, perhaps in joint operations, no matter what the importance of his command, should always be outranked by a foreign admiral. Our fleet in its present cruise around the world, commanded by a rear-admiral, has by its impressiveness often caused that commander to be received in courtesy with the salutes and honors of a higher rank, and to be given a precedence which in joint operations would not have been his. This condition, which has so little to commend it, may well be corrected.

ROY C. SMITH.

THE CONGO QUESTION AND THE "BELGIAN SOLUTION"

BY JOHN DANIELS, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE CONGO REFORM ASSOCIATION.

On August 20th, the Belgian Chamber of Deputies voted to annex the Congo Free State to Belgium as a colony. On September 9th, the Belgian Senate followed suit. The double-monarch, Leopold, King-Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo and King of the Belgians, has, in both capacities, set his official seal to this legislative action by consenting finally to give away the Congo with one hand and receive it back with the other. Thus, after years of public agitation and governmental negotiation, the so-called "Belgian Solution" is proposed as an answer to the Congo Question; proposed, but as yet not finally and authoritatively accepted, for, though Belgium and the Free State are the immediate bargainers, the transaction contemplated is one in which the fourteen Powers signatory of the Acts of Berlin and Brussels have in fact the last word if they choose to say it.

The Congo Question has forced itself upon the world in two chronological stages—the first stage concerning a fact, the second a remedy.

The question of fact arose in the middle nineties, as a consequence, on the one hand, of the reports of travellers, missionaries and Government officials to the effect that the most inhuman cruelty and butchery were being practised upon the natives of the Congo Free State, in central Africa; and, on the other hand, of the out-and-out denials of Leopold and his agents. Between the accusations and the denials, the public was at first puzzled and sceptical. But from 1895 onward the charges came in with such increasing frequency and from such an ever-greater variety of trustworthy sources as finally to compel belief, and the "Congo

atrocities" became stock for common conversation. These atrocities, related in detail by those who had witnessed them, and given added vividness by actual photographs from the scene, made such an indelible impression on the popular imagination that to this day many people, of the class whose knowledge of events is gained from newspaper headlines, vaguely identify them with the entire Congo Question.

But, even at the outset, it was perceived by those who looked deeper that such specific outrages were only accompanying symptoms of an underlying disease to which the whole system of administration in the Congo had fallen victim. This disease was not at once fully diagnosed, but very soon it became clear that at the core it was a case of "rubber" and "profits." Nearly all the accounts of atrocities made the attempts of the officials to force the natives to bring them more rubber for export the root of the trouble. As early as 1895, so well-qualified an observer as Mr. E. J. Glave, the explorer, wrote, after an extended journey over the State, that the basic cause of the prevailing wretched conditions seemed to him to be the "frantic efforts to secure a revenue." His insight was increasingly confirmed as time went on, and as the mass of evidence which accumulated month by month and year by year was analyzed, there gradually arose a public demand throughout the Western world, but most vigorously in England and the United States, in which countries Congo Reform Associations were organized in 1904, for an impartial and authoritative investigation of affairs in the Free State. The essential issue had ceased to be one of "atrocities" and had become one of the fundamental system of Congo administration.

And in November, 1905, approximately ten years after the accounts of misgovernment began to circulate, that issue was disposed of once and for all by the publication of the Report of the Congo Commission of Inquiry. The appointment of this Commission in July, 1904, had been forced upon Leopold by the increasing manifestation of public indignation, and by urgent representations from the British Government. Its three distinguished members, Edmond Jansens, Giacomo Nisco and E. de Schumacher, spent four and a half months in the Congo, holding hearings and taking testimony in different localities. As, after their return to Europe, month succeeded month and the

findings were not announced, the public began to surmise that a crushing verdict of guilty had been brought in. And so it proved when at last, after eight months' delay, the Report was published. Its damning effect would be hard to exaggerate. Not only did it substantiate the gravest of the charges which had been made, but it went further, and reduced these various charges to their common denominator, so to speak, in an underlying Congo "system" of merciless commercial exploitation of the natives. In a word, it proved that Leopold had established not a State, in any true sense, but a gigantic trading company, with all other considerations subordinated to profits. This Report has been the Gibraltar on which the Congo Reform Movement, now grown to such proportions, has rested firmly, needing no additional foundation. Leopold and his agents have, it is true, continued to reiterate denials, and in uninformed quarters have gained some credence; but, in the light of the decisive evidence at hand, these denials are ridiculous. The conclusive character of the Report has not been more impressively put than by one of Leopold's most distinguished Belgian subjects, Professor Félicien Cattier of the University of Brussels, who is probably the leading authority to-day on matters of Congo administration. In the preface to his recent book, "A Study of the Situation in the Congo Free State," Professor Cattier said:

> "The publication of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry transformed, as if by a stroke from a magic wand, the nature of the Congo Question and the direction of the discussions to which it gave rise. For a heated dispute as to the existence of abuses, it has substituted a calmer consideration of the necessary remedies."

Since the autumn of 1905, therefore, the Congo Question has been in its second and present stage, in which the vital issue has been not the facts, but the remedial action to be taken in view of the facts.

Four possible remedies have presented themselves: the institution of thorough reforms by Leopold himself; the taking over of the Congo as a colony by Belgium; some form of international administration; partition among the Powers holding contiguous territory in Africa.

Inasmuch as the Commission's Report had proved that Leopold had torn to tatters the Berlin and Brussels Acts provid-

ing for "the protection of the natives and the amelioration of their moral and material conditions," it may well be urged that the only right course open to the Powers was immediate intervention to enforce respect for the humanitarian guarantees of these Acts. The failure of the Powers to take such immediate action can only be interpreted as equivalent to a declaration to Leopold that first he would be allowed the opportunity to set matters aright himself. He might have saved his Congo throne by at once putting into operation the fundamental changes recommended by the Commission. Instead, he appointed a Committee to study the Commission's Report. The report of this Committee has not been published, but in June, 1906, Leopold issued a list of decrees which, he made it clear, was his ultimatum so far as reforms were concerned. At the time, the press and public regarded these decrees, even should they be enforced, as merely superficial and palliative, and not reaching deep enough to affect the Congo "system." And now comes conclusive evidence that the public was right, in the official report sent to the State Department last November by our late Consul-General in the Free State, Mr. James A. Smith. Said Mr. Smith, seventeen months after Leopold's decrees were proclaimed:

"That the obligations of the Congo Government toward the natives, as provided for in the Berlin Act, 'to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being,' are being openly violated there is not the shadow of a doubt. The present conditions are those existing under the operations of the so-called reform decrees, promulgated as a result of the report of the King's commission of inquiry of 1904. If they are an improvement over former conditions, it is natural to ask what those former conditions must have been. The remark of a State official, made in my presence, 'My business is rubber,' tersely expresses the attitude of the entire administration toward the native. The latter, so long as the present system is allowed to continue, can expect nothing from an administration whose desire for gain overshadows everything else and causes it to forget the obligations it has assumed toward him. Briefly, the tendency of this system is to brutalize rather than civilize—to force the native into such a condition of poverty and degradation that his future is a hopeless one, and to keep him there."

Such unquestionable testimony as this has been accepted by the two Powers who have most bestirred themselves in the case, the United States and Great Britain, as final proof of the necessity of interventionary action. In an official communication sent to the Belgian Government last April, Secretary of State Root

said, in *diplomatically restrained language,* but of sufficiently definite import, "The present situation is not that which was contemplated or foreseen when the Free State was called to life by the Powers." And Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared in the course of a debate on the Congo Question in the House of Commons last February that, "The present existing authority [*i.e.,* in the Congo] is perfectly hopeless," and that, "If you review the history of the hopes and aspirations with which consent was given to the founding of the Free State, you cannot but come to the conclusion that the State, as it exists to-day, has morally forfeited every right to international recognition." There is no room for doubt, therefore, that the situation in the Congo remains to-day essentially as it was described by the Commission of Inquiry, and that the first remedy proposed for the abuses, namely, the institution of reforms by Leopold himself, must be dismissed as having proved utterly impossible.

The remedy of next resort is the taking over of the Congo as a colony by Belgium. This way out of the difficulty has come to be known as the "Belgian Solution." Though it was not as King of Belgium or in behalf of Belgium, but in a strictly individual capacity, that Leopold ingeniously established himself in central Africa and subsequently obtained recognition from the Powers as ruler of the vast territory which he dubbed the Congo Free State; yet, from a number of circumstances, Belgium has tacitly been admitted to have a closer relation to the State than any other Power, and even to possess the privilege of annexing and administering it, provided due regard is paid to the Acts of Berlin and Brussels and all other relevant treaties and laws. The single fact that the same person has happened to be King-Sovereign of the Congo and King of Belgium has caused a close sentimental tie to exist between the two countries, which has been made stronger by the preponderant service of Belgians in the Congo army and administration. A more apparently legal bond was created by Leopold's will, executed in 1889, by which he bequeathed the Free State to Belgium. The publication of this document presented a spectacle amazing in the light of twentieth-century constitutional and parliamentary government—the spectacle of one man deeding away, as his goods and chattels, the persons, liberties and property of 15,000,000 people, and a region

nearly 1,000,000 square miles in extent. In 1890, as compensation for a loan, Leopold gave Belgium the option of annexing the Congo before his death. It is in accordance with this option that Belgium is now acting. But a factor in the situation stronger than either sentimental ties or quasi-legal arrangements between Belgium and Leopold has been the disinclination of the Powers to jar the always delicate "balance" by attempting or even discussing any other disposition of the Congo (after it became certain that Leopold could not be allowed to retain it) than its passage to diminutive Belgium, itself a "neutral" State, created by the Powers in 1830 from scraps of territory which had been battered back and forth in sorry style between Frank, Spaniard and Teuton since the Middle Ages.

For these reasons the "Belgian Solution" has been regarded with most favor as a remedy for the ills with which the Congo is sorely afflicted. It is toward the application of this remedy, in genuine and thorough form, that the British Government has been working for several years, and our own Administration since the winter of 1906-7, when it became publicly known through the press that Secretary Root had reconsidered his opinion, as expressed in a letter to Representative Denby, of Michigan, in March, 1906, that the United States had no rights of intervention in the case on account of not being a signatory of the Act of Berlin of 1885, and had taken the position that powers of intervention essentially as complete were accorded by articles 2 and 5 of the Act of Brussels of 1890, to which the United States is a party, guaranteeing the protection and development of the Congo natives. But in exerting their influence to secure a transfer of the Congo to Belgium, both Mr. Root and Sir Edward Grey have made it clear that such a transfer, to be recognized, must involve a fundamental reform of existing conditions in the Free State. Sir Edward Grey said in the House of Commons debate already referred to: "We agree that it must be a condition precedent to any transfer of the Congo to another authority, that that authority should take it over on terms which will place it in a position to give assurances, and to guarantee that those assurances shall be carried out, and the treaty obligations of the Congo would be fulfilled." The attitude of our own Administration is known to be equally rigorous. The vital query, then, as affecting the final acceptance of the articles of transfer

which have, on August 20th and September 9th, been favorably voted on by the Belgian Legislature, is: Do the proposed terms of annexation and the provisions for the future administration of the Congo, and the past, present and future circumstances which closely affect the transaction, guarantee the necessary reforms?

According the fullest reasonable interpretation to the clauses of the three articles of transfer voted by the Belgian Legislature —namely, the Treaty of Annexation, the Additional Treaty and the Colonial Charter—and the fullest reasonable charity to the intentions of Belgium, as expressed particularly in her Government's replies to the recent American and British communications, the reply that must be given to this query is an unequivocal "No."

It has been shown, particularly by quotations from the report of the American Consul-General and from deliverances by Secretary Root and Sir Edward Grey, that conditions in the Congo to-day remain essentially the same as they were described by the Commission of Inquiry in November, 1905. In view of this authoritatively recognized fact, one single provision of the Colonial Charter, which elaborates the régime that Belgium will institute in the Congo if annexed, is in itself sufficient to condemn the transaction. Article 32 of Chapter VI of this Charter declares that: "The decrees, regulations and other acts now in force in the colony shall still remain in force, except such rulings as are contrary to the present law and as are abrogated." But such existing Congo regulations as are either contrary to the provisions of the proposed Charter or expressly abrogated by it or the other documents in question, are not the fundamentally pernicious ones which are accountable for the worst abuses, and the doing away with which public opinion has so long demanded. Therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that the worst abuses will be perpetuated if Belgian annexation of the Congo on the proposed terms is consummated.

The strict and actual truth of this severe statement of the case will become evident when the Congo system as it operates to-day and the terms of the articles of transfer are analyzed in conjunction.

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry shows that the great underlying iniquities in the Free State are: first, the wholesale

theft by the "State" of all the land except the merest hut-spaces, leaving the natives landless in their own country; second, as a necessary concomitant of the theft of the land, the seizure of all the produce of the land with which the natives might and should engage in legitimate trade for their own betterment, and by the almost total lack of which they are rendered possessionless in their own country; third, the enforcement upon the natives of a so-called tax in labor (that being, as the Congo officials naïvely contend, the only commodity left to the natives with which to pay taxes) which is so enormous, as actually enforced, that it keeps the natives at work for the State almost incessantly, making of them at last slaves in their own country.

The sections of the Commission's Report which describe in details these workings of the Congo system have been often quoted and are easily accessible to the public. Permission has been gained to incorporate in this statement evidence to the same effect from an equally reliable and still more recent source, which is not yet accessible to the public; this evidence being that contained in the official reports to the State Department of Consul-General Slocum, his successor Consul-General Smith, and Vice-Consul-General Memminger. Mr. Smith wrote in his report of last November, referring to the theft of native land: "The ordinance of July 1st, 1885, declared, in part, that the vacant lands were to be regarded as belonging to the State. The vacant lands were considered as all those not actually occupied or under cultivation by the natives; their proprietary rights in and over their own country were ignored." Then going on to speak of the consequent theft of all produce, he said, "The State, in continuation of this policy, has proceeded, under the guise of taxation, to compel the natives to contribute for its benefit, and that of a number of concessionary companies, the natural products of those lands, consisting, for the most part, in rubber, ivory and gum-copal." Finally, passing to the third point, the tax in forced labor, he states that on the basis of an actual experiment he made in having rubber collected under the most favorable conditions, with the native collectors the best that could be selected by one of the State's officials, and the locality one of the richest in rubber, he found that given such conditions the payment of the State's tax would require "nineteen days and five hours each month, or practically two hundred and thirty-six days each year."

This under ideal conditions! With natives less skilful in collecting, and laboring in localities where rubber is less plentiful, it can easily be conceived that the wretched Congolese must work for the State almost every day in the year.

Summing up these conditions, Consul-General Slocum wrote from the Congo in December, 1906: "I have the honor to report that I find the Congo Free State, under the present régime, to be nothing but a vast commercial enterprise for the exploitation of the products of the country, particularly that of ivory and rubber." And Mr. Memminger wrote last November: "In general, the condition of the people in the upper Congo seemed unhappy, and led to the conclusion that the system of government under which the natives must live does not promote their welfare. In its operation, the system seems to be one in which considerations of humanity and benevolence are least important."

Now there is not a clause in the Colonial Charter, the Treaty of Annexation and the Additional Treaty which restores to the natives the land formerly held by them in communal tenure according to native custom; not a clause which puts them in possession of the fruits of the soil; and not a clause which abolishes the labor-tax that now amounts to slavery. Instead is the provision already instanced to the effect that all existing regulations preserve full force of law. It is clear then that so far as these three documents may be relied on, they perpetuate by their omissions all the worst abuses. More than that, they positively specify that the abuses shall be preserved. Article 1 of the Treaty of Annexation provides that Belgium shall respect "the existing foundations in the Congo." This means that the vast areas granted to so-called concessionary companies (estimated by Sir Edward Grey to include three-fifths of the total area of the State) shall continue in the possession of these companies, and that this much land at least, and its produce, will be kept out of the possession of the natives. Article IV of the Additional Treaty provides that immense sums of money shall be paid to King Leopold and his heirs, annually. This means that the natives will have to collect enough additional rubber to make these payments. Finally, the Colonial Charter stipulates that the entire staff of present Congo officials shall be retained—which means that the same men who have under Leopold perpetrated the abuses are under Belgium expected to carry out sweeping reforms.

This indictment is based not on unsubstantiated opinion, but on implicit citation of the actual terms of the three articles of transfer concerned in the proposed passage of the Congo from Leopold to Belgium. These documents are published in full in the reports of the Belgian Parliamentary proceedings. There are many high-sounding phrases dispersed through them, and many vague generalities which look good at first glance. But when all this ornamentation is stripped off, below in its full ugliness will be discerned the same old Congo sore.

If the articles of transfer themselves offer no guarantee of a fundamental amelioration by Belgium of conditions in the Free State, where shall such guarantees be sought? Certainly the contention of the Belgian Government that it does not care to discuss regulations involving the fundamental reforms until the annexation is an accomplished fact seems hardly fair in view of the issues at stake. But even should the Powers be willing to rely on the mere professions of intention of the present Belgian Cabinet—professions not only unbacked by definite laws, to which legal recourse may be had, but professions which need not necessarily be carried out by succeeding and still more sub-Leopoldian Cabinets—they could not find in these simple professions assurances that the demands of civilization would be fulfilled. The Belgian Cabinet, in its replies of April 24th and July 12th to the American and British communications, has said definitely that the concessions are not to be abolished. In answer to the demand that all land rightfully belonging to the natives be restored to them, it is stated that King Leopold's decree of June, 1906, assigning to the natives three times the amount of land previously allowed them, will be enforced. This is an enlightening admission that the decree in question has not yet been enforced, but as an adequate remedial provision it amounts to little; for, inasmuch as the natives now possess only the scantiest hut-spaces, to give them three times as much would net them but a minute fraction of the lands formerly held by them in communal tenure, and over which, Consul-General Smith has reported, "their proprietary rights . . . were ignored." Finally, regarding the question of forced labor, the worst iniquity of all, which under the mildest conditions, Mr. Smith has stated, compels the native to work 265 days a year for the State, the Belgian Government goes only so far as to say that a very gradual reduction will be made.

But why, one may now be impelled to ask, is Belgium so unwilling to undertake the administration of the Congo on terms involving thorough reforms and giving effect to the humane provisions of the Berlin and Brussels Acts? This innocent query strikes down to the very root of the evil. The answer may be given in brief compass. King Leopold has achieved world-wide repute as a promoter and financier of extraordinary ability. The Congo Free State is his supreme business success. The profits yielded by the merciless rubber system to Leopold and his co-partners, in their non-official capacity as chief shareholders in the concessionary companies, are, as is proved even by the published figures, enormous. The Belgians have won fame only as a nation of keen merchants and traders. Leopold's business associates in the Congo investment include many of the foremost citizens of Belgium. Undoubtedly the institution of genuine reforms in the Free State would appreciably diminish the profits from the colony and might even necessitate temporary grants-in-aid. Leopold and his fellow stockholders in the rubber companies are averse to any reduction in their present profits. Leopold's dividend-loving subjects are not only disinclined to be money-out in the Congo bargain, but see in it no contemptible opportunity for increased income. The net result of this hearty accord between the business king and his business people is that Belgium, unforced, will not introduce reforms in the Congo. On the contrary, as the "Catholic Mirror" of Baltimore has pithily expressed it, "It is wholly unlikely that the Belgium administration will spare any efforts to maintain the highly lucrative *status quo.*"

This quotation from a weekly paper of Leopold's faith is incidentally important as helping to remove a mistaken impression in certain quarters that American Roman Catholics have aligned themselves solidly in his defence. A complete contradiction of this erroneous notion, and at the same time a fair and concise statement of the Congo Question as it stands at the moment, is afforded by an extract from the October number of one of the leading Roman Catholic organs in the United States, "The Catholic World." After branding Leopold's administration in the Congo as "a most dismal career of misgovernment," it continues:

"Started as a philanthropic attempt, under the auspices of the chief Powers, it soon eventuated into a sordid oppression. It will have served

one good purpose if it affords yet another demonstration of the impotence for good of autocratic methods of government. The Powers who signed the Berlin Treaty, under the provisions of which the Free State was inaugurated, will have to pass upon the annexation before it can be brought into effect, and, if necessary, may require such modifications and securities as may be essential for securing the rights of the natives."

As already pointed out, Secretary Root has taken the position that as a signatory of the Act of Brussels, the United States possesses rights of intervention in the issue essentially as complete as those of the other nations concerned. Will the Powers, but particularly the United States and Great Britain, be satisfied then with the taking over of the Congo by Belgium on the present terms? This query is the key to the situation as it now stands. So far as is publicly known, neither Mr. Root nor Sir Edward Grey has as yet replied to the most recent communication of the Belgian Government, received on July 12th, nor have these statesmen yet spoken in approval or disapproval of the conditions of annexation which the Belgian Legislature has voted. If Sir Edward Grey maintains his position stated in the House of Commons last February, that any authority taking over the Congo must "give assurances" of the introduction of the fundamentally necessary reforms, and "guarantee that those assurances shall be carried out," and if Mr. Root preserves his no less rigorous attitude regarding the issue, then it must be believed that these two Powers at least will refuse to recognize the terms of annexation proposed by Belgium. Such action would either induce Belgium to revise the articles of transfer in compliance with American and British demands, or would compel an international conference. If, even after the deliberations and dispositions of this conference, Belgium should still be unwilling to undertake the administration of the Congo on conditions consistent with humanity, either some form of international control, carrying out the ideal expressed in 1885, when the Free State was founded, or partition among the Powers holding contiguous territory in Africa would have to be adopted as a remedy of last resort. But whatever the final outcome, one thing is certain: The "Congo Free State," and all that this ghastly misnomer has come to mean, must go.

JOHN DANIELS.

THE WEIRD OF SIR LANCELOT.

BY MARY CHILD.

THE writer of the article entitled "Lancelot, Guinevere and Arthur," in a recent number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, waxes indignant with Tennyson for his portrayals of these famous dwellers in the land of chivalry. Her contention with the poet is on account of his eulogy of the marriage tie against the instincts of love. Since Tennyson's own marriage was such an ideal union, there is small wonder at his exaltation of the marriage bond. The true source of resentment against him will be found in the fact that he follows Malory in the perversion of one of the most pathetic of old-world stories.

The hint of spiritual warfare is confused by Malory with the idea of earthly lust. His version of the legend, albeit delightful reading, is of the earth, earthy. He misses the tender sadness in the life of Lancelot as well as in the life of "the perfect Queen," though her sorrow springs from a different source. And the beautiful poems found in the "Idylls" of Tennyson are forever spoilt to the lovers of the twain by reason of his desecration of their shrines.

Perhaps the oldest version extant is the "High History of the Holy Graal," translated by Sebastian Evans. That version gives us the story in a different setting. There is the beautiful picture of the ideal wife, who is sorrowing for her husband (Arthur) in case he is losing his prowess.

"Queen Guenievre was so sorrowful thereof that she knew not what counsel to take with herself, nor how she might so deal as to amend matters so God amended them not."

On one Ascension day, the King finds her in tears because she has "great fear lest God hath put him into forgetfulness." He is moved to seek adventure for the glory of God. And as he

rides away with "the bearing of a knight of great pith and hardiment," she asks the lords, "How seemeth you of the king? Seemeth he not a goodly man?"

Such a naïve appeal proves her love. She will have every man praise him. According to one damsel it is partly the Queen's fault that the King has fallen into idleness: "But never again will he move from Cardoil, do what he may, such dread hath the Queen lest any should take him from her."

When Arthur returns to Cardoil, "the Queen and knights make great feast of him and great joy." He shows her his wound "that had been right great and painful." "The King goeth into the chamber and the Queen with him, and doeth the King be apparelled in a robe of cloth of silk all furred of ermine, with coat, surcoat and mantle."

When he tells her of his adventures, she is glad. "'Sir,' saith she, 'right joyous ought you to be that your Saviour hath had you in remembrance. . . . God be praised thereof.'"

"By God's pleasure, the wish and will had come back to him to win honor and to do largesse as most he might."

When the King is obliged to set forth on the Quest, "the Queen herself would he have taken thither but for the mourning she made for her son, whereof none might give her any comfort." Their beloved son, Lohot, had been treacherously murdered by Kay the Seneschal.

In the King's absence, his domains are invaded by Briant of the Isles and Kay the Seneschal. And the Queen dies of grief, fearing that he has been slain, since she can glean no tidings of his whereabouts. She is buried in the church at Avalon, where she has ordered a coffin to be prepared for her beloved husband by her side: "The body of the Queen lieth in the coffin before us, and in the other is the head of her son, until such time as the King shall be ended, to whom God grant long life! But the Queen bade at her death that his body should be set beside her own when he shall end. Hereof have we the letters and her seal in this chapel, and this place made she be builded new on this wise or ever she died."

Shame on the man who cast the first stone at this "best earthly Queen"! There is neither whisper nor hint of desire concerning Lancelot. There is no talk like that of the garrulous little maid of Tennyson concerning a sinful Queen and her guilty mate.

Nay, the hermits and clerks keep sacred watch over the body of their "best earthly Queen": "The best Queen in the world and of most understanding is dead, nor never hereafter shall be none of equal worth."

The hermits commend the unknown knight (Lancelot) for his vigil in the chapel. "Never yet did no knight cry mercy of God so sweetly, nor of His sweet Mother, as did this knight that is in the chapel."

When they beg him to take food and rest and he declines, as he will keep vigil in the chapel, they agree that "the worshipful man is of good life who will keep watch in such manner throughout the night without drink or meat, for all that he seemeth to be right weary." And what of Arthur, the husband, whose "thought is on Queen Guenievre in what place soever he may be, for nought loveth he so well as her"? Instead of the terrible meeting between the sinning and repentant wife and the injured, austere husband of the "Idylls," the "High History" shows how he grieves over her enshrined memory until the end of the story. When he wins her crown in tournament,—the crown which he has given her; when he hears of her death, he is "full sorrowful and draweth on one side." "Of the mourning the King made is there nought to speak, for this sorrow resembleth none other."

He is obliged to continue the Quest, though, as the writer observes, "You may well understand that King Arthur is no whit joyful." After the Quest is fulfilled, he "cometh to the Isle of Avalon, there where the Queen lieth." "But you may well say that the King is no whit joyful when he seeth the coffin where the Queen lieth and that wherein the head of his son lieth. Thereof is his dole renewed, and he saith that this holy place of this holy chapel ought he of right to love better than all other places on earth."

When he reaches Cardoil and is sitting at meat, "he was bent upon thinking rather than on eating." "The King looked round about the table and remembered him of the Queen."

Queen Jandree, a Pagan, demands he should wed her or suffer invasion and conquest of his lands. "'Damsel,' saith the King, 'tell her, moreover, I send her word that never more shall there be Queen in my land save she be of like worth as was Queen Guenievre.'"

After her death, all vigor seems to have departed from him,

and his knights are sent to fight his battles in his stead. Briant of the Isles, who has been taken into favor, poisons his mind against Lancelot. But his only accusation is that Lancelot is aiming at the crown. Lancelot is recalled and imprisoned, but the King is still unhappy. "The King was one day in the hall at Cardoil, right heavy; and he was at one of the windows, and remembered him of the Queen. . . . Lucan the Butler seeth him right heavy and draweth nigh to him quietly. 'Sir,' saith he, 'meseemeth you are without joy.' 'Lucan,' saith the King, *'joy hath been somewhat far from me sithence that the Queen hath been dead.'*"

It seems almost sacrilegious to read Tennyson after such pathetic words as these!

And Lancelot of the Lake? What is the story of his life and the weird which he was to dree?

In the first introduction, he is offering his life to a knight, because a brother of the latter has died in his service: "I will go with you, that so I may reward you of that he hath done for me. He delivered his body to the death for me, and in like manner freely would I fain set mine own in jeopardy for love of you and of him."

He is regarded as one of the three most renowned knights of chivalry. Gawain and Percevale love him as their best-prized friend. A damsel surprises him with his love for Guenievre, and he *blushes* at her words: "You love the Queen Guenievre, the wife of your lord, King Arthur; not so long as this love lieth at your heart may you never behold the Graal." As he lay at the castle that night, he is angry because she has called it disloyal. Lancelot, living in the same atmosphere with the ideal woman, is irresistibly attracted to her. And the love is so great that no other woman may take her place. He has the love of the brave chivalrous man surging at his heart. To such men, love only comes but once. The intensity of the passion is like the strength of their nature. It can never be forgotten. It can never be recalled. Of the other knights, Gawain is her kinsman, and Percevale is above all earthly affection.

Then wherein lies his sin? Those who achieve the Graal must be absolutely pure in thought, word or deed. Though King Arthur is husband and father, he may achieve it because his union is an ideal one.

Whether the love of Lancelot would be regarded as sinful or not in these days, it is regarded as such by the damsel and hermits of the Graal. The history is written in the white light of the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Lancelot, himself, acquiesces in their conception. He confesseth to the hermit at the Graal Castle, "and saith that of all thereof doth he repent save only one, and the hermit asketh him what it is whereof he is unwilling to repent. 'Sir,' saith Lancelot, 'it seemeth to me the fairest sin and the sweetest that ever I committed.' The hermit rebukes him for calling any sin fair, and Lancelot explains:

"'This sin will I reveal to you with my lips, but of my heart may I never repent me thereof. I love my Lady, which is the Queen, more than aught else that liveth, and albeit one of the best kings on live hath her to wife. The affection seemeth me so good and so high that I cannot let go thereof, for, so rooted is it in my heart that thence may it never more depart, and the best knighthood that is in me cometh to me only of her affection.'" The hermit is scandalized, and urges him to put it away from him.

"'Ha, sir,' (sighs) Lancelot, 'she hath in her such beauty and worth and wisdom and courtesy and nobleness that never ought she to be forgotten of any that hath loved her.'"

The hermit concludes he has been guilty of actual sin and blames the Queen. But Lancelot attempts to explain his position.

"God is so sweet and so full of right merciful mildness, as good men bear witness, that He will have pity upon us, for never no treason have I done toward her, nor she toward me."

"The Graal held not aloof for that Lancelot was not one of the three knights of the world of the most renown and mightiest valor, but for his great sin as touching the Queen, whom he loved without repenting him thereof, nor never might he remove his heart therefrom."

The good King Hermit declares, "'And you had had the like desire to see the Graal that you have to see the Queen, the Graal would you have seen.' 'Sir,' saith Lancelot, 'the Queen do I desire to see for the sake of her good intent, her wisdom, courtesy and worth, and so ought every knight to do. For in herself hath she all honorable conditions that a lady may have.'"

And the good King Hermit understanding his position and peril, prays, "God grant you good issue therein, and that you do nought whereof He may visit you with His wrath at the Day

of Judgment." The hint of spiritual strife instead of actual mortal sin is very strongly marked in this passage.

The most important point in the story is this. Neither the King nor his fellow knights have any idea of the trouble at his heart. The unrequited love must be concealed at any cost. When Arthur and Gawain embrace him at parting, "Lancelot would willingly have sent salute to the Queen had he durst, but he would not that the King nor Messire Gawain should *mis-deem* of the love they might carry to their kinswoman."

When he goes to his expected execution, he "mindeth him of the Queen, and crieth God of Mercy and saith, 'Ha, Lady, never shall I see you more! but might I have seen you yet once again before I die, exceeding great comfort had it been to me, and my soul would have departed from me more at ease. But this, that never shall I see you more, as now it seemeth me, troubleth me more than the death whereby behoveth me to die, for die one must when one hath lived enough long. But faithfully do I promise you that my love shall fail you not yet, and never shall it be but my soul shall love you in the other world like as my body hath loved you in this, if thus the soul may love.'"

Possibly succeeding writers have built their misconceptions upon this passage. Yet it looks as if Lancelot clings to the idea that he may still be able to love her in the next world as he has done in this. But the love is all on his side.

When he hears of her death, he is obliged to dissemble his grief. "Lancelot knoweth not what he may do, and saith between his teeth that now hath his joy come to an end and his knighthood is of no avail, for that he hath lost the high Queen, the valiant, that heart and comfort gave him and encouragement to do well. The tears ran down from his comely eyes right amidst his face and through the ventail, and, had he durst make other dole, yet greater would it have been."

The expressions "high Queen" and "encouragement to do well" should surely lift her above earthly stain.

Like the King, he never recovers his joyfulness after her death. Unhappily his comeliness and courtesy attract women. Yet when the maidens woo him in their despair he never gives them a reason for his refusal.

In his journeyings, unwittingly he finds the Chapel of Avalon, and passes the night in vigils. "When Lancelot heareth that it

is the Queen that lieth in the coffin, he is so straitened in his heart and in his speech that never a word may he say. But no semblant of grief durst he make other than such as might not be perceived, and right great comfort to him was it that there was an image of Our Lady at the head of the coffin."

As the hermits have no idea of the state of his heart, they conclude he is keeping vigil before the image.

Though he is so anxious to conceal his love lest people discover it, in later years, unhappily, he has received the blame he dreaded. Instead of blame, pity should be granted to the comely knight of chivalry, who passes through the pages with the canker of hopeless love at his heart. He is so true and honorable that only a damsel of the Graal and the good King Hermit are aware of its existence.

The pictures of the two men nursing their grief are very pathetic. For one of them, it is the story in "Twelfth Night"—but with a difference. Though he is denied the Graal, he does not pine away in solitude. On the contrary, he is ever the champion of the distressed and the avenger of the wronged. For the sake of the King, he fights against fearful odds. He bears him no malice for wrongful imprisonment. "'Sir,' saith Lancelot, 'your amends love I much, and your love more than of any other; but never, please God, will I mis-do you for aught that you may have done to me, for it is well known that I have not been in prison for no treason I have done, nor for no folly, but only for that it was your will. Never will it be reproached me as of shame, and, sith that you have done me nought whereof I may have blame nor reproach, my devoir it is to withhold me from hating you; for you are my lord, and if that you do me ill, without flattery of myself the ill you do me is your own; but, please God, whatsoever you have done me, never shall my aid fail you, rather, everywhere will I set my body in adventure for your love, in like sort as I have done many a time.'"

The calm dignity of this speech is that of an injured friend. It would be an impossibility in the mouth of one who had violated the honor of the King and tarnished his own good name.

"'Lancelot,' saith the King, 'how is it with you?' 'Sir,' saith he, 'it hath been ill with me long time, but, please God, it shall be better hereafter.'"

MARY CHILD.

SOME SALIENT WEAKNESSES OF PROHIBITION IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

BY THE REV. P. GAVAN DUFFY.

THIS is no strenuous attack upon prohibitionists and still less is it a defence of what we term the "liquor interests." The purpose of the writer is simply to inquire, from the standpoint of Christian ethics, into the principles of prohibition.

The great wave of total abstinence which has swept, and is still sweeping, over the English-speaking world, is something that will stand out in history as phenomenal. Not only here in America are its influences seen and felt, so that the distillers and brewers are suggesting among themselves the advisability of setting their house in order, but in England, in addition to the moral wave of self-restraint in the use of intoxicants which has swept the country, radical legislation is threatening more and more an enforced restriction.

The end prohibitionists aim at is an ideal—the hastening of the day when drinking and the countless evils that grow, unquestionably, out of its excess shall be no more. And, with such an ideal before them, it is not surprising that a large proportion of Anglo-Saxon humanity should be warmly enlisted in a movement that claims to make for it.

But, as in the case of many other movements for reform, so with prohibition, there is a danger of much thoughtlessness in its advocates and followers, which, unless squarely faced, may only lead to the rearing of a structure on an utterly insecure foundation. The twentieth century suffers from haste. We want to accomplish great ends in a hurry. It is historically characteristic of the beginning and closing of a century, that the people then living are unduly impressed with the notion that they are essentially the ones on whom the ends of the world have come.

It is, therefore, not surprising that we should find the movements of the age tinged with that undue haste which is always an evil, and especially so because it is rarely seen by the people cotemporary with the times. The jerry-built house, with its manifold defects, is not only distressing but dangerous. Similarly, moral reforms instituted for speedily accomplishing desired ends, without due and careful consideration of everything which they involve, are apt to be distressing and dangerous.

Zealotism of every description is full of perils, chief among them being the tendency to rush to hasty conclusions which facts will not warrant. Thus it invariably produces a strange but familiar blend of truth and error.

One great danger to-day with prohibitionists is the tendency to make their movement synonymous with Christianity and to base their principles confusedly upon what they suppose to be the principles of Christ. They fall into the common error of quoting from a fickle memory without verifying their references. Still another mistake is the manner in which they confound the cardinal virtue of temperance with prohibition, whereas the only relation in which the latter can be looked upon as being in any sense a Christian virtue, is when its exercise is along the lines of religious asceticism in the name of Christ. And even then, as we shall show, it is clearly a matter of expediency rather than a Christian principle.

The evidence for these two statements is to be seen in the tendency to wink at other moral defects in men, provided they are free from the taint of drink, making practically the sum and substance of the Christian Religion to consist mainly in abstinence; and the regarding of the really temperate man as a foe to what prohibitionists inaccurately term temperance.

Looking at the whole matter from the standpoint of Christian ethics, the question that must arise is, Have prohibitionists faced fairly and squarely the attitude of Christ to this vexing problem? And, apparently, the answer must be "No." Indeed, here lies the chief difficulty with prohibitionism—the attitude of Christ is distinctly against it.

There was no tinge of asceticism about our Lord; He came into the world eating and drinking and, because He shared in the actual life of rich and poor in this way, He was termed by many

a wine-bibber. And standing out in direct challenge of the prohibitionist's position is the fact of the miracle at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee. For a moment one is almost overwhelmed by the great quantity of wine given on that occasion by Christ. Each of the six stone water-pots might have contained anywhere from ten and a half to twenty-five and a half gallons, and an eminent authority like Edersheim inclines to the larger measure. But, if in either case we multiply by six it is made clear that the Incarnate gave in this, as in all things, abundantly. To assert that only what was actually drawn from the pots became wine is but to trifle with the question and then not to alter in the least the principle involved. And to follow the interpretation of extremists, viz.: that the wine was really unfermented grape juice, is to lose the meaning of the miracle, and to ignore the words of the ruler of the feast, who, when he "had *tasted* the water that was made wine," said, "Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse: but thou hast kept the good wine until now." Unfermented grape juice would scarcely elicit such an exclamation of delighted surprise at this departure from ordinary practice! Further, the inference from his remark is that moderation was not always the rule, even on such occasions as this, and that by the end of a feast guests might have absorbed so much wine that it would be difficult for them to distinguish the good wine from the poorer quality. It is this fact which makes the miracle stand out the more conspicuously—even startlingly.

One, indeed, is particularly struck by the fact that, face to face with the drink problem, Christ said so little bearing upon the subject. Confessedly, it is a difficulty with prohibitionists. From their standpoint it was clearly the seeming duty of our Lord to adopt a directly opposite course and to preach and teach with all His energies against what they understand to be the greatest evil and curse to mankind.

It is only when we cool down from the boiling heat of the zealot to the calm consideration of dispassionate inquiry, that we are conscious of the lessons Christ was practically but silently teaching in the miracle we have been speaking of. First, He clearly recognized that wine was a creature of God and a higher creation than water; secondly, He manifested His unbounded trust in humanity, which, later, even crucifixion could not kill; thirdly,

He tacitly taught that the responsibility for excess rested upon the individual and not upon the thing abused.

And this last reason, perhaps, is the serious point of cleavage between Christ and the prohibitionist—the one placing the responsibility for abuse upon the abuser, and the other shifting it from the abuser to the thing abused.

In other words, Christ taught men self-control, which is but another name for temperance. Men must be masters of themselves, and where they would not be (not because they *could* not be, but because they *thought* they could not be), He issues the prohibitory injunction, "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell." In these words He unwaveringly and unqualifiedly warns men of the eternal consequences of excess, and just as clearly and as unqualifiedly places prohibition on a lower plane than temperance—it is a maimed life, halted, imperfect. Enforced asceticism was an expedient intended to safeguard the weak-willed, and it was justifiable only on the ground and for the reason of gaining eternal salvation.

Here it is worthy of note that the historic Church has consistently maintained this principle. As far back in the early history of Christendom as the Apostolical Canons, we find Canon 51 pronouncing judgment upon Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who, for any other cause than the exercise of the ascetic life, profess an abhorrence for wine as well as flesh meat and marriage. On the ground that such offenders calumniate and blaspheme the workmanship of God in forgetting that He made all things and made them good, the Clergy are to be sentenced to deposition and both clergy and laity offending were to be cast out of the Church. From this it will be seen that, if there is to-day a wide and great gulf between the churches claiming a Catholic heritage (Roman, Anglican and Greek) and the churches of Puritan origin on the question of prohibition, the further we go back the wider the breach becomes.

Next, it must be insisted that, from the standpoint of Christian ethics, temptation is to be met and overcome. This is to be the line of Christian conduct and Christian development; not a concentration of effort in a futile attempt to remove temptation or escape it. It is a spiritual law, as exact as the law of gravitation, that temptation never can or will be removed in this life.

It is conceivable that a man can, and frequently does, become the master of this or that particular temptation, but he remains the master of what has existed, does exist and always will exist.

Therefore, to sweep away every saloon, to close up tight every beer garden, to make the drug-store supply of intoxicants an impossibility, would in no sense remove temptation; for the main force of temptation is *within* the man and not without. It might in some measure, for the weak-willed who have no self-control, be said to diminish temptation, but certainly not to destroy it, for the chief difficulty lies in the uncontrolled appetite. And just so long as the appetite remains the master, the subject will yield again and again; so that, if it were possible to destroy every saloon and distillery and to put an end to all present known intoxicating drinks, the debased appetite, spurred by its craving, would seek till it found some other and, perchance, worse stimulant. Every clergyman who deals with moral disease is familiar with the person who has been whiskey-cured to become drug-crazed, and with the common type of those who think they have conquered a besetting sin when they have only merely exchanged it for another.

It is an unfailing law that the existence of appetite connotes that there is food wherewith to satisfy it, and the only question for moralists is the regulation of its lawful use and the prevention of its abuse. Consequently, to place the blame on the thing abused and not upon the abuser, is to evade the whole question. And just so long as the prohibitionist continues to fix the responsibility for the drunkard's downfall upon the drink he abuses, rather than upon the drunkard himself, just so long will he furnish the excuse the abuser is looking for in the evasion of responsibility.

This evasion is as old as Adam. When God called him to account for his sin in the Garden of Eden, he immediately placed the blame upon the woman, and the woman in her turn placed it upon the serpent. But both knew all the time in their guilty hearts that the responsibility could only be laid at their own doors. True, they were tempted, but it was evidently the Divine intention that unfallen man should be tempted. Humanly speaking, temptation is a necessary consequence to man's free-will. The forbidden tree which stood in the garden was always before the eyes of our first parents. In itself it was a temptation, but, so far from being there to harm them, it was, if resisted, to be

a means of development. The sin lay not in the temptation, but in the perversion of the human will which challenged temptation and led to the eating of the fruit.

And just because temptation was and is a necessity for man's development and progress then and now, God still suffers it. The expediency of the prohibitionist in his futile attempt to remove temptation was certainly not God's method, and for this life it never can be.

The only basis of reform, then, is through the individual; the building up of his moral strength and will-power which will result in self-control. This clearly is the work of the Christian Church, and the only solution of the problem. Regulate the saloon by all means; rid it of its debasing conditions, or change the method of supply of intoxicants by abolishing the saloon, if needs be, for governmental control and sale, or some other judicious method—all this may be well and good and wise, but the one essential that must ever be kept in view is to teach men to be masters of their appetites. When this is done, the problem is solved.

If one has a nervous horse that shies at posts and pillars in a town, it is manifestly absurd and impossible to remove each and every obstacle that abounds. This would be no sane education of the animal. The danger lies not in the post the horse shies at, but in the beast itself. Therefore, the wise driver will continue to lead or whip his horse up to the disturbing cause to teach it control.

On the practical side of the present-day prohibitionism there is manifested manifold defects. Men will never be legislated into real morality, and, in pinning so much faith and value to law as a moral reformer, the prohibitionist is evidencing a decided weakness of his system. It is here that haste is so destructive. It has taken nineteen hundred years of Christian teaching to bring mankind to the state of control it has at present. It is foolish in the extreme to suppose that now in a few short years, by acts of legislation, we are going to root out a moral difficulty. It is the haste, the wanting to see results, that is the root of all this. To a large degree it is in its motive commendable, but plainly impossible, if past history is of any value.

As a consequence, we find men acting on impulse, clamoring for legislation which is not truly reflective of the corporate or

community Ego. The ethical value of law lies not in the law itself, but in its reflecting and recording of public thought—so that no law is stronger than public opinion.

So it often follows, even in local-option towns, that men have voted for what they were not inwardly willing to maintain for themselves. The thought has been for the "other fellow," and then, when the restraint their votes had imposed has been felt personally, the tendency is to dissemble—to become a creature of appearances. Hence the display of moral cowardice is nowhere more deplorably in evidence than in prohibition states and local-option towns. The man who wants his liquor gets it surreptitiously from the drug-store, or in the unmarked packages that are shipped by express, or from the pocket peddler. In each case he is apt to drink concoctions which are full of impurities—sometimes vile and health-destroying—or, he has recourse to the more respectable method of buying patent medicines, containing anywhere from ten to seventy-five per cent. of alcohol, with the advantage of feeling free to point the finger of reproach at the open drinker with his bottle of beer containing four per cent. of alcohol! Each year he, perchance, votes "no license" to measure up to the standard of artificiality, and congratulates himself that he can successfully humbug his neighbors when they only *think* they are humbugging him!

As a consequence of all this, the disease is driven *in,* and the danger, as a result, terribly increased. The words of the Bishop of Vermont in a recent sermon in London, in which he warned the English people against acting hastily, by dwelling upon the dangers of the hidden disease of drink in America—the result of prohibition—are words that will be weighed by all except fanatics.

The writer speaks as one who is familiar with the practical results of prohibition in prohibition States in east and west, and as one who has long studied the question. It is clear to his mind, at least, that the weaknesses of that system are manifest in the manner which he has set forth.

Surely it were better to frankly face the whole situation, even at the risk of a shock to religious prejudices or the ideals of well-meaning prohibitionists, than to go on, blind to facts, pursuing the impossible for our time. Moral reforms never come in a hurry, and none that is lasting has come purely as a result

of a legislative act. The seat of moral disease is within the man. And, after all, as we have shown, drunkenness is but the excessive indulgence of an appetite which the example of the world's greatest Reformer shows us has a perfectly legitimate use. To turn back to that cardinal virtue translated into Christianity from Greek Philosophy, and blessed in the Name of Christ, Temperance, it may be confidently believed that self-control offers the wisest course for the general run of humanity. So it becomes the duty of the Christian Church to rescue the name of this virtue, which prohibitionists have perverted into a synonym for total abstinence, and to inculcate it and its powers into men's hearts.

When Christendom ceases to rely upon Cæsar to effect moral reforms and depends alone upon the powers Christ committed to His Church; when she eschews haste and devotes herself to influencing her members to contribute all they can contribute to the work of building up in their contemporaries, as in themselves, moral strength and self-control, in this as in all things, then, and only then, will each successive generation be practically helping to solve the problem that to many seems to defy solution to-day.

We go back to the Master with this vexing question and we find Him standing calmly in the midst of human misery, free from haste and unbounded in His trust in and for humanity and, withal, the only One that offers a solution of all mankind's ills. And it is not to the creatures or gifts of God which men abuse in excessive indulgence that He points, as the cause of human wretchedness and sin, but man's own weaknesses within. The burden of His message is to beware of all that makes only for appearances; to make clean the *inside* of the platter as man's first concern; and pointing to the appalling evidences of men's sin which are all around Him, we hear Him say, "All these evil things come from within and defile the man."

P. Gavan Duffy.

THE DAWNING OF A WISER CHINESE POLICY.

BY STEPHEN W. NICKERSON, IMPERIAL CHINESE CONSUL AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS; COMMERCIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VICEROY OF CHIHLI; COMMERCIAL AGENT OF THE VICEROY OF THE TWO KUANG PROVINCES.

WHEN that brilliant diplomat, Sir Chentung Liang-Cheng, K.C.M.G., being about to relinquish his post as Minister for China near the Government of the United States of America, having been called to higher duties at home, visited President Roosevelt late in June of 1907 to thank him on behalf of His Imperial Chinese Majesty for the generosity of the American Government in remitting a great portion of the Chinese indemnity, His Excellency bore the following cable message from the Chinese Foreign Office:

"PEKIN, *June 24, 1907.*

"*Wai-Wu-Pu, to the Chinese Minister:*

"Your telegraphic report on the remission of the indemnity having been laid before the Emperor, you are commanded to convey to the President of the United States His Majesty's warm thanks for this noble exhibition of his friendship towards China, which is deeply and greatly appreciated, by having alone taken the lead in a matter of international justice."

Thus closed the late minister's diplomatic service in the United States.

The friends of China hope that the fact above mentioned marks the dawning of a wiser policy on the part of the Government of the United States and of the American people towards the Chinese Empire and its people. This hope is most earnest in the minds of those Americans who have gained a knowledge of that Empire and its people by a sojourn in the Orient. Those Amer-

icans whose knowledge of the Chinese people has been gained only by an observation of the Chinese coolies who work as laundrymen or in some other humble occupation in our country—rustics of the lowest class, country village boys from two or three districts of a province in South China—are not competent to form an opinion of any value about the policy which should be pursued as to China. The writer here disclaims any criticism of these humble Chinese individuals, for he thinks they are equal, if not superior, in most respects to a similar class of immigrants from any other country; and he believes that their custom of wearing a queue is largely the cause of the prejudice against them, for human nature is influenced by trifling things. The industry, thrift and other peaceful virtues of the average Chinaman, coupled with his peculiar garb and unusual appearance, are the real causes of the popular prejudice, rather than the vices of the occasional individual.

But let us state at the outset of this article that we believe in preserving North America for our own race, as we would preserve China for the Chinese—that we think too many Chinamen here would be undesirable, just as too many Americans and other foreigners would be undesirable there. But some of each in the country of the other are beneficial.

To appreciate properly the importance of our Government's present better attitude towards China and the Chinese, we must glance at some of the unfair and unjust official acts of the not remote past on the part of the United States Government, in order to contrast them with the loyal conduct of the Chinese Government and some of its high officials in recent months—to contrast our maladroit past policy with the patient forbearance of our Asiatic friends.

Thus, in the summer of 1882, Attorney-General Brewster decided (17 Op. Att'y Gen., 416) that Chinese laborers, in transit to or from China and some other country, could not lawfully be transported across the United States, and thought his opinion not obnoxious to the imputation of harshness or inhospitality towards a friendly Power. About six months later, this same official retracted his first opinion and came (17 Op. A. G., 483) to a contrary decision. In the spring of 1886, Attorney-General Garland decided (18 Op. A. G., 388) that the first opinion was correct. In the summer of 1889, Attorney-General Miller decided

(19 Op. A. G., 369) that the second opinion was correct. Here we have four conflicting opinions in the short space of seven years, each temporarily controlling the attitude of the United States Government as to the right of an humble Chinese person to cross our country's territory while in transit to or from his native land. Can any one be surprised if such a course of conduct gave rise to conjecture in the minds of high Chinese officials as to whether the American Government was ignorant, trifling or insincere? Not until 1894 was the matter put at rest by Attorney-General Olney (20 Op. A. G., 693). In the mean time, the poor Chinese traveller was in a natural state of bewilderment as to what his rights were.

In this REVIEW for September, 1905, in an article upon our Chinese Treaties, etc., it was pointed out, among other things, by the writer, that Congress had passed numerous acts that bore heavily upon the Chinese; but the Act of October, 1888, by explicitly declaring void and of no effect "return certificates," granted under the Act of 1882 to Chinese laborers, was so glaring a wrong that we here again refer to it. The poor fellows, before they left the United States, were given a paper entitling them to return thereto, and then, while they were absent, the right was taken away, and this without any notice or warning. Could a meaner fraud be practised by a great Government upon humble persons?

Let us now turn to the conduct of the United States Military Government in Cuba, prior to the establishment of the Cuban Republic, and its treatment of the Chinese. In accordance with the provisions of a circular of the Division of Insular Affairs, dated April 14th, 1899, the immigration laws and regulations of the United States were extended to Cuba, and the War Department accordingly promulgated an order, dated June 6th, 1899, giving effect there to certain immigration regulations. The general immigration laws of the United States were referred to in the above-mentioned circular, and to carry them into effect was the purpose of the promulgating order of the War Department, for the regulations published with that order had only that object in view. Moreover, it was expressly stated in the various acts of Congress governing immigration to the United States that their provisions are *not applicable* to *Chinese* persons. On this account, the customs officers of the United States in Cuba, during the con-

tinuance of the Military Government of the United States in that island, did not enforce the exclusion laws of the United States against the Chinese; and Chinese subjects of all classes, whether new arrivals or old residents, were allowed to go and come of their free will and accord.

But on the 15th of May, 1902—five days before the transfer of authority from the Military Government of the United States to the Constitutional Government of Cuba—General Leonard Wood issued an order purporting to *re-enact* certain provisions of the immigration laws of the United States, which had been in force in Cuba since April 14th, 1899, so as to enable their continued enforcement pending the action of the Cuban Congress on the subject. And it was found that he had incorporated into that order two entirely new sections, which were not in the then existing laws in force in Cuba, expressly prohibiting the admission of Chinese into the island. Thus, by a stroke of the pen and under cover of *re-enactment,* he deprived, without a moment of warning, the Chinese in Cuba of rights which they had long enjoyed, and left them practically without redress. The time was too short for taking an appeal to the United States Government. If he had, three years before, as Military Governor of Cuba, arbitrarily extended the operation of the Chinese exclusion laws to the island of Cuba, he would have acted within his authority in so doing, no matter how hard this might bear upon the Chinese who had occasion to resort to the island. Under such circumstances, they could have had recourse at least to the Government at Washington for relief. But to spring this new legislation upon them under color of "re-enactment" just a few days before his giving up office, was an unjustifiable proceeding.

In consequence of General Wood's order, over forty Chinese who arrived at Havana soon thereafter were not permitted to land. Some of them had been for years residing and doing business in Cuba, and had just returned from a temporary absence in China. It was a great hardship to them not to be able to land after travelling at great expense so long a distance. It must be remembered that they had left China before the issuance of that order. Thus were entailed untold hardships upon the Chinese in Cuba.

It is believed by eminent legal authorities that General Wood's order, in so far as it prohibited the coming of Chinese into Cuba, was legally invalid, because he could not *re-enact* any provisions

of law which never existed in any form. By so doing he exceeded his authority.

In any case, why should Chinese laborers be excluded from Cuba? The labor conditions of Cuba have nothing in common with those of the United States. The Cubans themselves have no objection to Chinese labor. On the contrary, the development of the "Queen of the Antilles" requires labor which cannot be supplied from any other quarter than China. General Wood's order was, therefore, unnecessary.

In this connection the words of President Madison are apposite. He said that the exclusion of an alien from a country where he may have formed the most tender connections; where he has invested his property, and acquired property of the real permanent, as well as of the movable temporary, kind; where he may enjoy under the laws a great share of the blessings of personal security and personal liberty; if a banishment of this sort be not a punishment and among the severest of punishments, it will be difficult to imagine a doom to which the name can be applied.

By the Act of Congress on April 27th, 1904, section 5, that amended and re-enacted the Act of April 29th, 1902, which latter was an act to prohibit the coming into, and to regulate the residence within, the United States, its Territories, and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent, among other things prevents Chinese immigration into the Philippine Islands—the most unwise piece of legislation concerning the Chinese now on our statute-books. Exactly what good to Americans anywhere, at home or abroad, is accomplished by preventing the Chinese who will work from going into the Philippine Islands whose inhabitants will not work—for the Filipino having much Malay blood seems to be willing to do anything in reason but work—is something impossible to discover. No one gains by this "dog-in-the-manger" policy. Is it not the Chinaman who has made the Straits Settlements? Does not the Chinaman do most of the work, pay most of the taxes, and own most of the property in those settlements? Ask the British, to whom that territory belongs. Ask the ten thousand Britons at Hong-kong what that colony would amount to without its 200,000 Chinese. Why, then, prevent the Chinese from going to the Philippine Islands to develop them, do their work, pay their taxes, and create prop-

erty there worth owning? Perhaps it is thought more statesmanlike to continue to expend revenues, raised by taxation direct and indirect from American citizens at home, upon the Philippine Islands—to continue to burden our citizens at home for the sake of our insular folly abroad.

A subordinate bureau of the United States Government has even sought to control the movements of Chinese subjects while in Canada; for, in the annual report for 1903 of the United States Commissioner-General of Immigration, who is a bureau chief now in the Department of Commerce and Labor, there is printed the text of a contract, dated February 23rd, 1903, between that Commissioner-General and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, whereby it is agreed that the railway shall deliver all the Chinese it may transport across Canada only at certain places within the northern boundary of the United States specified in the contract; and that in every case the specified places shall not be considered for the purposes of the contract as territory of the United States until the right of a Chinaman to enter the United States, who may have been brought to any one of these "holy" places by the railway, has been admitted by the American officials; and that Chinese who may be refused admission to the United States shall be carried back by the railway to the Canadian port whence they came, to be deported to the foreign port of original embarkation in the company's steamships.

Without questioning the efficacy of this contract in respect to its workings, nor in respect to the convenience of some of its provisions, comment upon this extraordinary contract is permissible; and it is not the Chinese officials alone who have questioned the right of a mere bureau of the Washington Government to agree that specified places within the territory of the United States should not be considered territory thereof, no matter for how short a time nor for what purpose. It is permissible also to wonder what may be the reasons why the Canadian Government has allowed a mere railway corporation, one of its common carriers, to usurp its functions by agreeing that the subjects of His Imperial Chinese Majesty, who is at peace with King Edward VII, should be limited by the railway in respect to their freedom of movement under the British flag—always supposing them to be lawfully in the territory over which that flag floats. Diplomats will not be surprised if an intimation from London should warn

the Canadian Government to prevent this and all future encroachments by the railway upon the functions of the British Crown. After such warning, Chinamen who are lawfully in Canada will be able to consult their own wishes and convenience, like people of any other nationality, and leave Canada by steamer from Montreal, for example, instead of being carried back to Vancouver and to China against their wills; or because the railway had previously compelled them to agree that they were to be so carried back, before it would allow them to leave its ships on the Pacific coast. (Let it be remembered that it was the Canadian Government, and not the Canadian Pacific Railway, which prescribed that the number of Chinese brought to Canadian ports shall depend upon the tonnage of the steamers bringing them.) The railway might lose some of the profits unwillingly paid to it, while the Canadian Government would resume its proper functions. The United States Commissioner-General of Immigration would then cease to exercise powers that are *ultra vires*. Bureau and railroads cannot make treaties, and should not make contracts in lieu of treaties. The railway would confine itself strictly to its transportation business, thereafter ceasing to pretend to exercise any of the powers of government in respect to the lawful movements of Chinese subjects.

But let us turn our minds to some proofs of the better and wiser ideas and conduct of the Chinese Government in respect to matters American, in order to contrast them with the official utterances and the Congressional and bureaucratic legislation at which we have just glanced.

The Chinese philosopher Mencius, a contemporary of Plato and Aristotle, based his political economy upon ethics, and his ethics upon the doctrine of man's nature; the ethical problem was for him how to effect the utmost development of all the good elements of man's nature. The problem of the organization of a State with him was, Under what conditions can the highest aims be reached? He believed that the Government should consciously endeavor to bring about these conditions. One of his many wise utterances should rest in our minds: "Clear views as to justice and duty make true men."

It was a clear perception of his duty that caused His Excellency the Viceroy Chou Fu at Canton recently to order the Nam Hoi and Poon Yu magistrates to detain one Mar, then posing

as the leader of the boycott against American goods, which certain agitators sought to revive. The wise and kindly Viceroy was not unaware of the existence of causes for the boycott whose recrudescence then appeared. All the Chinese in the United States were from the portion of China which he governed; and a resentment by no means unjust when seen from a Chinese viewpoint, however it may have seemed from an American viewpoint, inspired the very considerable pecuniary assistance given to the Canton agitators by Chinese in the United States and elsewhere to their fellow countrymen at home. But to permit so unfriendly a thing as a boycott against the goods of the one foreign nation that has never sought to acquire a permanent footing upon the soil of the Empire, was not in harmony with the Viceroy's ideas of duty. He impounded the pecuniary assistance referred to and firmly suppressed the agitation. The illustrious Wu Ting-fang, Minister to the United States, was at the time a guest at the Viceroy's yamen. So far from being willing that commerce should be impeded between the United States and the Chinese territory he controlled, His Excellency the Viceroy took a very unusual step to indicate his wish that commerce should, on the contrary, be fostered and encouraged. The Viceroy called the writer of this article, who was then in South China, to his yamen, and, after giving most positive and explicit instructions, which were repeated by the Viceregal chief secretaries, honored him with the following commission, the existence of which should be a complete refutation of the baseless intimations, emanating at one time from uninformed persons, implying that the boycott movement had official countenance. Let the reader who doubts the loyal attitude of Chinese Government officials to our Government, peruse the following despatch here made public for the first time:

"APPOINTMENT granted to Nickerson by Chou, wearing the brevet red button of the best grade, Viceroy of the Two Kuang provinces, in charge of the duties of Governor of Kuangtung province and Superintendent of the Canton and Taiping Customs.

"Whereas, Chinese sojourning in the United States are mainly composed of natives of Kuangtung province and it seems that trade between the two countries has diminished lately as compared with what it was before, it therefore remains for me to better conditions if possible. I find upon investigation that there is Nickerson, acting on behalf of the Imperial Government as Chinese consul in Boston, who has resided in that city for a long time and is well acquainted with conditions

there. The said Nickerson, moreover, has had amicable relations with Chinese merchants and has worked on congenial lines with them. I consider it necessary, therefore, to appoint the said Nickerson to be Commercial Agent for us with the duty of keeping a watch over commercial conditions, and whenever there happens to be anything important, on the one hand, to report such to His Excellency the Chinese Minister at Washington, while, on the other, he, the said Nickerson, is to cable the same to me in order to keep us here in China posted on commercial matters in the United States and enable us to be prompt in acting thereon.

"The said Commercial Agent is specially appointed by me, the Viceroy of the Two Kuang provinces, to keep a watch on commercial matters, as he is specially fitted for such duties, owing to his intimate knowledge of trade conditions. As for diplomatic matters affecting the relations between ourselves and the United States Government, the manipulation thereof remains as usual in the hands of His Excellency the Chinese Minister at Washington, who in all matters thereanent will put himself in communication with the Foreign Department of the United States Government. This will prevent any encroachments on the duties of each.

"Upon receipt of this Commission of Appointment, the said Commercial Agent will obey his instructions and act therein.

"(Signed) Chou Fu.

Seal of the Viceroy of the Two Kuang provinces.

"The 32nd year of H. I. M.
Kuang Hsu, 12th month, 8th day,
(21st of January, 1907.)"

Not alone, however, in South China was the warm desire for closer commercial relations with the United States manifested in high Chinese official quarters. On proceeding from Canton to North China, while at Pekin at the Wai-Wu-Pu (Foreign Office) it was found that the highest officials evinced much interest in the matter of enlarged commercial relations with the American people. In private interviews with certain great officers of state, and with leading Imperial and Viceregal officials, as well as when formally received at the Wai-Wu-Pu, the same spirit was displayed. It was not necessary to linger long in the shadow of the few leafless trees of Legation Street, nor to pass nights listening to the tinkling bells hanging from the necks of the camels leading the caravans moving with silent footfalls towards the Occident, to realize the cordial desire for commercial intercourse with America that animated high official circles.

Furnished with a letter of introduction from the Wai-Wu-Pu, the writer retraced his steps to Tientsin, where he was equipped with the following despatch from His Excellency the Viceroy

Yuan Shih Kai, whereby that most illustrious great man gave him a commission, all the more important because it issued from the Viceroy of the metropolitan province. It is here shown:

"I, Yuan Shih Kai, Imperial High Commissioner, Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Honorary President of the Board of War, Honorary Director of the Censorate, Imperial Commissioner of trade for the Pei Yang, Viceroy of Chihli, issue the following:

"Whereas, it has been an acknowledged fact that Chinese merchants in the United States have hitherto carried on a thriving trade; and,

"Whereas, the various products of North China have gradually improved and must find outlets for exportation;

"Therefore, it is the opportune moment to avail ourselves of the ripe experience of Mr. Nickerson, acting as Consul at Boston, United States of America, and appoint him to investigate the condition of trade, taking with him our products to the said United States and make inquiries in different cities whether or not such products may have a demand in the market, and to make reports at intervals on the subject in order to expand trade.

"Besides sending notices to others to this effect, I hereby forward to Mr. Nickerson this necessary document, trusting that he will carry out the matter herein contained. 18th day of the 2nd moon, Kuang Hsu, 32nd year." (Signature and seal of the Viceroy.)

We are probably considering the greatest question that one race has ever had to consider as to another, when we consider the attitude of the Americans towards the Chinese—the best of all Asiatics. This generation of Americans has no right to longer impede the development of the great commerce possible across the Pacific, and thereby obstruct the future welfare of those who are to come after us. Chinese laborers might be digging the Panama Canal, which lies in a climate inhospitable to the white race; they might be developing the Philippine Islands, which also lie in an inhospitable climate; but, instead, they are likely to turn to the development of Mongolia and Manchuria.

It is not certain that there is to-day any treaty about Immigration legally in force between China and the United States, though this statement would meet prompt denial from the United States Government. Is it too much to hope that the question of our relations with China may at last be approached in a spirit of the broadest and wisest statesmanship, and that a treaty may be made between the two Powers that will be on a plane where both practicality and justice can be found?

STEPHEN WESTCOTT NICKERSON.

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CLARENCE H. GAINES, LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX AND LAWRENCE GILMAN.

"THE WHOLE FAMILY"*

EVERY one is aware that collaboration in fiction has not always proved a happy expedient; and when we find twelve leading American authors joining forces in the production of a single story, our first emotion is one of strong curiosity as to whether in this case the artistic end has justified the rather daring means. Upon examination, one is relieved to find that diversity of authorship, while it has certainly promoted mordancy of character-drawing and unexpectedness of plot, has in no way spoiled the reasonableness and balanced power of the story as a whole. Just as a game of chess, if perfectly played, proves in the end to be a complete, organic structure, despite the fact that it is born anew with every move of the players, so this story, which is created afresh by each author in turn, develops into a consistent and artistic form, because it obeys throughout the basic laws of fiction and of life.

Thus through the co-operation of different minds a many-sided interest is insured and the feeling of suspense is sharpened without a sacrifice of artistic truth. But however strongly the story holds us by its plot and however keenly it stimulates curiosity by its presentation of highly individual view-points, we are inevitably led on, in any consideration of the novel in its entirety, to look for its "philosophy"—its underlying significance as a literary phenomenon. It is surprising, perhaps, in view of its

* "The Whole Family." By William Dean Howells, Mary Wilkins Freeman, Mary Stewart Cutting, Elizabeth Jordan, John Kendrick Bangs, Henry James, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Edith Wyatt, Mary R. S. Andrews, Alice Brown, and Henry van Dyke. New York: Harper & Brothers.

composite workmanship, that the story should have any "philosophy" at all. But true it is that the whole narrative is one in atmosphere, one in temperament of style, and one in spirit. Because of this fundamental unity it gives us an insight into the art of certain representative American authors that could perhaps be gained in no other way, while it strikingly illustrates the characteristics of that "new literature" which is daily growing up around us.

Of course, this does not necessarily imply that "The Whole Family" is a solemn effort to exemplify the best in modern American fiction. Because the story is continually amusing, often hilariously funny, and sometimes capricious in its manner of taking the reader unawares, it has all the greater significance for the critic. There is, to be sure, a somewhat "larky" tone about the whole performance, of which the reader is pleasantly conscious. Each author seems to have been put upon his mettle in standing sponsor for a very positive though not unnatural type of character—in undertaking to make us feel the attractiveness of that character even in the moments of intimate self-appreciation that come to every one, and in portraying with subtle obviousness the inevitable faults and limitations. The necessity for special pleading on the part of the authors seems to have sharpened the satire of the criticisms passed by each member of the Family upon the others, and the story becomes in one aspect a most diverting commentary upon the ingenious follies of human nature.

But while "The Whole Family" shows with delicate humor how plausibly the cleverest and best-intentioned people may hypnotize each other and auto-suggest themselves into a ridiculous frame of mind, it is far more than truthfully absurd and whimsically wise. None of the authors could have helped being fundamentally in earnest, and all have proved faithful to certain homely yet spiritual ideals that lie at the base of American life. Every character which they have portrayed has some quality that is worth while—some hold on the eternal verities—and the psychology of the story is subordinated to its human feeling. The complexities of modern life supply much of the comedy, as they should, and these complexities, as reflected and parodied in the behavior of the two children who add so greatly to the gayety of the Family, become intensely funny. But the sentiment springs from the old elemental sources, as all genuine sentiment

must. That a young man after becoming engaged to an adorable girl of his own age (his classmate in a coeducational college) should conceive himself to be madly in love with the maiden aunt of his *fiancée;* that all the members of the girl's family should forthwith work themselves into a "state" over this situation, and that each should stir into the witches' broth of the misunderstanding his own personal mixture of hurt feeling, pride and prejudice, good or bad taste — all this is part and parcel of our supersensitive modern life as it is lived. That a grandmother should feel herself hopelessly shut out from the mature life of her only daughter; that a gentle-souled mother should grieve in self-enforced silence over the transitory love-sorrow of her child; that a doting father, blind to the intricacies of the feminine mind, should at length fulminate a decision designed at all costs to save his "little girl"—all this, and much else in the story, is as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be.

There is real depth of feeling in this tale which is so subtle in its contrasts, so piquant in its variety, so enlivening in its surprises; and in truly American fashion the emotional appeal is associated with a wholesome common-sense that leaves us in the end not merely tantalized, but satisfied. Moreover, in its play of psychological moonlight over the troubled surface of a spiritual sea which remains in its depths undisturbed, "The Whole Family" seems very typical of the "new literature" in this country. It illustrates in a novel, attractive and not too serious form both sides of our modern fiction and our modern life—the sensitiveness to ideas, the sane, matter-of-fact recognition of things as they are. The book will be keenly enjoyed by all readers of to-day, and the future critic who writes the literary history of this period will not be likely to pass it over in silence.

CLARENCE H. GAINES.

"THE WAY OF PERFECT LOVE"*

IT is neither the legitimate drama nor yet a natural and real presentation of life that we have to deal with in Georgiana Goddard King's beautiful symbolic poem, "The Way of Perfect Love"; rather it is a decorative composition, half pastoral, half lyric masque, done after the manner of the early Renaissance

* "The Way of Perfect Love." By Georgiana Goddard King. The Macmillan Co. 1908.

painting; and as in such painting, it is not so much a copy of reality as a presentation of meanings that is offered us. This the author makes clear in the prose interpretation at the end of the poem. Who knows and loves the great era of Italian painting will find the hours spent in reading this poem not unlike a stroll into the placid background of an Umbrian painting. Indeed, the very faces of the characters as they look out upon us rise from old canvases and the accustomed eye will surely recognize Mantegna's Duke of Mantua, the Duchess as a Dosso Dossi Madonna, and among the handmaidens there are Leonardo's faintly smiling ladies and those, too, of Ambrogio da Predis, with their gentle and subtle eyes. Indeed, the characters have each their own accessories, their favorite *impresse* in the manner of the other art, as the Duchess who appears ever in conjunction with the sunflower and wearing the devices of the lioness and the eaglet in the brocading of her mantle and the fashioning of her jewelry. Each of the handmaidens, too, Arianna, Mafalda, Orsola, Ippolyta, Laodomia, Isotto and Fiametta—a poem lying hid just in their singing names—have each a special trait whereby they are known, the long white throat of one or the slender hands or thin red lips of others. Frankly, all this is decoration, but woven into the play are also modern meanings. Surely the three spinners, whose songs touch with malice or with encouragement the listener, stand for the world's wisdom. In the scene with Piepowder, the Wayfarer, it is a duel of worldly wisdom with the free and roving imagination and their attempt is to hem in the artistic temper and give it the sense that there is no escape from the world and its timely canniness. Thus Eva's song to the perturbed wanderer who has lost his love because he cannot wear shackles on his soul, and who now searches in compunction, is meant to bring before him an example of one who tries for the life abundant by means of much and unsifted experience and who ends in hell.

Micaëla's song is faintly reminiscent of Maeterlinck and is lovely enough to quote entire:

> "Three queens in the tower are spinning a thread;
> Over their laps it lies tangled and red.
>
> "In the choking white sea fog the stones drip with rime
> And hushed is the bell that rang vespers and prime.

"—Is it finished? My fingers are wrinkled with cold;
We were spinning so long we must be very old.

"—A lock of the fine scarlet wool is unspent;
But the vair on our bosoms is faded and rent.

"Strong from the void mounts the cry of the tide,
While never sweet airs blow the cold mist aside.

"—The sun is dead, sister; it darkens to night,
And how shall we measure the thread without light?

"Our lamps at the stair foot were left long ago,
But we are too feeble to venture below."

Here in contrast to the sister's song we have a picture of those who shrink from the dangers of full life and who for safety's sake seek shelter in a high tower or an enclosed garden where the glare and the noise of reality do not penetrate. But night falls upon them, none the less, and it is to catch them empty-handed, feeble and terrified. These two disheartening alternatives are crowned by Maddalena's song, which is a bit of pure and well-known folk-lore (excepting the two final lines, which must have been drawn from some more recondite source) the gist of which seems to be the old Calvinistic theory of predestination and the assertion that nothing matters; that we are in Fate's hands and as we are born so will our life be. After all, however, it is easy to see that the poet has used her spinners as Shakespeare did his witches, merely to emphasize and intensify the thinker's own attitude, bewildering the bewildered, but strengthening the strong and to set these earthly forces in opposition to the imaginative or the religious life, both of which undertake to transmute experience and to derive beauty from ugliness, good from evil.

The Duchess, we should fancy, is the adventurer who leaves her enclosed gardens where her handmaidens bedeck and shield and divert her and where the Duke would fain shelter her from all experience, to go with the unknown and the unfelt, with the Wayfarer to try life.

Later the soul's freedom seeming to deny her the highest allegiance, she tries the pastoral life and staunches her wounds with the simple, natural cares and affections. And here the Shepherd shelters her. He is a gentle creature, led by the instincts and the affections, who, after the manner of the ancient mystics, *knows* just in as far as he loves. By virtue of the poignancy and sin-

cerity of his feeling he is able, when the struggle meets him, to transfer his earthly love to an heavenly devotion, so that giving all to love, love never fails him but more and more illuminates unto the perfect day. And this manner of love and of thought was, after all, the manner of St. Catherine of Siena, St. Theresa, the admirable Ruysbroeck and greater than they.

The Duchess, the seeker, is in the midway between heaven and earth with emotions and insights neither simple nor sure. Her way to perfection is the thorny one of many mistakes. Her emotions are all intellectualized and she seeks knowledge, sanity, health by testing her inward impulses. Her saving virtue is spiritual sincerity which often consists with extraordinary changes of front. Her course might easily be mistaken by the onlooker because her goal is visible only to her own eyes and the way opens before her and closes behind unmarked, even as the way of a ship in the sea. Hers is the modern nature to which renouncement is negation and atrophy, but which learns and grows only by absorption and assimilation, and ultimately finds its vocation in the administrative life of ceaseless growth and readjustment and therefore allies itself with the Duke, the man of science and the modern.

The allegory might be more easily understood in this day and generation if it were pointed out that the Duchess and Piepowder have practically effected an exchange of the conventional attributes and temperaments; so that the Duchess should be judged as a man and Piepowder as a woman. The Duchess finds completion in the active life, Piepowder in the imaginative. At the last, he, being the finest creation of the book, fitly holds the stage and delivers what is apparently the writer's ultimate view that love unfulfilled, so it but leave scope for dreams, is better than any satisfaction, and the soul's freedom with all its loneliness is higher than comfort:

> "So shall forever young desire
> Quickened and warmed by his own fire,
> Following the still advancing goal,
> Guard silence in the enfranchised soul."

There are a great many single lines of significance and beauty throughout the poem, such as:

> "The stars can counsel and can bless."

"So men sleep, after stricken fields.
So women when their hearts are eased.
Babes, too, that sob and are appeased."

"To want is more than to attain."

"Exiles we wander, stubborn sons of Eve,
Striving the gray day's burdens to deceive."

There is little poetry born in our Western world and such as comes is rarely met with acclaim or worthy of it, but the quality of the little book before us bespeaks a future harvest and it is no light pleasure for the moment to be led from the dust and din and clatter of our modern life into this "flowery nunnery."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

A STUDY OF RICHARD STRAUSS.*

THE critic whose subject is music has probably to face as difficult a task as falls to the lot of any appraiser who chooses to regard with seriousness his function as a gauger of æsthetic values. Not only has he to deal with a kind of artistic material which is generally conceded to be of unparalleled subtlety and elusiveness, but he confronts an intellectual product which is in a constant state of flux and alteration. The instability of music is unique among the arts. Its essential elements change almost with every decade. The harmonic effects which are, to-day, at the disposal of any graduate from a conservatory class in composition, simply did not exist for Schumann—not to speak of Beethoven or Mozart; and the innovation of to-day is the platitude of to-morrow. Certain forms of musical expression which, when first used by path-breakers like Chopin, Liszt, and Wagner, occasioned shrill protests from the critical conservatives —who alone are timeless, deathless and immutable—have now passed into the common language of the art, and are at the service of every tyro who has learned how to put notes together; and, by the same token, harmonies which, as used to-day by Richard Strauss or Claude Debussy, are for many ears wanton and preposterous, and are denied all right to be classified as "music," will as certainly seem to the aural sense of our grandchildren not less innocently traditional than the cadences of "Home, Sweet Home."

* "Richard Strauss" ("Living Masters of Music" Series). By Ernest Newman. New York and London: John Lane Company.

That an art which is capable of such unexampled mutations must set uncommon pitfalls in the way of its critics is fairly obvious. To write of it with any positiveness, either in praise or in blame, is to run an appalling risk of having one's decisions utterly reversed by succeeding generations. The critic who half a century ago, in all sincerity, called Wagner's "*Tristan und Isolde*" "cat music," cuts a sufficiently unenviable figure to-day; but are our own wise and excellent deliverances upon this perilously mercurial art any surer of being honored in the futurity which awaits them? The least we can do is to be deliberate and cautious in blame and—in the admirable phrase of Mr. James—"infinitely curious and incorrigibly patient" in appreciation; to be, in short, "indefatigably supple"—which is truly a formidable order!

One is moved to these reflections by the fact that Mr. Ernest Newman has taken the bull resolutely by the horns in this matter and has undertaken to write of the life and to appraise the works of the most inflammatory and indeterminable of living composers, and one, moreover, about whom the winds of controversy have blown more violently than about any music-maker since Wagner —no less a composer, in short, than Richard Strauss. Mr. Newman has not now, though, to demonstrate his possession of the faculty of initiative in matters of critical approach. Recognized to-day as the foremost English music-critic, he is conspicuous among his craft for the independence—often revolutionary in trend—of his judgments, and for the scholarship, balance and serenity with which he enforces them. He has, moreover, long been known as the most penetrating and sympathetic of Strauss's critics; so that he comes to his task with a peculiarly fit equipment.

The series to which his book is a contribution has already yielded monographs upon Puccini, Grieg, Elgar, Paderewski, Joachim, Bruneau and Debussy. The avowed aim of the series is to offer intimate and sympathetic studies, personal and critical, of the most conspicuous figures in the modern musical world. Mr. Newman in his preface expresses regret at his inability to give his book "the personal touch that is one of the objects of the series in which it appears," since, as he avows, he is personally unacquainted with Strauss. He has devoted the space at his disposal, he says, to an attempt "to trace the main lines of his [Strauss's] intellectual and musical development, and to indi-

cate some of the new æsthetic problems that are raised by his work." This purpose he has accomplished with notable justice, lucidity and succinctness. He begins by tracing in outline the career of Strauss; then follow chapters in which he takes up in turn the earlier and later instrumental works, the songs and choral works, and the operas. The volume is prefaced with a note, "Richard Strauss: The Man," written by Mr. Alfred Kalisch, from which we learn, in the course of thirteen pages, nothing concerning the personality of the composer of "*Salome*" that is both important and new, and which might well have been omitted. It is pleasant to know that "in appearance Strauss is scrupulously neat always, without being in any sense fashionable"; but it is likely that most readers would have preferred to have these thirteen pages devoted to an extension of Mr. Newman's critical views, even at the cost of being left in the dark concerning the precise nature of Strauss's sartorial preoccupations. However, the demand for the "personal note" in contemporary æsthetic discussion is probably irresistible.

Mr. Newman, as has been said, is at once frank and appreciative in his estimate of Strauss. He compasses the difficult feat of praising him for that in his work which is admirable, and deploring that in it which is regrettable and inferior—a procedure which, in the case of most critics of the Munich tone-poet, is usually reversed. Thus he estimates rightly the value of Strauss's songs, comparatively few of which, he believes, have much chance of survival. When a musician, he observes, "can get forty or fifty pounds for a single lyric, as Strauss now can, the temptation to believe in the theory of his own plenary inspiration must be irresistible." Strauss, he thinks, "decidedly lacks that power of harmonious and balanced structure on a small scale that is the first essential of a song-writer." Of the much-berated and much-lauded "*Salome*" he speaks rather guardedly. Some parts of it, such as the scene between Salome and John, and the final scene of Salome with the head, he praises as "entrancingly beautiful"; and even where, he says, "the music is not beautiful, but merely a tissue of cunning *tours de force* of characterization and stage suggestion, it sweeps us off our feet." He is evidently, however, aware of the curiously disappointing character of the music as a whole. "The style," he observes, "has a good deal of that cold perversity that is so repellent in all Strauss's later

work. Difficulties are created simply for the pleasure of overcoming, or trying to overcome, them; the straight road to the desired end is ostentatiously avoided simply because it is straight. And although it is almost impossible for any man yet to make up his mind finally about '*Salome*,' it is quite clear that it marks no improvement on '*Don Quixote*' and '*Ein Heldenleben*' and the '*Symphonia Domestica*' in the one point in which improvement would have been most welcome. . . . We get from the opera the same impression as from the later orchestral works, that Strauss is incapable now of making a large picture sane and harmonious throughout; somewhere or other he must spoil it by extravagance and perversity and foolishness. He can do every clever and astounding thing that a musician could do; what he apparently cannot or will not do now is to write twenty continuous pages that shall be wholly beautiful and unmarred by bravado or by folly."

Though feeling, of course, that it is premature to attempt an estimate of the final value of a musician who is still only in his forty-fifth year, Mr. Newman is yet willing to say that he deems it certain that Strauss "has put into music a greater stress of feeling and a greater weight of thinking than any other composer of the day"; that, "with all his present faults," he remains "by far the most commanding figure in contemporary music," and that "he has already enriched music with more new ideas than any musician since Wagner"—a just verdict, I think, on the whole; yet one might question if Strauss's true achievement does not lie in the inspired manipulation and transformation of the musical brain-stuff which certain of his predecessors had left for him, rather than in the creation of such a wholly new order of ideas as we find in the unique scores of Debussy. There is, after all, a large element at the basis of Strauss's music for which he is indebted, despite his enormous and indisputable originality of method, to Liszt and Wagner; whereas for the "*Pelléas et Mélisande*" and "*La Mer*" of Debussy there are no analogies or apparent sources whatsoever.

Altogether, Mr. Newman has made a courageous and admirable contribution to the literature of an engrossing subject—the amazing, saddening, preposterous, inspired, incomparable tone-poet from Munich.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: CONSTANTINOPLE: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *November, 1908.*

ON November 1, 1858, Queen Victoria issued the famous proclamation that closed the horrors of the Indian Mutiny with a word of peace and hope, and announced that henceforward the rule of the East India Company was to cease and the administration of the great dependency to be taken over by the Crown. Fifty years later to the day her son, the present King of England and Emperor of India, issued a further proclamation. The Queen's proclamation outlined a policy and formulated a number of specific pledges; the King's is a ringing, confident claim that that policy has been carried out, those pledges redeemed. But it is more than that. It is one of the most impressive State papers that I have ever had the fortune to come across. In stateliness of language, in its consciousness of power used for noble ends, in its just, tempered, but not vainglorious pride in all that has been accomplished in the British name, and in the spirit of mingled benignity and firmness that breathes in every line, it seems to me a message eminently worthy of a sovereign to whose lot it has fallen to guide the destinies of one-fifth of the human race. It was received in India with a great outburst of loyalty and rejoicing. "We survey our labors of the past half-century," says the King-Emperor, "with clear gaze and good conscience"; and in a passage which I venture to reproduce in full he reviews some of the achievements of the British rulers of India:

"Difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place have risen up from day to day. They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have labored to apply a remedy.

"No secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of Nature. For a longer period than was ever known in your land before you have escaped the dire calamities of war within your borders. Internal peace has been unbroken.

"In the great charter of 1858 Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting your material convenience and advance—schemes unsurpassed in their magnificence and boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

"The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man among my subjects has been favored, molested or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilization; it has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

"The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come; and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

The message goes on to promise "steadfast and sure progress" in admitting natives to "posts of public authority and power," and in extending "the principle of representative institutions." To mark this historic anniversary His Majesty orders the remission or curtailment of sentences on prisoners and announces that at the New Year he will honor the Indian troops with a substantial recognition—in the form, no doubt, of increased pay—of their "martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service." Finally the King-Emperor declares that ever since his visit in 1875 he has watched the interests of India, its Princes and Peoples, "with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken"; and he adds that "these sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line only represent, and they do most truly

represent, the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom."

I do not think there is a single statement in this remarkably virile and candid proclamation that cannot be fully substantiated. British rule in India has entered just now upon troubled waters, and the need for a hand on the rudder that will be not merely strong, but deft and sensitive, is probably destined to grow in urgency. The successes of the last half-century are not in themselves a guarantee that the wholly novel problems now pressing for solution will be satisfactorily handled. But they afford some encouragement to hope that the future will not fall below the high record of the past. What, at least, will not be disputed is that the achievements of the British since 1858 in extending and consolidating their Indian dominions, in devising a system that sends out the best men the country can produce to administer them, in preserving peace among three hundred million peoples with a British force of less than 80,000 men, in fighting famine and plague, in scrupulously observing all treaties and engagements with the native Princes who still rule two-fifths of the country, in respecting, often with an almost excessive tenderness, the faiths and customs of their wards, in building 30,000 miles of railway and 200,000 miles of roads, in irrigating nearly fifty million acres of land, in quadrupling the value of Indian imports and exports, in dealing out an inflexible and even-handed justice, in introducing industries and improving agriculture, in extending education, in setting up some 750 municipalities and over a thousand district and local boards for the training of the natives in the responsibilities of self-government, and in handing over practically all the subordinate posts in the civil administration and a small but increasing number in the higher grades to Indians—no one, I say, can deny that these achievements constitute a unique record of energetic, upright and successful government. How, having constructed, to assimilate—this is now the fundamental problem confronting the British in India. The whole spirit of the King's proclamation is proof enough, if any were needed, that it will not be shirked.

Since "The Times" twenty-three years ago revealed Germany's intention to force a second war upon France, no newspaper article has made such a profound sensation in England and throughout Europe as the interview with the Kaiser which

appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" in the last week of October. Almost every sentence in it was an indiscretion. After some warm expressions of indignation that the English should still persist in mistrusting his friendship, the Kaiser proceeded to prove its reality by announcing that in the crisis of the Boer war he drew up a plan of campaign and sent it to Queen Victoria at Windsor, and that when Russia suggested and France approved united representations to put an end to the war, the Kaiser stood out and refused to take part in any anti-British movement.

These were the principal revelations of an "interview" that from the first line to the last was full of piquant disclosures and suggestions. Its effect was immediate and prodigious. In Germany Prince Bülow promptly offered to resign, and the entire German people turned against their Kaiser in something like a frenzy of execration. In England there was an explosion of amazed laughter at the officiousness of the Kaiser in volunteering a plan of campaign for defeating his friends, the Boers. In France and Russia every newspaper and Government official set to work at once to disprove the Kaiser's story of the intervention. All Europe was for days convulsed with denials and explanations, charges and countercharges. The truth is, I believe, that Russia did actually propose and that France was not unwilling to entertain a scheme for putting pressure on Great Britain to bring the South-African war to a conclusion. Englishmen feel they can afford to forget it nowadays or, if they remember it at all, it is without the least trace of vindictiveness, and merely as a relic of an unhappy and outworn period in British diplomatic history. But the reason why the scheme fell through was that Germany's co-operation in it was made conditional on a formal acquiescence by France in the permanent loss of Alsace-Lorraine. M. Delcassé thought the price too high and the conspirators disbanded. It was not from any kindly feeling towards the English, but simply to serve the ends of her European policy, that Germany put forward the stipulation which killed the project almost before it was born. The Kaiser was as willing to sacrifice England for the sake of Alsace-Lorraine as to sacrifice the Boers for the sake of placating England. Thanks to the further revelations called forth by the "Daily Telegraph" interview, this is now well understood in England; and Anglo-German relations, I need hardly add, are not improved thereby.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *November, 1908.*

SOON after the downfall of absolutism in the Ottoman Empire the Young Turks with a forefeeling of their country's future greatness asked whether they might not in time aspire to re-enter into possession of Crete, Cyprus, Egypt, Samos, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sanjak of Novi Bazar. A legitimate patriotic dream. Well, it was this harmless aspiration that furnished Baron von Aehrenthal with the pretext for which he longed. And it was soon supplemented by petitions in which the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina craved a constitution such as their fellow subjects in Turkey had received. Now the bestowal of a constitution, the Austrian Foreign Minister argued, implies annexation. It is as needless to discuss this thesis as it would have been for the lamb in the fable to adduce arguments against the allegations of the wolf. It was a case of "*hoc volo, sic jubeo.*" Austria disposes of a formidable army. Germany, who will see her through the crisis, possesses an army more formidable still. Turkey, on the other hand, is literally defenceless, and the three Powers willing to back her can offer nothing more helpful than moral sympathies, with which she could not defend Adrianople or Dedeaghatch. And in order that Turkey and her pacific friends should realize the situation, Austria dexterously thrust Prince Ferdinand forward and alarmed Europe with the spectre of a Turco-Bulgarian war.

In Vienna, Sofia, Constantinople, Paris and St. Petersburg I have had the privilege within the span of a few weeks of hearing most of the actors in this European drama give their own version of each of the acts and also their candid opinions of their fellow actors. And having winnowed sentiment from fact in these graphic sketches I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion that the brilliancy of the *coup* accomplished by Baron von Aehrenthal is dulled by certain of the methods to which he had recourse in order to achieve it. To affirm that the elaborate hoodwinking of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states, the conveying of erroneous impressions by implication and allusion whereby they were caused to mislead their respective Governments very materially, were amongst that Minister's methods, is to put a strong case with generous euphemism. That Baron von Aehrenthal resembles the bee which, having left its sting in the wound, can never again inflict pain, is the obvious inference.

In September, the Austrian Embassies, seconding the work of Baron von Aehrenthal, assured the press of the countries to which they were accredited that the intention attributed to Austria-Hungary of annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus violating the Berlin Treaty, had no existence in fact, and these assurances and statements were credited at the time because Austria possessed an excellent reputation for plain dealing and her Foreign Secretary was believed to be acquiring one.

One of the legends disseminated by the Austrian Government was that Bulgaria had no intention of proclaiming her independence, because, among other reasons, Austria-Hungary would surely know of it. She had been informed of such a plan last year, for instance, it was added, when she promptly vetoed it; and she had heard nothing this year from the Bulgarian Cabinet about any such project. This statement, literally true and really false, was duly transmitted by the embassies in Vienna to their respective Governments. The Bulgarian Cabinet in the persons of its most influential members put a very different complexion on the matter. And this is what they told me. The Principality was ripe for independence long ago, but the leaders of the nation had patriotically resolved to wait until the Bulgars of Macedonia were incorporated in Prince Ferdinand's realm, which then, without more ado, would become a kingdom and independent simultaneously. And patience was all the more easy that Bulgaria was a vassal only in name—a name, too, that brought her no inconvenience and great advantages, political and economic, and that the reward of her good behavior was already in sight. The Powers had lost patience with the Sultan, the three Macedonian provinces would soon be withdrawn from his sceptre and then Bulgaria's dream would come true.

These hopes were dashed by the emancipation of Turkey from the demoralizing absolutism of Abdul Hamid. Turkey's integrity was henceforward safe from attack. As there was now, therefore, no longer anything to be gained by waiting, it was resolved that the declaration of independence should be made without delay. But delay was unavoidable because the Prince and the Premier were both absent.

Baron von Aehrenthal, still protesting that Bulgaria would not declare her independence, had royal honors shown to Prince Ferdinand on his entry into Budapest. At the same time mem-

bers of the Bulgarian cabinet, and in particular the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was telling his friends in Sofia that Austria-Hungary was about to tear up the Treaty of Berlin by annexing the occupied provinces and that Bulgaria would follow her example. And yet the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs got no inkling of this semi-public information!

Young Turkey through all her bewildering troubles continued to manifest an attitude so moderate, so generous and so statesmanlike that friends and adversaries alike augured genial things of the great unknown counsellors behind the cabinet. To the annexation of the occupied provinces she replied with a dignified protest and a reasonable demand for pecuniary compensation; Bulgaria's independence would, she intimated, be duly acknowledged by the Porte simultaneously with recognition by the signatory Powers, but her property rights in the railway and the Roumelian tribute did not, she contended, lapse with the nominal vassalage of Bulgaria. The anonymous committee that guides the policy of the Empire from the safe retreat of Salonica, went further in the path of conciliation. An unofficial deputation was sent to Sofia to fraternize with the Bulgars and assure them that as the two nations would need each other's help in the future they had better begin friendly negotiations at once. I talked with the Turkish delegates in Sofia and with the Bulgarian delegates there and in Constantinople. They were all anxious for a close friendship preparatory to an alliance between the two states.

But the trials, internal and external, of constitutional Turkey are by no means at an end. To Austria her very existence is an eyesore and her prosperity would be a standing menace. A Turco-Bulgarian alliance, once the Ottoman army is reorganized, would effectually thwart the ambitious designs of the Hapsburgs and force Germany to abandon all hope of recovering the unique position of influence in Turkey which she lost when Abdul Hamid was deprived of power.

Although the danger of war seems past, a dark storm-cloud still hangs heavy in the Eastern sky. Bulgaria continues to overstrain her financial resources and check commercial enterprise by keeping fifty thousand superfluous soldiers under arms and Turkey has come to a complete standstill at a moment when quiescence is almost identical with retrogression. At present external difficulties are her bane. These once removed, her chances

of coping successfully with domestic troubles would perhaps rise to the level of probability.

But one cannot blink the fact that hitherto achievement has fallen far short of promise. Hitherto the Young Turks have been seemingly vying with the ancient Christians in the practice of self-denial, meekness, brotherly love, humility and other negative virtues. Government as they have established it has a certain remote resemblance to the anarchy tempered with altruism which was sung by Shelley and is preached by Tolstoy.

But with negative qualities, even though they be Christian virtues, one cannot build up an Empire. And creative, nay constructive, forces are nowhere visible as yet. Young Turkey lacks leaders for the reform movement and, what perhaps is worse, she lacks intelligent, trustworthy, energetic partisans. True, strong characters, magnetic shepherds of men, may emerge from the seething whirl of races and religions, but as yet there is none in view. And the feat to be achieved is hardly less arduous than a mediæval miracle. A powerful nation has to be fashioned out of ethnic fragments that have hitherto repelled in lieu of attracting each other. An army has to be got together out of excellent human materials, it is true, but without experienced generals, tested strategists, trusty non-commissioned officers, ammunition, clothing or money. In like manner the navy must be created out of nothing. Further, tribunals are waiting for a cleansing such as Hercules gave the stables of the King of Elis.

Then presumably education will perpetuate the barriers that divide Greek from Turk, Arab, Armenian, Kurd and Albanian, while religion with its large infusion of politics must tend to keep Christian, Jew and Moslem from fusing with each other in Ottoman citizenship. And as the races and religions are scattered throughout the Empire, the task of the future Empire-builders is in truth Herculean and calls for an organizing genius. And yet there is good hope.

As the Turkish revolution was a miracle of moderation and thoroughness, in the possibility of which nobody would have believed on the eve of its accomplishment, so it is but fair that we hold back our forecast of the Ottoman renascence until we have seen the Turkish Parliament assembled, when possibly another miracle may evoke our admiration and quicken our faith in the potentialities of man.

WASHINGTON, *November, 1908.*

AMONG the innumerable students of the returns of the late Presidential election, there are many who have drawn the inference that Mr. Bryan will never again run for the Presidency, and there are some who, under the first shock of disappointment, have gone so far as to say that we shall never see another Democratic Chief Magistrate. The veteran politicians of whom the Federal capital is full are inclined to think that the former forecast will be verified, although there is some doubt about it; but that the latter is by no means warranted by the facts. Assuming that the official figures will give Mr. Bryan the three electoral votes of Nevada, six out of eight electoral votes of Maryland and the five electoral votes of Colorado, we can see that he will have 162 electoral votes; or, in other words, 22 more electoral votes than were cast for ex-Judge Parker; 7 more than Bryan himself obtained in 1900, but 14 less than he got in 1896. It must also be said for him that he carried his own State of Nebraska, which had not delivered its electoral vote to a Democrat since 1896, and that he secured all the electoral votes of Kentucky, whereas he got but one of them twelve years ago. The fact remains that his Republican opponent will have almost twice as many electoral votes as he, and that, as regards the popular vote, the Republican plurality now exceeds 1,100,000, or is nearly twice as large as it was in 1896.

It is premature and optimistic, however, to take for granted that Bryan has retired from the field. He retains the power of putting himself continually before the people in the columns of his paper, "The Commoner," and he has announced that he will resume immediately the lecture tours which in the past have brought him a considerable revenue. It must not be forgotten, either, that in our political history there are some precedents for his persistency in aspiring to the office of Chief Magistrate. In 1789, 1792 and 1796 George Clinton of New York obtained more or less electoral votes for the Presidency, securing no fewer than 50 in the second of the years named, while in 1804 and 1808, he was actually elected Vice-President. Suppose Bryan should follow George Clinton's example, and, after running three times unsuccessfully for the Presidency, should accept a nomination for Vice-President in 1912? Let us look next at the experience of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina. He was a

candidate for the Presidency in 1796, but got only one electoral vote. He obtained 64 in 1800; 14 in 1804 and 47 in 1808. Henry Clay's example is still more suggestive. He got 34 electoral votes in 1824; 49 in 1832; 105 in 1844; and he was the most conspicuous candidate for the Whig nomination in 1848, and he would have got it had not Thurlow Weed, by his adroit wire-pulling, managed to beat him with Zachary Taylor. That is to say, the friends of Henry Clay in the Whig Convention of 1848 took the same position which the friends of Mr. Bryan would occupy should they request his nomination from the Democratic National Convention in 1912. With these examples and precedents at his fingers' ends, it is improbable that Mr. Bryan is as yet ready to acknowledge himself politically dead. Such, at least, is the opinion of some Washington observers who possess long memories. Whether, in view of this year's lesson, the American Democracy will ever again consent to make Mr. Bryan its standard-bearer, is a very different question. He has never been as popular with his party as Henry Clay was with the Whigs, who, nevertheless, put Clay aside in 1848—and won.

If, now, we turn to the Democracy, hypothetically considered as henceforth dissociated from Mr. Bryan's personal fortunes, it is certain that some cause for hope, rather than for discouragement, is discernible. There are proofs, on the face of the returns, that this year the general conditions were far less favorable to the success of the Republican party than they were in 1904. We must also recognize incontestable proofs that those Democrats who vehemently urged the Denver Convention to put forward some other standard-bearer than Bryan were abundantly justified. Not only have the Democrats made considerable gains in the House of Representatives, but, through the Legislatures just chosen, they will have gained also some United States Senators. Above all, they have elected Governors in Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota and North Dakota, although every one of those States was carried by Taft. They have come very near to electing Governors in West Virginia, Michigan and even Illinois. It is now pretty clear that such a Democratic ticket as Harmon and Stevenson, or Harmon and Johnson, would have come near to subverting Republican ascendancy in the Central West. It is not, therefore, the Democratic party, but Mr. Bryan personally, who seems to have been discredited and disqualified by the late Presidential election. In

view of this indubitable fact, there is at last good reason to hope that the Democracy has shaken from its shoulders the man whose incessant strivings for the Presidency have kept his party disunited for a dozen years. When we bear in mind that, judged by the ballots cast for Governors, the Republican plurality of the popular vote does not much exceed 400,000, we cannot but recognize that the Democratic party is better fitted than it has been since Grover Cleveland went out of office in March, 1897, to discharge the duties of an Opposition. It is fortunate for Republicans themselves that the Democracy has gained control of the State Governments in so many Northern States; for the fact will force them to watch the drift of intelligent opinion in those important, if not pivotal, commonwealths.

Is Mr. Roosevelt's influence waning rapidly? Of course, Republican office-seekers have already turned their faces from the setting to the rising sun. Already the pall of effacement, which has enfolded so many ex-Presidents, is beginning to cast its shadow on the man who has only about three months longer in which to retain the office of Chief Magistrate. The fate of many of his predecessors may well depress him. Jefferson, and, for that matter, Madison, left the White House bankrupts. Obscure and pitiful was the existence to which the author of the Monroe Doctrine was condemned in his last years. What had Franklin Pierce or Chester A. Arthur to fall back upon? Benjamin Harrison was glad, in his retirement, to accept a fee from a railway corporation. Grover Cleveland consented to become an employee of a life-insurance company. John Quincy Adams and Andrew Johnson alone insisted upon proving that they retained capacities of public usefulness by returning to public life at Washington, the one as Representative, the other as a Senator. Mr. Roosevelt, apparently, expects to keep himself in the public eye by imitating Mr. Bryan—that is to say, by accepting an editorial post on a weekly periodical, though in his past we can find no reason for assuming that, once stripped of the aureole of the Presidency, he is qualified to discharge the editorial function. It is the opinion of many close observers at Washington that Mr. Roosevelt has made a blunder in his choice of a post-Presidential profession, and that there was just one sagacious thing for him to do, and that was to become a member of the United States Senate.

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

Women and the Decalogue.

ONE reason why women cannot readily obtain equality with men is that their natures instinctively demand inequality. It is our firm conviction that the great majority of cases of domestic infelicity are attributable to the woman's resentment of a suspicion constantly in her mind that she is deprived of much to which she is fairly entitled, by reason either of her conscious superiority or even of her mere desire. We surely had every reason to suppose that women, previously unenlightened upon the subject, would accept with gratefulness the assurance which we adduced from Holy Writ to the effect that they are not bound by the proscriptions of our fundamental religious law. Imagine, then, our surprise at receiving scores of letters breathing vehement protestation! Instead of rejoicing over their immunity, as men surely would do, they demand inclusion within the circle of human beings held by divine command to a strict observance of the Commandments. While necessarily recognizing the nobility of the disposition thus manifested, one cannot but wonder at its fatuity from the standpoint of practical application. We shall not attempt, at this time, to analyze the emotion, obviously peculiar to femininity, which induces such a feeling. Doubtless the attitude is explicable, but its assumption is so unexpected and itself so strange that much cautious inquiry and calm reflection are requisite to perfect understanding. As a preliminary to further consideration, however, we submit one of the many communications which we have received.

"WASHINGTON, D. C.

"SIR,—When a young girl I once asked my father at family prayers why, in the Tenth Commandment, it did not say, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's husband' as well as '. . . thy neighbor's wife.' The fact that I grew up with six brothers as playmates and companions developed

in me rather early, perhaps, a spirit of good-natured emulation, and I expected, more than I desired, to be considered on an equal basis with them. My father, a Presbyterian Minister, by the way, gave me some answer which satisfied me perfectly at the time, and never in maturer years have I for one moment been troubled with any doubt lest Moses or the Giver of the law intended any slight to women by implying that they do not come fully under the provisions of the Decalogue. I do not remember the words my father used in his answer to me, but I was told, in effect, that the idea, and not the most exact expression of it, was the all-important thing. He cited various instances from the Bible and elsewhere in which for the sake of brevity or simplicity figures of speech are employed and are easily understood.

"I wish the Editor of the REVIEW would turn to the twenty-third chapter of Exodus and glance at the twelfth verse. Here is a reiteration of a part of the Fourth Commandment. Please notice the phrase 'the son of thy handmaid.' Nothing is said of the 'daughter of the handmaid' nor of the manservant and maidservant themselves. According to the Editor's way of reasoning as applied to the form of the commands of the Decalogue, the omission is significant and indicates that the son of the handmaid was not only the most important servant in the household, but that rest for him was of more consequence than even for the son and the daughter of the head of the house.

"For the sake of a little entertainment, just to see whether we women take them seriously or not, I think that the Editor's comments on the exemption of women from the prohibitions of the Decalogue are well worth while from a man's point of view, provided he has an abundance of leisure on his hands. But I think that women have never considered themselves any less under the 'penalty of the law' because Moses failed to be more explicit. Of course the 'thou' in the Fourth Commandment includes man and woman. It corresponds to 'the reader' or 'my hearer,' who is generally assumed to be of either sex. How superfluous it would be, in the Tenth Commandment, if the phrase 'thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's husband' were inserted. We might infer from the wording used that instances of coveting neighbors' wives were more common in Moses' time than coveting neighbors' husbands. However that may be, we do not always look for precision of language in literature, especially in so ancient a book as the Bible.

"In Professor James's handbook on Psychology, after dividing 'the self' into two aspects, the I and the Me, he says, 'In its widest possible sense a man's Me is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands and horses, and yacht and bank account.' I cannot imagine a woman feeling slighted because Professor James considers 'a man's Me,' nor her supposing for one moment that Professor James thinks a woman's self of no consequence because he addresses his remarks primarily to men. Imagine Professor James writing, 'A man's or woman's Me is the sum total of all that he or she can call his or hers,

not only his or her body and his or her psychic powers, but his or her clothes and his or her house, his or her wife or husband and children,' and so on throughout the book. Such a style would appear ridiculous and would exhaust the reader's patience.

"Probably, after all, the Editor did not expect to be taken seriously. Being a woman, I *was* a little angry at first, but the second time I read the article through I saw the Editor laughing at me just as plainly as could be, so I forgave him, because, I thought, being a man he 'must have his little joke.'

"CORA L. SNELL."

The passage in Exodus to which our correspondent refers is:

"Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest; that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed."

This is one of the many amplifications of the Commandments made by Moses which are not regarded as having been fully inspired. Its particular reference obviously was to the son of the handmaid, as rest for the oxen and asses had already been enjoined explicitly. The head of the house, too, had been forbidden to require "any manner of work" from the stranger within his gates, but no provision had been made for the stranger's diversion. To meet the simple requirement of hospitality, this direction was given that he be "refreshed" or entertained in company with and presumably under the guidance of the son of the handmaid.

There was no inappropriateness in such an arrangement. Our correspondent errs in assuming that the son of the handmaid was a servant. His father was the head of the household, and his position was neither menial nor mean. It corresponded precisely, in fact, to that of Mormon children whose mothers are not first wives. Sarai established a custom when she voluntarily and most generously gave Hagar to Abram in order that the name might not become extinct. Subsequently she discovered that her magnanimous act had been unnecessary and was sorry, but meanwhile the willing Abram had taken the charming Egyptian girl to be his second wife, with Sarai's consent, and became the father of Ishmael, who has many descendants to this very day. The lad's social position was precarious for some time as a consequence of his mother's indiscreet boasting and Sarai's resentfulness, but was finally fixed definitely through divine interference and, when Abram was buried, Ishmael walked side by side with Isaac behind the hearse.

Whether Boaz was married when Naomi took Ruth to Bethlehem and directed her to proclaim herself the rich man's handmaid cannot be determined from the record, but circumstantial evidence clearly indicates that he had a wife who, in conformity with the Hebrew custom of that day and the Mormon custom of recent times, assented perforce to the addition of the attractive widow to the family when politely but firmly requested by her husband to do so. If so, then, of course, the great grandmother of David himself was a handmaid, in the Scriptural meaning of the term, and undoubtedly it was to such as his grandfather Obed that the injunction of Moses was meant to apply. It seems plain, therefore, that the omission from the verse in Exodus to which our correspondent refers is, indeed, significant and indicative of the verity of our original contention.

Whatever may be the view held by Professor James respecting the relative positions of the sexes, it surely does seem to be a fact that he "addresses his remarks primarily to men" and, unconsciously, perhaps, falls in with the ancient custom of regarding wives as property, in common with lands and horses. Our correspondent's illustration of redundant use of the possessive pronoun is, moreover, a wilful exaggeration and by no means convincing as evidence that a more explicit expression would "appear ridiculous" or should "exhaust a reader's patience." Indeed, there is nothing so refreshing, in these days of careless writing, as painstaking accuracy, although, of course, one should not approach the extreme of the illiterate person who emphasized his fidelity to the cause of complete sex evenness by distorting the familiar Latin adage into "*Mens et womens conscia recti.*"

LA SENTENCOJ DE SALOMONO.*

(El la Biblio.)

EL LA ORIGINALO TRADUKIS, L. L. ZAMENHOF.

ĈAPITRO XXIX.

(1) Se homo puninda restas obstina, li subite pereos sen ia helpo. (2) Kiam altiĝas virtuloj, la popolo ĝojas, sed kiam regas malvirtulo, la popolo ĝemas. (3) Homo, kiu amas saĝon, ĝojigas sian patron; sed kiukomunikiĝas kun malĉastulinoj, disperdas sian havon. (4) Reĝo per justeco fortikigas la landon, sed donacamanto ĝin ruinigas. (5) Homo, kiu flatas al sia proksimulo, metas reton antaŭ liaj piedoj. (6) Per sia pekado malbona homo sin implikas, sed virtulo triumfas kaj ĝojas. (7) Virtulo penas ekkoni la aferon de malriĉuloj, sed malvirtulo ne povas kompreni. (8) Homoj blasfemantaj indignigas urbon, sed saĝuloj kvietigas koleron. (9) Se saĝa homo havas juĝan aferon kun homo malsaĝa, tiam, ĉu li koleras, ĉu li ridas, li ne havas trankvilon. (10) Sangaviduloj malamas senkulpulon, sed virtuloj zorgas pri lia vivo. (11) Sian tutan koleron aperigas malsaĝulo, sed saĝulo ĝin retenas. (12) Se reganto atentas mensogon, tiam ĉiuj liaj servantoj estas malvirtuloj. (13) Malriĉulo kaj procentegisto renkontiĝas; Dio donas lumon al la okuloj de ambaŭ. (14) Se reĝo juĝas juste malriĉulojn, lia trono fortikiĝas por ĉiam. (15) Kano kaj instruo donas saĝon; kaj knabo, lasita al si mem, hontigas sian patrinon. (16) Kiam altiĝas malvirtuloj, tiam multiĝas krimoj, sed virtuloj vidos ilian falon. (17) Punu

* Dr. Zamenhof has made this translation of Proverbs from the original text especially for The North American Review. The first chapter appeared in the December, 1907, issue. The subsequent chapters will be published during 1908.

vian filon, kaj li vin trankviligos, kaj li donos ĝojon al via animo. (18) Se ne ekzistas profetaj predikoj, tiam popolo fariĝas sovaĝa, sed bone estas al tiu, kiu observas la leĝojn. (19) Per vortoj sklavo ne instruiĝas, ĉar li komprenas, sed ne obeas. (20) Se vi vidas homon, kiu tro rapidas kun siaj vortoj, vi de malsaĝulo povas pli esperi, ol de li. (21) Se oni de infaneco kutimigas sklavon al delikateco, li poste fariĝas sentaŭgulo. (22) Kolerema homo kaŭzas malpacojn, kaj flamiĝema kaŭzas multajn pekojn. (23) La fiereco de homo lin malaltigos, sed humilulo atingos honoron. (24) Kiu dividas kun ŝtelisto, tiu malamas sian animon; li aŭdas la ĵuron kaj nenion diras. (25) Timo antaŭ homoj faligas en reton, sed kiu fidas Dion, tiu estas ŝirmita. (26) Multaj serĉas favoron de reganto, sed la sorto de homo dependas de Dio. (27) Maljusta homo estas abomenaĵo por virtuloj, kaj kiu iras la ĝustan vojon, estas abomenaĵo por malvirtulo.

ĈAPITRO XXX.

(1) Vortoj de Agur, filo de Jake. Profeta parolo de tiu viro al Itiel, al Itiel kaj Ukal. (2) Ĉar mi estas la plej malkleriga homo, kaj homan prudenton mi ne posedas. (3) Kaj mi ne lernis saĝon, kaj sanktaĵon mi ne komprenas. (4) Kiu leviĝis en la ĉielon kaj malleviĝis? kiu kolektis la venton en siajn mankavojn? kiu ligis la akvon en la veston? kiu aranĝis ĉiujn limojn de la tero? Kia estas lia nomo? kaj kia estas la nomo de lia filo? ĉu vi scias? (5) Ĉiu diro de Dio estas pura; Li estas ŝildo por tiuj, kiuj Lin fidas. (6) Ne aldonu al Liaj vortoj, por ke Li ne punu vin kaj por ke vi ne aperu mensoganto. (7) Du aferojn mi petis de vi; ne rifuzu al mi, antaŭ ol mi mortos: (8) falsaĵon kaj mensogaĵon forigu de mi, malriĉecon kaj riĉecon ne donu al mi, nutru min per tiom da pano, kiom mi bezonas. (9) Ĉar alie mi eble trosatiĝus kaj neus kaj dirus: "kiu estas Dio?" aŭ eble mi malriĉiĝus kaj ŝtelus kaj fariĝus krimulo kontraŭ la nomo de mia Dio. (10) Ne kalumniu sklavon antaŭ lia sinjoro, por ke li ne malbenu vin kaj vi ne fariĝu kulpulo.

ESPERANTO NOTES.

WE trust that none of our American Esperantists are forgetting the approaching Esperanto Congress, to be held in this country next August. Any Esperantist or organization that has suggestions for the Congress should kindly communicate them either to Professor Papot or to this office.

H. Bolingbroke Mudie, the able young Englishman, who virtually organized the third Congress and has done so much for Esperanto, has kindly offered to help us on the other side of the water in the organization of the *Kvina*. His letter, which follows is very stimulating.

"KENSINGTON GARDENS SQ., LONDON W.,
"*November 3, 1908.*

"MY DEAR FORMAN,—Many thanks for your last. Now you no doubt know the part the U. E. A. played in arranging Caravans to Dresden. There is a great scope for talent next year, and it would be a good plan, I think, if you would send your 36 cents subscription to Geneva (8 rue Bovy Lysberg) and say at the same time that you will be glad if all publicity can be given to your desire that all persons hoping to be present at the Kvina—giving of course the actual date decided upon—would communicate that fact to your European representative, whoever that may be.

"There must be somebody on this side—the better known the better—who will canvass for members, and work up an Esperanto ship with Zamenhof Honorary Admiral, etc., etc.

"I enclose some papers on the Caravan to Dresden I ran this year, and friend Luders of Philadelphia will give you verbatim particulars of some of its earlier details.

"Now, if you can find nobody more competent to do this, I will do my best to stir things up, *if you will keep me stuffed with* information as it becomes available. I am already British correspondent for 'La Revuo,' and would have no difficulty in getting the Esperanto Press, as of course applies equally to you. But I think it would be best for many reasons to have a representative on this side. . . .

"As regards the official Touring section of the U. E. A. you will notice that Schmid of Bern is chief. In this matter, however, I feel that a Britisher, more accustomed to ships, etc., should have the matter in hand on this side, and as President of U. E. A. I am willing to do my best and give up my time to making the trip a real success. But only if you wish me to.

"Re lines of transport, our Cambridge motto was The Best is Good Enough for us—provided the Price suits. How about the Cunard? or Can. Pac. You suggested White Star. I have an absolutely open mind on the subject, being in blissful ignorance so far, but I do not want you to commit yourselves to any one line until you are absolutely satisfied that they will treat you fair, and do you better than any other. Esperanto menus, concerts, etc., are details to arrange later.

"The ideal would be to have a special ship, full of none but Esperantists, which would sail from London, call at Antwerp or Havre for Continentals, and return at our convenience. But that wants thinking over.

"You must think my notes rather rambling, but no doubt the gist is plain.

"The Esperantists will have to be educated up to taking this plunge into the New World.

"Propose a rundreise inclusive ticket from port of departure, visiting Congress, and Niagara, and anything else sufficiently accessible and attractive, and many will strive to make the great *sacrifices* which, whether you can at present appreciate it or not, are inevitable to the majority.

"With kind regards to our common friends and to yourself,

"I am yours, very sincerely,

"H. BOLINGBROKE MUDIE."

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OF ALL SCENTED SOAPS PEARS' OTTO OF ROSE IS THE BEST.

FINANCIAL QUERIES

In this department the Financial Editor can answer only a limited number of questions bearing on investments of general interest. Other questions will be answered by letter. We cannot undertake to act as a rating agency, but we shall be glad to be helpful in every way possible. All letters must be signed. Address Queries Department, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, *New York.*

A. B. J.—*Q.* I have about $10,000 to invest, and would like to put them in bonds. I do not mind bonds being somewhat speculative, provided I get a good yield and a chance to increase my capital by appreciation. What would you advise?

A. We consider the present an excellent time to invest in good bonds. We cannot suggest particular bonds without knowing more about the kind of bonds you prefer. You cannot do better than to consult some investment banker. Those who advertise in *The North American Review* are of the very highest standing.

A. T.—*Q.* Would I be perfectly safe in investing some savings in Rock Island refunding 4's?

A. We consider Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Company 1st and Refunding Mortgage 4 per cent. bonds an entirely safe investment.

S. E. P.—*Q.* I have some first-mortgage bonds yielding about 4.25. Ordinarily I should prefer those to any industrial stock that I have no personal knowledge of, no matter what the dividend; but as U. S. Steel Common seems to promise so well, do you think I would be safe in selling about half the bonds and investing in steel stock?

A. While the future probably holds good promise for the common stock of the U. S. Steel Corporation, it is still speculative, and we do not advise any one to exchange first-mortgage bonds for it. Your needs seem to be those purely of investment.

J. I. L.—*Q.* Would you consider Pennsylvania stock as a perfectly safe investment? Is there anything speculative in the stock, so far as you know?

A. Pennsylvania Railroad Company stock is one of the best railroad investment stocks. There is an element of speculation in most stocks, but it is very small in Pennsylvania.

C. B.—*Q.* I am living abroad, and I have about $20,000 to invest, and I should like to get at least 5 per cent., or as near to that as possible. Would you advise me as to safe securities in that category.

A. Interest rates have been so low this year that a good many first-class bonds have advanced to prices at which they yield less than 5 per cent. Interborough Rapid Transit three-year 6 per cent. notes, and Missouri, Kansas & Texas 1st and Refunding Mortgage 4 per cent. bonds should be perfectly safe. At this writing the former sell at prices to yield over 5 per cent., and the latter at prices to yield approximately 5 per cent. There are, however, many safe bonds not listed on the Stock Exchange, but offered by investment bankers, that yield 5 per cent.

F. R. C.—*Q.* The best I seem to be able to get on mortgage investment in the vicinity of New York is about 5½ per cent. I am told that in the West perfectly safe investments of that sort may be had to yield 7 or 8 per cent. Can you tell me anything about this?

A. It is true that in many sections of the West good mortgage investments frequently yield 7 to 8 per cent. Unless, however, you can secure competent local advice about Western mortgage investments, we suggest that you retain your investment in New York City mortgages. Very few mortgage investments are safer than those on real estate in New York City and its vicinity.

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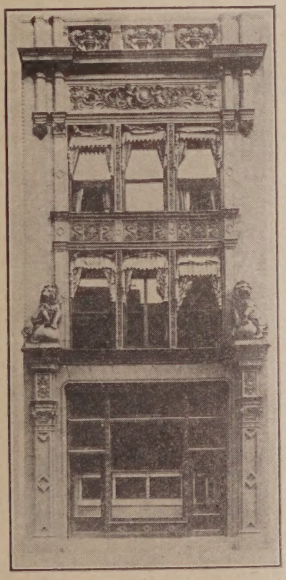

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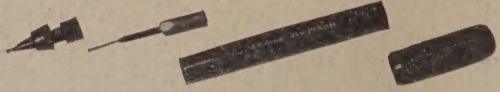

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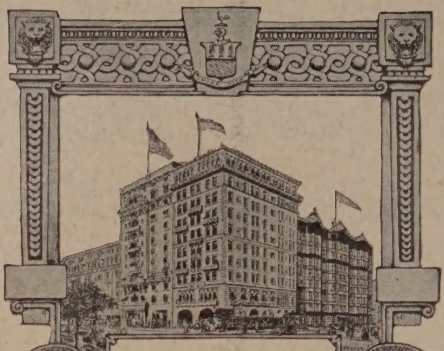

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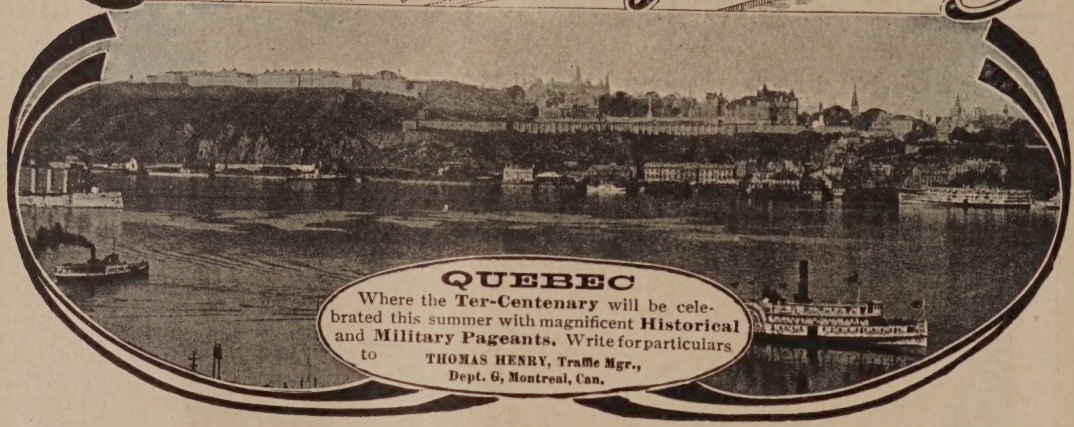

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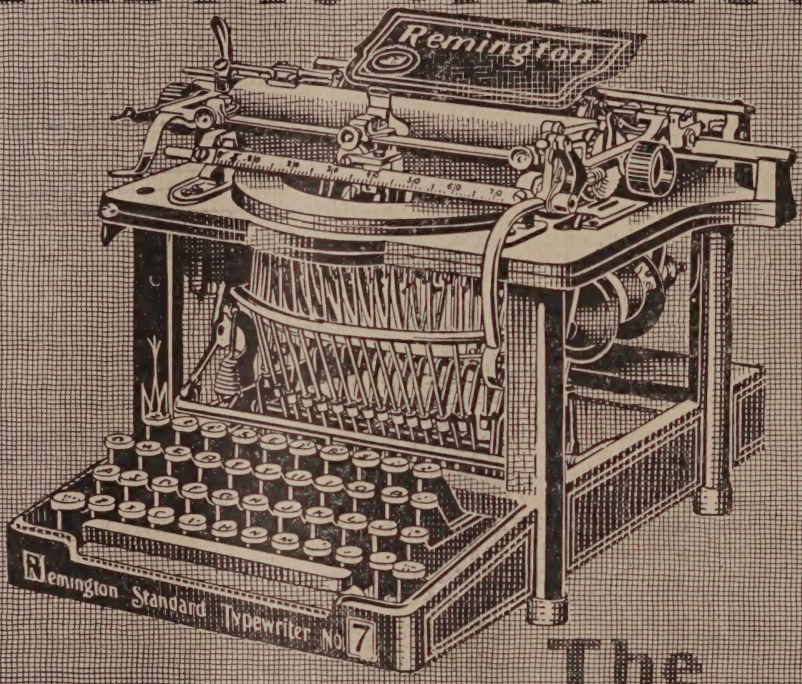

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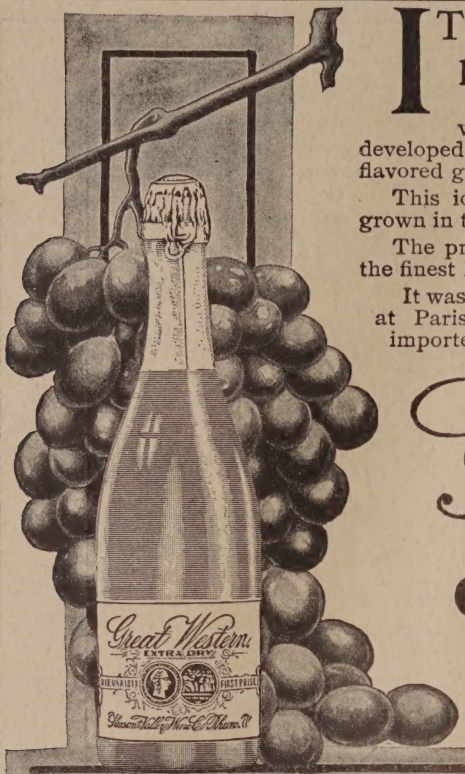

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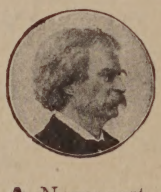

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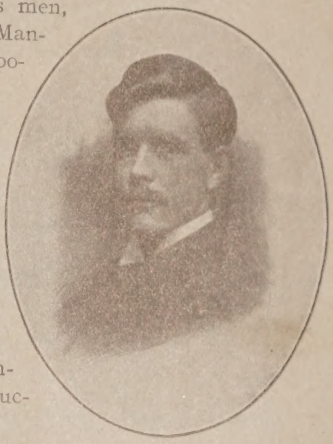

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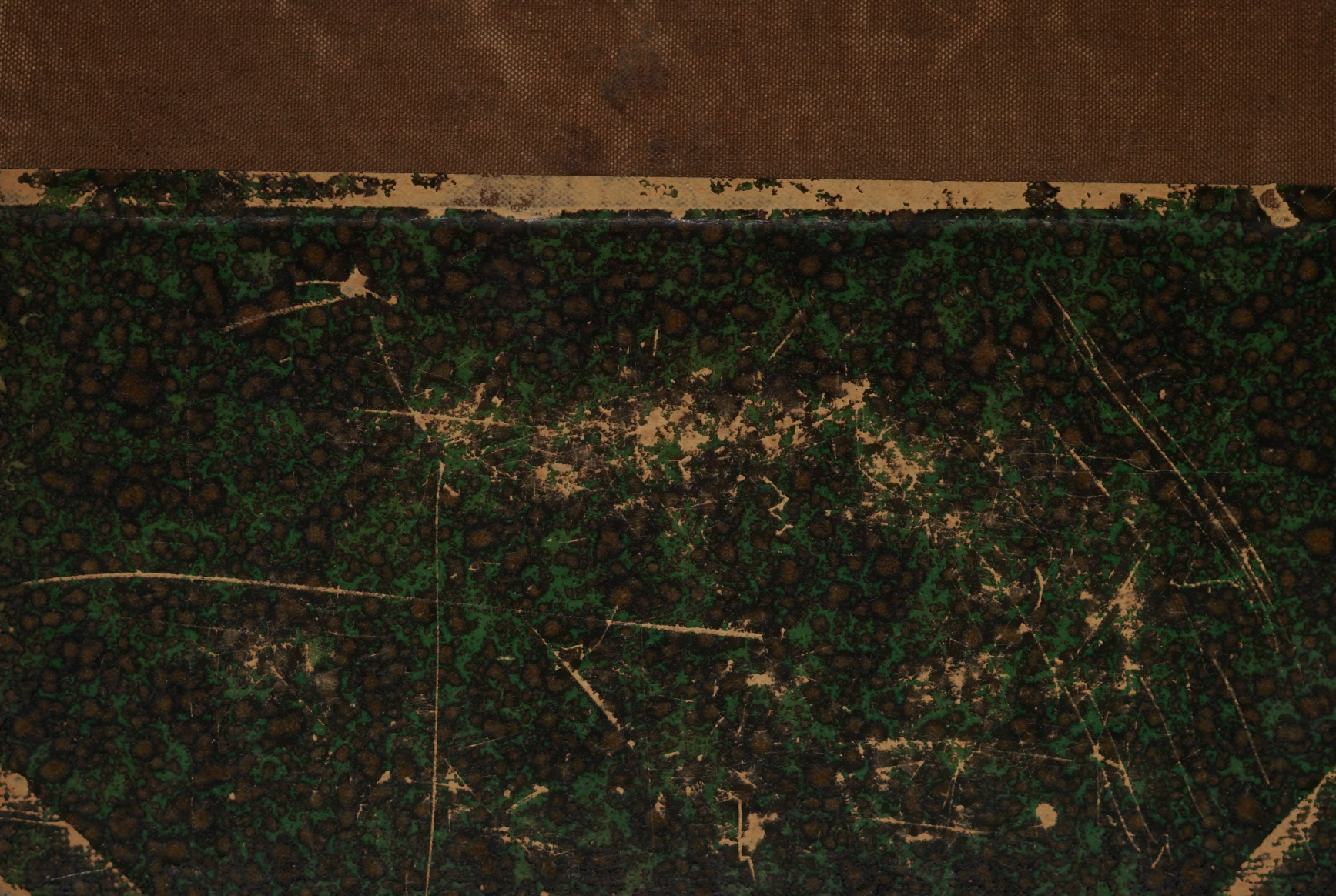
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